

Jean Louis de la Vallette Duke of
L'Espernon, Pair and Colloned Generall of
France, Gouuernour and Lieutenant
Generall for the King in Guienne, the Towne
and Citadell of Mets, and the Country of Messin, etc.



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BERN. DE FOIX DE LA VALLETTE DVC DESPERNON &c COLONEL GENER. DE FRANCE



John Jervey of Ravenscroft

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THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF THE Duke of ESPERNON, THE GREAT FAVOURITE OF FRANCE.

By Guillaume Girard

ENGLISHED BY

CHARLES COTTON, Esq;

In Three Parts, containing Twelve Books.

Wherein the History of FRANCE is continued from the Year 1598. where D'AVILA leaves off, down to our own Times, 1642.

Orationi, & Carmini est parva gratia, nisi Eloquentia est Summa: Historia, quoquo modo scripta, delectat. Plin.

LONDON,

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HISTOR

OF THE

L I F

OF THE

Duke of ESPERNON

THE

GREAT FAVOURITE

OF

FRANCE.

To the most Reverend Father in God,

GILBERT,

Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*,

HIS GRACE,

Primate of All *England*, and Metropolitan,
one of His Majesties Most Honourable
PRIVY COUNCIL, &c.

May it please your Grace,

THAT the Vertues of Great Persons are sometimes dangerous to themselves, is too manifest in the Liberty I have taken to prefer the following History to your Graces Patronage, your own Affability, and Bounty having procur'd you that Inconvenience, and Encourag'd me to a Dedication; I should not otherwise, and at a greater distance of Favour, have presum'd to impose upon your Protection: a Truth I have not only thought fit to put your Grace in mind of, the better to excuse my Presumption; but have moreover been prompted thereunto by an honest Vanity. I have, the World should take notice, that how private soever my Life has been, I have not altogether convers'd with Obscurity: but that I have had the Honour to be sometime known unto, and to have been Favour'd by one of the greatest Prelates, and the best Men upon Earth.

Thus (my Lord) by my own ill govern'd, though otherwise not very Criminal Ambition, I am put upon a necessity of seeming to accuse that Vertue, I have so just reason to magnifie; and from whence I have deriv'd so many advantages, to colour a boldness, that would otherwise admit of no Excuse. Neither will this I fear serve me against the Censures of the Time, by whom I expect notwithstanding to be accus'd of another sort of Vanity, that something of mine may be worthy your Graces Acceptation; which if I should absolutely deny, the Dedication it self would then convince me of a premeditated injury to your Name. I cannot therefore avoid confessing

I think this Hiſtory ſo fine a thing in it ſelf, that if I be not the worſt Tranſlator that ever Writ (and there is no Triumph due to the beſt) it may very well endure the light, and paſs amongſt good natur'd men, with other things, that every day ſally from the Preſs; which is my true opinion of it, and nothing more.

A more Illuſtrious Image of Vertue, and Honour than is here repreſented in the Perſon of the Duke of *Eſpernon*, in my little Reading I have no where met with, a more exemplary Piety, a braver Courage, a more ſhining and unblemiſh'd Loyalty, more inviolate Friendſhips, nor a nobler Conſtancy in all the ſhocks of Fortune; ſo that I have ſometimes thought, had there not been a little mixture of Humane Frailty amongſt ſo many excellent Qualities as he was Maſter of to a very great perfection, the Story would have look'd like an Idea of an Hero only, and rather a Character of what a Brave man ſhould be, than what any man ever truly was. There are indeed ſome Paſſages in his Hiſtory, that are not altogether to be juſtified, though none that may not (methinks) be ſlipt over amongſt ſo many better Pages of his Life, like a Counterfeit Piece in a great Summe of Current Gold.

If (my Lord) I have been ſo ſucceſsful as to make a tolerable Copy of this brave Original, and that my endeavour be graciouſly accepted, I have my end. I have learn'd that the Beſt men are not always the hardeſt to pleaſe, and ever the apteſt to forgive; which being granted, I ſhall appear in a good meaſure juſtified in the great freedom I have taken to recommend my Book to your Graces peruſal: and it has ſo much the better Title to your Acceptance, as it is the Fruit of the moſt innocent part of my time; and offer'd with a Heart as grateful for the many Favours I have receiv'd from your Graces Bounty, and as full of Honour and Reverence for your Perſon, and Dignity as any Man, who in a better, and more ſtudied ſtile may take the boldneſs to ſubſcribe himſelf,

My Lord,

Beresford, this 30th. of *October*, 1669.

Your Graces

Moſt Humble, and

moſt Obedient Servant

Charles Cotton.

The Preface.

HAving about three Years since, and in the Vacancy of a Country Life, taken this Volume in hand, before I had gone through the three first Books, I was call'd away first by Employment, and after dismiss'd from that, taken off by so long, and so uncomfortable a Sickness, that I found my self utterly unfit for any undertaking of this, or any other kind, and consequently had almost given over all thoughts of proceeding in a Work, which at some melancholy times I believ'd I might not live to finish. Being since restor'd to a better state of Health, and coming to review my Papers, either the dislike of what I had already done, the shame of having been so long in doing it, the indisposition my Disease left still hanging upon me, the bulk of what I had undertaken, the little leisure I conceiv'd I might have wherewith to perform it, or all together, had almost perswaded me to hold on the same resolution, and for ever to let it alone: till recollecting my self, I remembred I had a greater Obligation upon me (which nevertheless I do not think fit to publish in this place) to go through with what I had already begun, than was to be dissolv'd by any truant Humour, or private Aversion of my own. I therefore reassum'd my former purpose, and some months since took the Book again in good earnest in hand, which when I have said, any ingenious person may reasonably wonder, how a man in good earnest, and that has so little to do in the World as I have, could be all this tedious time about such a piece of Work as this: To which (if what I have already said will not serve for an excuse) I shall answer, that although by my incapacity, my ill fortune, or both, I stand excus'd from publick Employment, I have notwithstanding so much private concern of my own to divert me, and so few moments to bestow upon my self, that I wonder 'tis done so soon: An Apology I might however have spar'd, since my haste will I fear be too legible in every Line.

And now that I have told my Reader why I have proceeded so slowly in the Work, I conceive it time (as men in Prefaces usually do) to give some account of the motives that induc'd me to undertake it at all; which though they will arise to no better reasons than what other men usually give for their Follies in such cases, will nevertheless serve perhaps to satisfie such as are kindest to me, and who will not render themselves over-hard to be satisfied in a thing wherein I presume they would themselves be content to see me justified. It was not therefore out of any

ambition I had to be again in Print, I having ſuffer'd too much that way already; nor to be reputed a good Tranſlator, the beſt whereof ſit in the loweſt Form of Writers, and no one can be proud of the meaneſt Company; neither ſhall I pretend to be put upon it by my Friends, for that would tacitly imply ſomething of opinion they muſt have of my ability that way, and I muſt be ſo juſt to all my worthy Acquaintance, as to declare them men of better judgments, than to be ſo deceiv'd; beſides the greater part of them being better Frenchmen, than I pretend to be, ſuch as have read the Original, could never wiſh to ſee it blemiſh'd by ſo unskilful a hand: neither was I prompted to it by any deſign of advantage, that conſideration being ever very much below my thoughts; nor to oblige the World, that being as much above my expectation: but having an incurable humour of ſcribling upon me, I believ'd I could not chooſe a braver Subject for my Friends diverſion, and my own Entertainment than this, wherein I thought at leaſt I diſcover'd as much Variety of Revolution, and accident as is any where in no larger a Volume to be found; beſides ſomething of utility, here being a general account of the moſt important Tranſactions of Europe for above threeſcore years together, and in one continued ſeries of Diſcourſe, which are otherwiſe only to be pick'd up out of ſeveral Authors, and moſt of them omitted in all: but that which gave me the greateſt invitation (beſides the Character of Honour that continues throughout the whole thred of his Life) was the great example of uncorrupted Loyalty the Duke of Eſpernon ever retain'd in all his Exigencies, and Diſgraces; a Vertue which though none of the Nobility of this Kingdom (for whom this is chiefly deſign'd) need to be informed in, 'tis nevertheleſs a glorious Record, and ought to be in Hiſtory, that ſucceeding times may ſee after what manner a good Subject (how powerful ſoever) ought to behave himſelf, how; or how unkindly ſoever his Prince ſhall pleaſe to diſpoſe of his Perſon, and Fortune. This conſideration it was, that after a firſt, and ſecond reading of this brave life (though every year of it contains variety enough to furniſh out a Hiſtory) which I muſt confeſs to have been the greateſt temptation that decoy'd me into this undertaking, eſpecially when I reflected upon the times we our ſelves have too lately ſeen, when Loyalty was not very much in faſhion, or not to be owned without manifeſt ruine. And although I know very well we have Examples enow of Vertue, Bravery, Wiſdom, Fidelity, and Honour in perſons of our own Nation, as well Kings as Subjects, Princes of the Blood, Generals, Eccleſiaſticks, and Stateſmen, both of Former, and the preſent Age, and the meaneſt of thoſe Lives ſufficient to create as beautiful a Story; yet of thoſe the Dead are many of them already recorded beyond my imitation, and to Write in Praiſe of the Living (beſides the danger of ſtanding ſuſpected, either of Flattery, or Deſign) were to offend the modeſty natural to all generous minds.

In

In the next place, I am to acquaint my Reader, that the Author of this History Monſieur Girard *was Secretary to the Duke of* Eſpernon, *and a very extraordinary perſon in himſelf, as you will find in the Texture, Diſpoſition, and Elegancy of the Whole, in deſpight of my ill handling; by which advantages he muſt doubtleſs be able to give the beſt, and trueſt accounts of any whoever, both of his Maſters private affairs, and the general Tranſactions of that time, he being (eſpecially in the Duke's later Years) continually employ'd by him, and the Duke himſelf being ſo eternally upon the Scene of Action, that we ſhall ſeldom find him retir'd, and alone in the whole courſe of his Life. And although his dependence upon this great perſon may render his teſtimony ſuſpected to ſome, he is however ſo generally allow'd by the moſt Intelligent, and ſuch as are beſt read in the Affairs of that Kingdom, for a faithful Hiſtorian, that the truth of the Story ought to Balance any other defect of the Work.*

Laſtly, in the behalf of my Bookſeller Mr. Brome *(to whoſe Kindneſs I owe more, than I can pay him by this Impreſſion) I am to ſay, that although I dare not anſwer how far this Hiſtory may ſuffer by my Overſights, or Miſtakes, or by the Faults eſcap'd the Preſs, which (I know not by what accident) are very many, and ſome of them very conſiderable; yet I dare pronounce it one of the beſt things I have ſeen in that Language, I do not mean for the Excellency, or Harmony of the Stile, which in the Original it ſelf, though the words there be very Significant, Elegant, and admirably well choſen, is notwithſtanding none of the ſmootheſt I have read: but for the importance of the Subject, wherein you will find much of the Policy of that time, not only of* France *it ſelf, but moreover of the Courts of* England, Rome, Spain, Savoy, Germany, Sweeden, *and the* States of the United Provinces, *together with a Narrative of all the moſt celebrated Battels, Skirmiſhes, Rencounters, Combats, Sieges, Aſſaults, and Stratagems for above threeſcore years together, with the Deſcriptions of the Strengths, Situations, and diſtances of Cities, Towns, Caſtles, Cittadels, Forts, Rivers, Countries, Seigneuries, Juriſdictions, and Provinces, and all this collected, and deliver'd by a Judicious, and Impartial Hand, an extraordinary effect of a* French *Pen, that Nation (eſpecially in Records that immediately concern their own Honour) having been commonly obſerv'd to be very civil to themſelves: So that methinks the Dignity of the Subject, and the Ingenuity of the Author conſider'd, a work how unhappily ſoever perform'd by me, undertaken nevertheleſs meerly for the common benefit, and delight, ought not to be diſcountenanc'd, nor very ill receiv'd.*

Yet do I not (though in the foregoing Paragraph, I have diſcover'd ſomething of the Charlatan in the behalf of my Bookſeller) hereby intend

tend to beg any favour for my self, or by these large promises to bribe my Reader into milder Censures; neither do I think it fit to provoke him by a defiance; for that were to be an ill Man, as well as an ill Writer. I therefore franckly, and without condition expose my self to every mans Judgment, of which such as appear civil to me are my Friends, and I shall owe them the same respect, when it shall be my turn to Judg, as it is now to be censur'd: Those who will not be so, I shall threaten no further, than to put them in mind, that if ever they attempt any thing of the same nature, they will then lie under the same disadvantage I now do, and consequently may meet with the same Injustice.

The

THE AUTHORS APOLOGY.

I Doubt not but many, who in the Front of this Book ſhall meet with no more than the bare title of the *Life of the Duke of* Eſpernon, will be very much ſurpriz'd; and conſequently I expect to be by them condemn'd for having burthen'd the Preſs with ſo large a Volume upon no other account, than the meer Narrative of one particular Life: but if ſuch ſhall conſider that this Life continued for almoſt an Age, and that it was continually taken up in the greateſt and moſt remarkable Tranſactions of all that time, that conſideration will doubtleſs conquer their aſtoniſhment, and it may then perhaps fall out, that inſtead of the Imputation I have ſo much apprehended, they will allow me ſome Excuſe, if not ſome Commendation, in that I have not been ſparing of a few words, to the end ſo many brave and glorious Actions might be the better, and more truly known.

In treating of a Perſon ſo highly concern'd as the Duke of *Eſpernon* was in the general Affairs of the Kingdom, I have been conſtrain'd to rip up a great many paſſages already upon Record, and ſo ancient, as near an hundred years ago; by which means my work will in many places be ſtript of that grace of Novelty, which of it ſelf would have been a conſiderable Ornament to it: but having obſerv'd withal that many of the things already publiſh'd, have not been deliver'd with that laudable candour, and indifferency (the principal Vertue of Hiſtorians) that the moſt exact have omitted many circumſtances (which are oft-times preferable to the main ſcope of the thing it ſelf) and that ſeveral Exploits, the Honour whereof was abſolutely, and indiſputably due to him, whoſe Hiſtory I have undertaken, have been either diſguis'd, or unjuſtly attributed to others who had no ſhare in the execution, I conceiv'd that by the reverence to truth I ſtood oblig'd to clear thoſe miſtakes, and in ſeveral paſſages to vindicate the Duke's honeſt intentions, againſt ſuch as were evidently paſſionate againſt his perſon, and emulous of his Honour.

Theſe indeed were the principal inducements that have ſometimes tempted me out of the preciſe limits of the Duke of *Eſpernon's* Life, and that have adminiſtred occaſion to ſtretch ſome of his Actions beyond their natural extent, and beyond what directly touch'd his own perſon; not that I needed notwithſtanding to ſeek matter out of the way of my deſign; for where could I poſſibly have choſen out a more ample or a more illuſtrious Subject? there is hardly any ſo notable event, or ſo high performance within the proſpect of Hiſtory, or in the viciſſitude of worldly revolution, of which glorious, and extraordinary Examples are not here to be found Could any thing be imagin'd more active, or more

vigorous in his prosperity, or more constant, and even in all the disgraces that befel him, than this great man was? Since then upon these two principles, Valour and Fortitude, all life depends, and that from the manner of a man's Behaviour in Prosperities, and his manly supporting the Adversities of Fortune, are extracted all the precepts for the conduct of Humane Life, what utility may we not propose to our selves, from the great examples both of the one, and the other, which are every where to be met with in the current of this History?

It is not nevertheless, that we may not perhaps sometimes observe some flying Clouds in this Serene Firmament of Vertue, that constancy so much celebrated for the most eminent quality in him, of whose Actions I have undertaken to give an account, having not always been acquitted from censure. He has been sometimes accus'd of too severe, and too obstinate a humour, in that he would never give place to time, nor accommodate himself to the necessity of Affairs; and that he would never yield, not even then when he saw he could not contend, but to his own manifest Ruine. I cannot deny, but that in this particular there was something to have been wish'd, if men would have the Vertue of the Great confin'd within the narrow bounds of common Prudence: but were it not in the mean time to offer violence to those great Souls, elevated so much above the ordinary condition of men, to subject their actions to the Rules of others? It is very true that this Duke could never temporize in the least, nor ever gave way to any thing that justled his Humour; that on the contrary he has often pusht things on to the last extremes, and that from very trivial and light beginnings he has pull'd upon himself many, and great Disgraces: but if in this particular any thing may be found wherewith to reproach his Conduct, what Praises are not due to his Courage, that could never bend, nor bow under the highest Persecutions? Something essential would have been wanting in his Life, had he been always happy; and he contributed no little to his glory, in sometimes promoting his own Misfortunes, they having made a discovery of Qualities in him, which in a continual prosperity would have been totally buried, and conceal'd.

So brave an Argument does, I must confess, deserve a far better Pen than mine to do it right, and I am sufficiently conscious of my own imperfection, to think my self infinitely below the dignity of my Subject; neither was it any vain design of publishing my own Name, that prompted me to this attempt; and had I had no greater a reverence to the Reputation of another, than any respect to my own, I had never embarqu'd in this design. I very well understand to what a man exposes himself who submits to a publick Judgment; but I have consider'd withal, that it were a very great weakness to decline an honourable Undertaking for fear of a little Censure. I do herein discharge a Debt, and I do it with the best I have. I owe all things to him whose Life I have here

Written,

Written, he brought me up from my younger years by his bounty, nouriſh'd me by his Favour, in the height of his Diſgraces honour'd me with his confidence, and truſt; he moreover gratified me with ſeveral, and thoſe ſignal Benefits: Is it not juſt then, that at leaſt I ſhould manifeſt my gratitude by a few words?

Yet although I ſtand prepoſſeſs'd by ſo many Obligations, I am nevertheleſs more certain that no one ſhall find me out of that Conſideration, corrupted in my Benefactors Favour; who having undertaken to give a true and ſincere account of things, I ſhall by no means impoſe upon the publick belief: Neither do I indeed deſign his Elegy herein, but meerly to give an exact Narrative of his Actions, wherein the native truth ſhall be the only part of Hiſtory he ſhall receive from my Endeavour; all the reſt ſhall be wanting, and I have had no little ado to perſwade my ſelf to give my Book ſo eminent a Title, knowing what Reſpect is due to that great Name, and to ſuch, as in their better Writings have given him his juſt Character of Honour.

I have not throughout my whole Work ſpoken to the diſadvantage of any one perſon, either out of Animoſity or Deſign; and if my Paſſions went hand in hand with the Intereſts of my Maſter in the time of his Life, they alſo went out with his, when extinguiſh'd by the hand of Death. I do not nevertheleſs pretend to have been ſo dextrous, as to have ſatisfied all thoſe of whom I have been oblig'd to ſpeak in the order of the following Treatiſe, ſome Hiſtorical Truths having perhaps ſlipt in, which may not be very acceptable to ſuch, as would have all things granted to them, and will not allow to others the liberty of a bare recital: but I did not conceive my ſelf oblig'd to ſubmit to that magiſterial Law, and therefore have reſerv'd the liberty (not extending to injury) an honeſt man ought to be jealous of, that he may keep himſelf from being a ſlave to other mens humours by a mean complacency.

I could ſome years ago have deliver'd this work to the Light, and had then done it, had not the diſorders of the time put all things into ſo great confuſion, that it was long before I could gather my *Meſmoires*, which were diſpers'd into ſeveral hands, together again. Now at laſt by the command of thoſe who have moſt Authority with me, and at the inſtance of my Friends, I here preſent them to your view. I wiſh they may give ſatisfaction both to the one, and the other, and I could be content that ſatisfaction might proceed further, and extend to the generality of men: but being I cannot reaſonably expect that good Fortune upon any other account, than meerly as an act of Favour, I ſhall make no difficulty to beg that grace of all ſuch as ſhall have the Curioſity, or the Patience to read theſe followng Volumes.

The Reader is desir'd to look over the Errata, and to correct them with his Pen, before he begin to read the Book.

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THE

THE HISTORY Of the LIFE of the Duke of Eſpernon.

The First Book.

JOHN Lewis *de Nogaret*, and *de la Valette* Duke of *Eſpernon*, whoſe Hiſtory I attempt to write, though he were, in the Progreſs of a long Life, for the moſt part the Favourite of Fortune, ſtood notwithſtanding no leſs oblig'd to Nature for the advantages he came into the world withal by his Noble Extraction. He was deſcended from an Illuſtrious Family in the Higher *Gaſcony*, and ſo ancient, that it has continued above five hundred years from Male to Male, without interminſſion; a truth I could without much difficulty prove, out of the Records, and Evidences in my Cuſtody, did not his Genealogy, already drawn by a more skilful hand, render that pains unneceſſary in this place. I ſhall therefore only undertake a Narrative of the Principal Actions of his Life, without troubling my Reader, or my ſelf, with a ſuperfluous Catalogue of his Anceſtors. The Dukes Extraction.

The matter, of which I intend to treat, is of it ſelf ſo ample, as might find work enough for a better Pen; and although birth be acknowledg'd by all to be the foundation, upon which all ſuperſtructures

of Fortune do ordinarily erect themſelves, I ſhould not nevertheleſs make any mention of this Dukes, had not the merit and vertue of *John de Valette* his Father ſuch a relation to the Hiſtory of his Son, as will not permit their names to be ſeparated without manifeſt injury to the one, or the other.

Finding my ſelf then oblig'd to look a little back, and to ſay ſomething of his Father before I come to him, I ſhall tell you (with the beſt Hiſtorians of that time) that he was rank'd amongſt the greateſt Captains of this Kingdom; and that by the meer conſideration of his Prudence, and Valour, without any advantage of Favour, he was made *Camp-Maſter* to the Light Horſe of *France*, and the Kings Lieutenant General in *Guienne*; a Province abounding in Nobility, and Gentry, and men of ſuch ſpirits, as would have made a difficulty of their Obedience to any Superiour, where there had not been an indiſputable concurrence of Merit, and Blood. But theſe two qualities, happily meeting in the perſon of *Mounſier de la Valette*, gave him ſo great an intereſt, if not ſo abſolute a power in that Countrey, that notwithſtanding it was during the time of his Government unquiet and mutinous in many places, and in ſome even to a contempt of the Kings Royal Power; yet his Authority, never received in thoſe very places the leaſt affront, or contradiction. He commanded Armies in chief, which were led, paid, arm'd, provided for, and kept together by his Conduct and Care; and I my ſelf have ſeen many Acts and Monuments of that time which ſufficiently diſcover the Power and Dignity he preſerv'd entire, even in the moſt difficult functions of his charge.

It was he, who in the Battels of *Dreux*, of *Jarnac*, and of *Moncountour*, who in the Skirmiſhes of *Jaſennes*, of *René le Duc*, and in all the moſt ſignal actions of his time, exerciſing the Office of *Camp-Maſter* to the Light Horſe, by his courage and conduct won to himſelf a principal ſhare of the Honour due to the ſucceſſes of the Royal Arms; and chiefly in the Battel of *Jarnac*, which he undertook with ſo much prudence, and fought it with ſo much bravery, that * they who write the Tranſactions of that time, attribute ſupereminently to him the reputation of that dayes Victory.

* *D'Avila.*

It was he that made the brave Retreat of *Houdan*, one of the moſt memorable Exploits of that Age, which, though it be recorded by other Writers, deſerves to be recited here; and the circumſtances, which I have ſeveral times heard repeated to the Duke his Son, will not render a relation ſuſpected that ſtands juſtified by our own * Hiſtorians.

* Mr. *De Thou* *D'Aubigné.*

The *Hugonot* Army had laid ſiege to the City of *Chartres*, and that

that of the King was dispos'd to relieve it; but that being a work of greater preparation, and leisure, than the condition of the besieged could well admit, the Royal Party conceiv'd, that to disturb the Enemies Camp with frequent Alarums would give the defendants some convenient respite, till a sufficient succour might be made ready to come. *Mounsieur de la Valette* was he that would take upon him to execute this design, and accordingly keeping himself for the most part on Horseback, he gave so good an account of what he had undertaken, that few dayes past wherein he obtain'd not some signal advantage over the Enemy: Now beating up one quarter, now alarming another, with such an active and unwearied diligence, as put the Enemy to an uninterrmitted duty, and forc'd them continually to stand to their Arms.

Remarkable exploits of *John de la Valette* the Duke's Father.

The Admiral *Coligny*, who commanded at this Leaguer under the Prince of *Conde*, nettled at the inconveniences his Army suffered by these frequent inroads of *Mounsieur de la Valette*, meditated with himself a revenge, and to lay a Trap to catch him: to which purpose he stole privately from his Camp with 3500 Horse; *Mounsieur de la Valette* having but 500 in all, lay baiting his Horses in a Wood for the execution of his enterprize. The Admiral, who had observ'd his motion, surpriz'd him in this posture, set upon him, and charg'd him, almost before perceiv'd: notwithstanding all which, he found a brave resistance, and *Mounsieur de la Valette* without being astonish't, either at the presence of so great a Captain, or the inequality of their Armies, having given his Souldiers time to mount, charg'd him several times with advantage, and made good his Retreat for six Leagues together in the open Countrey of *Beausse*, the Admiral never being able, during the retreat, either to break his order, or force him to a general engagement: an action of so high a repute, that there are few Historians who have not set a particular mark upon it for one of the most memorable of that time.

If we yet pass from his publick actions of Command, to enquire into the private engagements of his single person, I can perhaps fit you with as remarkable a story of that kind as you have read. *Jane Albret* Queen of *Navarre*, a great Fautress to those of the Reformed Religion, of which she her self also made publick Profession, desirous to draw all places within her demean into the same perswasion, presented her self before *Leitoure* to be there receiv'd. A Town of so advantageous a situation, and therefore so considerable in *Guienne*, that the successive Governours of that Province have ever had a particular regard to the preservation of that place, *Mounsieur de la Valette* who had received private Instructi-

ons from King *Charles* the Ninth, to have an eye to the actions of this Princeſs, and to fruſtrate her deſigns; but with all outward ſhew of reſpect (the King being unwilling to break openly with her) having intelligence, that ſhe meant to attempt that place, prevented her by his diligence, and at her coming refus'd her entrance into that Town. The Queen highly incens'd at this affront, makes her complaint to the King, who, to ſatisfie her, ſeem'd in publick to condemn an action, which in his heart he highly approv'd, commanding him to go as far as *Pau*, where the Queen then reſided, and there by all the ſubmiſſive means imaginable to make his excuſe. *Mounſieur de la Valette* having received this command, attended only by one Page very well mounted, and another inferiour ſervant, takes his journey to the Queen; to whom he humbly offer'd all the excuſes, and ſubmiſſions, that the dignity of the offended party could reaſonably exact from a meaner offender, and for a higher offence: But this Princeſs, of a ſex and condition not apt to forget an Injury, was by no means ſatisfied with whatever he could ſay to appeaſe her; and whether it were, that ſhe diſcover'd to two Gentlemen of her Court, whereof one was called *Pinſons*, and the other *Biſquerre*, that nothing but the death of *Mounſieur de la Valette* could ſatisfie her; or that they of themſelves (as Courts ordinarily produce wicked inſtruments enough to execute the paſſions of the Great) voluntarily meditated his ruine, is yet to be diſcover'd: But ſo it was that theſe two combin'd together to lie in wait for him by the way he was to return, and to diſpatch him. *Mounſieur de la Valette* having taken his leave of *Pau*, without being able with all the ſubmiſſion he could uſe, and with all the Intereſt he could make, to reconcile himſelf to the Queen, was now on his own way home in the ſame equipage he came, when his ſervant, looking accidentally back, perceiv'd three men ruſh out of a Wood hard by, and the two formoſt (who were arm'd) to come upon the ſpur directly towards his Maſter, the third it ſeems being (as it was afterward reported) one of the Queens Domeſticks, ſent rather to be a witneſs of, than an aſſiſtant in the intended aſſaſinate. *Mounſieur de la Valette* at the firſt ſight apprehending them for what indeed they were, and their buſineſs for what really it was, immediately commanded his Page to alight, and having mounted his Horſe, ſpur'd boldly upon them, with ſo much gallantry and ſucceſs, that he left them both dead upon the place. I have often ſeen the Sword he made uſe of in this occaſion, and have often heard the manner of the action related to the Duke in the very ſame terms I deliver it here.

From this wiſe and valiant Captain (the Epithetes with which all

all the Hiſtorians of that time have honoured the Vertue of this great man) and from *Jane de Saint Lary de Bellegarde*, Siſter to the *Mareſchal de Bellegarde*, and Niece to the *Mareſchal de Termes*, were deſcended *Bernard*, *Jean Louis*, and another *Jean de Nogaret*, and *de la Valette*, the eldeſt in the year 1553. *Jean Louis* in *May*, 1554, and the youngeſt died almoſt as ſoon as born. They had likewiſe iſſue three Daughters, *Helene*, *Catharine*, and *Mary*, the eldeſt of which having engaged her affection, before her Brother roſe to favour, with the Marquess of *Rouillac* a young Gentleman of good quality in the Countrey, preferr'd him to many others her Brother afterwards offered to her: The ſecond was married to the Count *de Bouchage* Brother to the Duke of *Joyeuſe* fellow Favourite with *Jean Louis*, from which match ſprung *Catherine de Joyeuſe* now Dutcheſs of *Guiſe*. The laſt married the Count of *Brienne*, of the Houſe of *Luxemberg*, and ſhe died without Iſſue, within a few years after ſhe was married.

The two Brothers *Bernard*, and *Jean Louis*, having been brought up in their Fathers Houſe till the ages of thirteen, and fourteen years, were from thence ſent to the Colledge of *Navarre* at *Paris*, there to continue their ſtudies; where, amongſt other inſtructions, they had particular charge often to ſee, and diligently to obſerve *Mounſieur de Villeroy*, then Secretary of State, and a man lookt upon as an extraordinary perſon in that imployment. *Mounſieur de la Valette* eſteeming him for his intimate, and aſſured friend, hoped in him to eſtabliſh ſuch a friendſhip for his Children in their greener years, as might one day be of great uſe and advantage to them: ſo hard it is, even for the wiſeſt to foreſee the events of things, this very man proving at laſt, amongſt all the great Miniſters, that govern'd the Affairs of that time, the only, or the greateſt enemy to their Advancement and Fortune.

After ſome years continuance of their ſtudies at *Paris*, the report of a War, ſpread from all parts, ſo enflam'd the noble courages of theſe two young Gentlemen, that it was impoſſible longer to reſtrain them from the exerciſe of Arms. They conſidered Letters now as an obſtacle to ſomething nobler they conceiv'd themſelves oblig'd to profeſs; ſo that their Governour fearing ſome ſally of youth, ſhould he carry too rude a hand over them, was conſtrain'd to give *Mounſieur de la Valette* timely notice of the diſpoſition of his Sons. *Anno* 1570.

Their Father either unwilling to croſs them in their firſt deſires, or loth to diſcourage ſo early and ſo generous reſolutions, and conſidering the maturity of their age, now grown up to Man, and fit to undergo the hardſhips of War, upon the firſt intimation call'd

call'd them home, to place them by his own ſide, there to ſhare with him the fortune of War, which chanc'd to be about the beginning of the troubles that happened in the year 1570.

Mounſieur de la Valette, having by the great ſervices he had done the King in his Armies attracted the envy or jealouſie of the other Chiefs, who were more diligent at Court than he, was by their procurement ſent away into his Government to oppoſe, as was pretended, the deſigns and enterprizes, that thoſe of the Reformed Religion daily practiſed in ſeveral parts of that Province. And whether this were effectively the true, or but the pretended cauſe of his diſpatch into *Guienne*, ſo it was that he was commanded there to reſide, which he accordingly did, and during that reſidence perform'd many notable exploits, to the advantage of his Maſters Intereſt: amongſt which I cannot omit the mention of one, that particularly relates to the honour of his ſecond Son, whoſe Hiſtory I have undertaken, and to whom his Father had given the name of *Caumont*, by which we ſhall for ſome time call him. In an encounter that happened near to *Mauvaſin*, whether *Mounſieur de la Valette* had carry'd his two Sons, he charg'd ſo far into the Enemies Body, that his Horſe being kill'd under him, he was himſelf in manifeſt danger of his life, when *Caumont* ſeeing his Father in that peril, threw himſelf deſperately in amongſt them, and being well ſeconded by ſome few of the Troop, behav'd himſelf ſo well as to diſengage and bring him off; paying in this firſt trial of his Arms, by an act of no leſs Piety than Valour, part of the obligation due to him from whom he had receiv'd his being. And this was his firſt exploit.

The firſt Exploit of *Jean Louis* called *Caumont*.

Anno 1573. He paſt ſome years at this rate under his Fathers Diſcipline, but a Province was a Theatre too narrow for the acts his courage was likely to produce, ambition began already to make him aſpire to greater things; which his Father perceiving, and willing to encourage ſo generous a paſſion, reſolv'd to ſend him, together with his elder Brother, to the Siege of *Rochelle*, that was then ſitting down. He was the rather enclin'd to ſend them to that place, becauſe he himſelf was to have no ſhare in the honour of that action, prevented by the jealouſie of the *Mareſchals de Byron*, and *Bellegarde*, who although they were both of them his near relations, and the beſt reputed Captains of their time, employ'd nevertheleſs their utmoſt intereſt to hinder *Mounſieur de la Valette*, from ſerving in that occaſion. They very well knew his merit, with the favour, and eſteem, he had with the Duke of *Anjou*, who was to command at that Siege, and foreſeeing that ſuch a concurrent, as he, was likely not a little to eclipſe the glory they intended to engroſs wholly

wholly to themſelves, they carried on their deſign with that dexterity, that he was not ſo much as once call'd to that ſervice. This ill office was ſo much the more ſenſible to him, as it made him loſe the *Mareſchals* Staff, which had been promis'd him before; an injury that, no doubt, he would have diſcover'd, how highly he had reſented, had he not been prevented by Death, the Arbiter of all Humane Controverſies. All he could at that time do (to let them ſee he underſtood them to be no friends of his) was to forbid his Sons to ſee them, or to be preſented by either of them to the Duke of *Anjou*; deſiring rather they ſhould receive that favour from the Duke of *Guiſe*, a Prince with whom he had acquir'd a great intereſt, as having often ſerv'd under his Command; but moſt ſignally at the Battel of *Dreux*, where he fought at the head of the Reſerve, with which, when all other hopes were loſt, the Duke won that day, and wholly routed the Enemies victorious Army. To him therefore he commanded his Sons to addreſs themſelves, for their acceſs to the Duke, an occaſion the Duke of *Guiſe* embrac'd with ſo much fervour, and preſented them after that obliging manner, with that honourable mention of the Fathers great Merit, and the great hope of his Sons, that they could not poſſibly have choſen out a man, that could more handſomly, more obligingly, or with greater integrity have perform'd ſo important an Office. The infinite civility of the Duke of *Guiſe*, together with the ſingular, and natural art he had to acquire men to him, gain'd *Caumont* ſo abſolutely to his ſervice, that it was with no little reluctancy, that he afterwards withdrew himſelf from him; which nevertheleſs he was ſhortly after enforc't to do, the divers intereſts that ſway'd the one and the other, looking ſo ſeveral wayes, that it was not poſſible longer to continue their intelligence. Their friendſhip began to grow cold, before it came to an open Rupture; *Caumont* not having receiv'd from the Duke, that ſupport, and aſſiſtance, he promis'd to himſelf, from ſo powerful, and ſo ſincere a friend, as he took him to be: But that which ſtrook the main blow was this: The death of *Monnſieur de la Valette* immediately following the Siege of *Rochelle*, his ſeveral Employments lay vacant by his deceaſe, which made *Caumont* repair to Court, in hopes by the Dukes favour at leaſt to obtain the charge of *Camp-Maſter* to the Light Horſe for his elder Brother, (neither of them yet preſuming by reaſon of their youth to pretend to the Lieutenancy of *Guienne*) which the Duke of *Guiſe* not only peremptorily refus'd to intermeddle in, but withal carried on the intereſt of ſome other pretenders, with ſo much vigour and efficacy, that in fine he excluded both the Brothers from all

Anno 1574.

Anno 1574. all their Fathers employments. Upon which unexpected unkindness *Caumont* retir'd so much dissatisfied with the Duke, that since that time, neither his Brother, nor he, ever had any complacency for the house of *Guise*.

The Brothers after this repulse spent some time at home in order to a settlement of their own private affairs, which the quietness of that time (a general Peace being before concluded) gave them leisure enough to do. But *Caumont* was impatient of this Countrey life, and seeing there was now no more employment for his Armes, he put himself into an equipage to go to Court, to try if he could, by his own endeavours, obtain that for himself, which the memory of his Fathers great services had not power to retain to his forgotten Family. It was about the end of the Year 1574. that he undertook this journey, King *Henry* the Third being then newly return'd from *Poland*, a Prince infinitely enclin'd to Peace, and to that, *Catharine de Medicis* his Mother being also wearied out with the former troubles, they bent their joynt endeavours to the continuing of Affairs in the same quiet posture they then were, to the extinguishing of all old discontents, and to the avoiding all possible occasions of new. They knew very well that none had power to beget new mischiefs, or to disturb the present Peace of the Kingdom, except the Duke of *Alanson*, or the King of *Navarre*, both which they politickly made, as it were, prisoners to the Court, by the vigilancy of Spies, though without Guards: or other visible marks of restraint. The King of *Navarre*, as he whose Courage, and great Qualities were more to be suspected, had the stricter eye upon him; and although he profest himself a Catholick, yet his Fortune, and Confederates, obliging him to the contrary Religion, they were in a perpetual jealousie, lest he should at one time or another embrace the Profession, and Party of those with whom his neerest concerns and chiefest interests lay. The Queen Mother, one of the most experienc'd Princesses of her time, and a Woman whose Prudence, and subtlety extended to all the Arts of Government, knowing as well how upon occasion to order the allurements of Peace, as to guide and govern the more important Affairs in the Tumults of War, being no stranger to the amorous inclinations of the King of *Navarre*, by daily invitations to Playes, Masques, Revels, and other entertainments, made the Court continually to shine in all the lustre and temptation of Beauty, if possible to divert the designs, and to soften the Martial humour of this Prince, in the more delicate delights of vacancy and peace: which kind of life, it may easily be imagin'd, could not be unpleasant to a man so young,

Caumonts first Journey to Court.

Anno 1575. 1576.

young, and ſo enclin'd as the King then was. The Court being now nothing but jollity, the whole Nobility of *France* had nothing elſe to do, but to divide themſelves according to their ſeveral inclinations into the Parties, and Factions of theſe two young Princes; amongſt which *Caumonts* particular liking, and Affection to his perſon, and great vertues having enclin'd him to the King of *Navarres* ſide, he was by him receiv'd with ſo infinite reſpect and kindneſs, that in a very ſhort time he ſtood equal to the beſt in the higheſt degree of Favour, and truſt. Of which the King could not give him a greater teſtimony, than by diſcovering to him his intended eſcape from Court, and by commending thereby ſo important a ſecret to his fidelity, and aſſiſtance. *Anno* 1576.

Our Hiſtories have glanc'd at the grounds upon which the King took this reſolution, which he ſhortly after executed with great ſecreſie, and a very ſlender train; For pretending to go hunt in the Parks of Saint *Germains*, he thence with only four or five of his greateſt confidents (of which number *Caumont* was one) made his eſcape. I have often heard him ſay, that he thought himſelf ſo oblig'd by that favour, that he had never ſeparated himſelf from that Prince, had not he firſt ſeparated himſelf from his obedience to the Church. The memoires of Queen *Mar.*

He accompanied him in his retirement as far as *Alenſon*, whither the King was no ſooner come, but that his Phyſician invited him to be God-father to one of his Children. The Ceremony was performed in the *Hugonot* Congregation, and after their Directory, as it may be preſum'd, it was beforehand determined it ſhould be. Whereupon *Caumont*, taking the uſual liberty the King had ever till that time freely allow'd him, converted all the paſſages of that Ceremony into Mirth and Laughter: But the King, afraid no doubt leſt this ſhould produce ſome effect that might hinder his main deſigns, ſecretly chid him, for what he had already done, giving him caution for the future to forbear ſuch railleries, and to behave himſelf with more reſpect in occaſions wherein he himſelf was ſo ſeriouſly concern'd. Which ſharp reproof giving *Caumont* ſufficiently to underſtand, that although the King did not as yet make publick profeſſion of that Religion, yet that he was notwithſtanding ſo moderate, and ſo lukewarm a Catholick, that he only wanted a handſome opportunity to do it. He reſolv'd alſo to quit his ſervice upon the firſt occaſion that fairly preſented it ſelf: An effect (beſides his own Devotion to the Church) of a ſolemn Promiſe his Brother and he had joyntly made to their dying Father, never to ſerve other than a Catholick Prince. From thenceforward therefore, he ſought all opportunities, civilly to diſingage *Aubigné.*

Anno 1576.

himself from the service of this King, which soon after a light Indisposition of body gave him a handsome Pretense to do; for finding himself not very well, and continuing some few dayes in the same distemper without any amendment, he intreated leave to retire into the privacy and convenience of his own house, for the recovery of his health; which the King (though he doubtless well enough understood the meaning of that request) without any difficulty, or the least shew of unkindness, freely permitted him to do.

Caumont. withdraws himself from the King of *Navarre.*

France began now to see it self threatned with the approaching troubles, which the Duke of *Alenson's*, and the King of *Navarre's* departure from Court, (happening much about the same time) shortly after produc'd in the Kingdom; neither could the Queen Mother, notwithstanding her great vigilancy, and care to prevent those disorders, the discontents of these two Princes, together with those of the *Hugonot* Faction, were likely to bring upon the State, with all her industry and prudence hinder men, in that *Crisis* of Affairs, from running into the tumult of Armes. It was in this juncture of time, that *Caumont* prepar'd himself for a second journey to Court: He had had the honour to be known to the King, first at the Siege of *Rochelle*, and afterwards in his dependence upon the King of *Navarre*; so that these preceding habitudes and acquaintance, made him resolve to go, and tye himself directly to his Majesties person and service. Having therefore left his own house with this resolution, he takes his journey to *Burdeaux*, where the Marquess *de Villars*, a great friend and an old companion in Armes of *Monsieur de la Valette* his Father, and now Governour of *Guienne*, then resided; and where he was not a little busie to provide against the disorders which at that time threatned that Province. *Caumont* at his arrival gives him a visit, acquaints him with the true design of his journey, and withal offers his service, if he had any to command him to Court. *Villars* readily accepts his offer, charges him with Letters of Credit to the King, and, the wayes betwixt *Burdeaux* and *Poitiers* being very difficult to pass by reason of the continual inroads of the *Hugonot* party, he informs him of the particular state of the Countrey, instructs him in the safest wayes he was to pass, and finally gives him a full accompt of the posture wherein his Majesties Affairs then stood; that he might thereupon receive new orders from the King and Council. *Caumont*, being glad to present himself to their Majesties with the advantage of so considerable a service, departs, throughly instructed in all the Affairs of *Guienne*, from *Burdeaux* to *Angoulesme*; where he further discourses about his Government

Caumont's second journey to Court, and the beginning of his Favour.

vernment with the Marqueſs of *Rufee*, Governour of that Town, and Countrey, and by him findes matters there to be in no better a condition, than thoſe of *Guienne*. *Rufee* had made a late denial of that place to the Heads of the *Hugonot* party, to whom by the Treaty of *Champigny*, made with the Duke of *Alenſon*, it ſhould have been delivered up for a Cautionary Town. He informs himſelf of the reaſons of *Rufees* refuſal in this caſe, with other things that concern'd the Kings Service in that Countrey, and continues his journey from thence to *Poitiers*, by the houſes of Gentlemen his acquaintance, ſometimes with Convoys, but for the moſt part in the ſlender guard of his own inconſiderable train. At laſt by ſhort and wary journeys he arrives at Court, which was then at *Blois*, though with infinite difficulty and danger; ſuch was the diſorder, and confuſion, that rag'd in all the Provinces through which he was to paſs. I heard him a few dayes before his death relate all the particulars of this journey, without omitting the leaſt circumſtance that befel him by the way; not without admiration, that a man after threeſcore and odde years ſhould retain ſo perfect a memory of ſuch petty accidents (if ſuch ought to be call'd ſo) as gave a beginning to the eſtabliſhment of ſo prodigious a Fortune. *Anno* 1576.

Being come to Court, he preſented himſelf to the King, deliver'd the ſeveral diſpatches he had from *Villars*, and *Rufee*, giving his Majeſty a particular account of all they had given him in charge. The King immediately commanded him to addreſs himſelf to the Queen Mother, and to inform her fully of the ſame things, being at this firſt Conference highly ſatisfied with his dexterity, and judgement, and mightily taken with his behaviour, and the gracefulneſs he obſerv'd, in whatever he ſaid, or did: neither indeed could there be a more accompliſht Gentleman, than he was at that age of two and twenty, as I have heard men of great judgement ſay, that very well knew him in thoſe times. His Conference with the Queen Mother prov'd no leſs to his advantage with her, than that he had had with the King had done with him; ſhe was pleas'd to give him a gracious audience, and to take a great liking to his Perſon; ſo that the King coming (as it was his conſtant cuſtom) in the evening to confer about buſineſs with her, and asking her if ſhe had ſeen *Caumont*, and what her opinion was of him? the Queen made anſwer, That ſhe had ſeen, and diſcours'd with him, and that it was upon men of his condition and merit, that his Majeſty ought to repoſe the Truſt, and Confidence of his moſt important Affairs: which ſhe ſaid as not being unwilling (to the end ſhe might ſtill keep her dominion *Anno* 1577.

Anno 1577. over the Kings affections) that *Caumont*, though the King had many Favourites already, ſhould yet make one of that number; that ſo his heart, being divided amongſt many, might not too violently encline to one. The King told her he was of her opinion, and the approbation he found in her judgement having juſtified his own inclinations, after he had entertain'd her ſome time with merits of the Father, and the good qualities of the Son, he from thenceforward took a reſolution to receive him into a degree of favour, and to place him near his own perſon,

Yet was it not immediately, notwithſtanding this auſpicious beginning, that *Caumont's* favour began to appear; neither did he on his part cultivate his ſpringing fortune with an aſſiduity, and diligence unbecoming his Spirit, and Blood, for whatever teſtimonies of favour and eſteem the King daily diſcover'd to him, there was nevertheleſs no occaſion of action, which he did not greedily embrace, and for which he did not continually neglect all Court Intereſt, preferring his Honour and Duty before all other Advantages of Fortune. At his return from one of theſe expeditions, he ſoon diſcern'd a coldneſs in his Majeſty towards him; and his Court Rivals, who very well ſaw how precipitiouſly the Kings Affections were bent upon him, had not fail'd on their part, by their ill offices to weaken that intereſt during his abſence, with all the Art, and Malice they had: but his brave ſervices having acquir'd his Maſters Eſteem, he ſoon recovered his former poſſeſſion of Grace, and at laſt ſettled himſelf ſo firm in the Kings Boſom, that the favour, which had for a long time before been divided amongſt many pretenders, was at laſt eſtabliſh'd without reſervation in *Joyeuſe*, and him, though he had ſtill the greateſt ſhare.

I have already obſerv'd, what an effect *Caumonts* negotiation about the Affairs of *Guienne* had produc'd with the King and Queen; neither was he ſo blind to his own intereſt as not to ſee it, nor ſo negligent as not to improve it with all the induſtry he had. Nor was his diligence leſs effectual with the Queen Mother, who bore the greateſt ſway of Affairs, than with the King himſelf, ſhe ever receiving him with great demonſtration of Favour, and Eſteem; which he to continue, or to encreaſe, contracted great Familiarities with ſome of the Maids of Honour of chiefeſt truſt about her, and from their Friendſhip receiv'd no few good Offices in this Foundation of his Fortune.

But neither theſe good Offices, nor the Favour he was by their procurement ſeated in, had yet produc'd any thing to his benefit; 'tis true he was look'd upon with an Eye of Favour, the King would often ſpeak to him, and in all apparence he was in a hopeful

hopeful way, but ſtill this was hitherto only apparence, and he reap'd no other advantage by it until the Duke of *Alenſon*'s expedition, which was the firſt time he taſted of his Maſters Bounty. After the Treaty of *Champigny*, which was a little before this time, the King having deſign'd abſolutely to diſingage his Brother the Duke of *Alenſon* from the *Hugonot* Party, had to that purpoſe given him the command of an Army againſt them. Upon which occaſion *Caumont* fail'd not to prepare himſelf to make one, which the King ſo well approv'd of, that coming to take his leave, his Majeſty having firſt publickly commended his generous deſign, order'd him twelve hundred Crowns of Gold, out of his privy Purſe, to put him into a handſome poſture: A largeſs ſo ſeaſonable as enabled him to put himſelf into a better equipage, than otherwiſe he could conveniently have done; and as he had a mind above his preſent Fortune, he laid out all the Kings Bounty in Horſes, Arms, and other Furniture: but above all, he bought himſelf the fineſt Tent, that could poſſibly be ſeen. The Rendezvous of the Army being appointed to be at *Romorentin*, the King and Queen Mother, being then at *Blois*, would themſelves ſee it; and there diſmiſs the Duke of *Alenſon*, with all poſſible demonſtration of Honour, and Kindneſs. *Caumont* fail'd not to Muſter up his Equipage, upon this occaſion; and for the better advantage, caus'd his Tent to be ſet up in that part of the Camp, that lay moſt in view of the Queens Lodgings, to the end chiefly, that her Maids of Honour might more conveniently ſee it. The King who never fail'd (as I have obſerv'd before) to viſit his Mother once a day, as he was one day leaning with her in her Chamber Window, took particular notice of this Tent, which being for its fineneſs remarkable above the reſt, the King and Queen both fancied it to be *Caumont*'s; and the better to be ſatisfied, ſent one purpoſely to enquire; at whoſe return, finding it to be ſo indeed, his gallantry was highly commended by them both. Soon after coming to take his leave of the King, and to receive his Commands, he was diſmiſt with ſo high teſtimonies of Affection, as might for the future give him juſt occaſion to hope for greater things. Theſe obſervations may perhaps ſeem light to ſome upon ſuch a ſubject; but ſince Fortune ſuffers nothing to be loſt to happy men, and that ſhe is induſtrious to collect, and improve the leaſt of their actions to make them ſucceed to their advantage, I thought it not altogether improper, by her example, to make mention of theſe paſſages; which, how inconſiderable ſoever in themſelves, have been nevertheleſs the ſteps, and gradations, by which this great man afterwards roſe to ſuch an eminence of Fortune.

Anno 1577.

The King's firſt Bounty to *Caumont*.

The

Anno 1577.

Caumont follows the Duke of *Alenſon* in the War.

The Duke of *Alenſons* expedition ſucceeded according to the Kings deſire, he took *la Charité*, and *Iſſoire*, and the Army was in a condition to perform greater things, had not the over-ſtrict League, and Friendſhip betwixt the Duke of *Alenſon*, and the Duke of *Guiſe* (his Lieutenant General in this Employment) begot a ſuſpicion in the King. To break then this Friendſhip, the King began to hearken to overtures of Peace; which, although they were not preſently concluded, yet the meer propoſition was pretenſe enough to call home the Duke of *Alenſon*, and to give *Caumont* opportunity to return to Court. At his coming back he was leſs favourably receiv'd, than he had reaſon to expect, through the jealouſie of thoſe who had been more induſtrious to improve the Kings Favour, than he had been: Yet could not this hinder him (a new occaſion of the Siege of *Brouage* preſenting it ſelf) once more to expoſe, and abandon, his ſpringing Favour to the malicious Offices of his Court-Concurrents. He went to this Siege, where he behav'd himſelf ſo well (as he had done before at *la Charité*, and *Iſſoire*) that in all theſe expeditions he ſtill won the great liking, and approbation of his Generals; who, being juſt to his merit, in the teſtimony of his actions, confirm'd the King more and more in the opinion, he had before conceiv'd, of his Worth and Valour.

He goes to the Siege of *Brouage*.

This eſteem of *Caumont* took at laſt ſo deep root in this Princes Breaſt, that it was no more in the power of Envy to ſhake it; and he had him in ſo high conſideration, that he never us'd him with the leaſt ſeverity, nor ever gave him the leaſt injurious word; an indulgence not common to his other Favourites, who were often ſubject to very paſſionate language: But the King in his noble nature was pleas'd to ſpare a heart, which, he had before obſerv'd, was too ſtout to ſubmit to Injuries, what advantage ſoever might accrue by ſuch a patience. Of which (now we are upon this diſcourſe) I ſhall give you an inſtance in this place; although the thing happened not juſt at this time, but after *Caumont's* more apparent Favour, not tying my ſelf, in theſe youthful relations of him, ſo much to the order of time, as to the truth of things. The King his Maſter being an infinite lover of neatneſs in Cloaths, and being none were admitted into the Bed-Chamber without his white Shooes, black Velvet Galoches, his long Stockings, and other Veſtments wherein they were to obſerve a punctual Decorum, no wonder if the Favourites, who were continually in the Kings Eye, were eſpecially ty'd to theſe ſtrict rules of decency. *Caumont* appearing one day before the King unbutton'd, his Stockings untied, and in a greater negligence, and diſorder, than he

was

was wont to be, receiv'd a ſevere check; nay his chiding proceeded ſo far, as that the King forbad him ever to appear before him again in the like poſture. *Caumont* in his heat interpreting this for an abſolute command, without condition, immediately withdraws himſelf, reſolv'd (as I have ſince heard him ſay) to take Poſt, and for ever to retire himſelf from Court. But the King, who very well knew what an impreſſion his words had made with his Favourite, and fearing leſt the raſhneſs of his Youth might make him commit a fault to his own ruine, commanded him preſently to be call'd back; ſaying, *That his heat and folly would deſtroy him, if he were left to himſelf; but that he had in him withal Qualities, of which good uſe might be made: and, that he would therefore have an eye to his preſervation.* Upon his return the King having chang'd his Humour, *Caumont* chang'd his Reſolution, not without conſidering upon how light an occaſion he was like to have forfeited his Maſters Favour, and to have deſtroyed the hopes of his own riſing Fortune; And from the knowledge of his fault drew this advantage, to become leſs hot, and paſſionate for the future, and to obſerve ſuch an elegancy and neatneſs in his habit, even to an extreme old age, as might ſerve for an example to the younger ſort of men. *Anno* 1577.

The Surrender of *Brouage* was ſoon ſucceeded by a Peace concluded at *Bergerac* about the end of the year 1577. by which ceſſation *Caumont* had liberty to return to Court, and there without any more divertion, or impediment, to husband his Maſters Royal Inclinations towards him. His return from the Siege of *Brouage* to Court.

But as he had many Concurrents in the ſame Deſign, ſo the King for ſome time ſuſpended the declaration of his Favour; though *Caumont* was one of thoſe to whom his Majeſty ſhewed a particular Inclination, and whoſe freedom, and boldneſs was nothing diſpleaſing to him: His Wit, fine Faſhion, and a particular Grace he had in performing all his exerciſes, gave him a great advantage over the other young men of his condition; which he managed ſo well, that he ſtill out-ſhone all his equals, and appear'd the true Favourite in mens opinion, though his Favour was not yet ſo fully manifeſt. All this year 1578. paſt in this deliberation, and the Court was in ſuſpenſe which of all the pretenders to favour would prove to be the Favourites indeed, when at laſt the King in the beginning of the year 1579. at the Ceremony of the inſtitution of the Knights of the Order of the *Holy Ghoſt*, appearing publick with *Caumont*, *Darques* (afterwards Duke of *Joyeuſe*) St. *Luc*, and *D'O* in the ſame Livery with himſelf, there was then no further diſpute of their favour; and upon this diſcovery, all the *Anno* 1578. *Anno* 1579.

Anno 1579. the Courtiers according to their inclinations, or intereſt, divided themſelves into the ſeveral Parties, and dependencies of theſe four great men.

We have now brought *Caumont* upon the great Theatre of the World, expos'd, not only to the ſight, but alſo to the cenſure and envy of moſt men. We ſhall hereafter ſee how he diſingag'd himſelf from thoſe ſnares, and deſigns that were laid by his Adverſaries to undermine his greatneſs, during the ſpace of threeſcore and ten years, which he liv'd after his firſt riſe of Favour.

From the time of this eſtabliſhment of his Fortune, he had the good hap to have all the moſt eminent men about the Court, either for Arts or Arms, to apply themſelves to him. *Mounſieur du Perron*, one of the greateſt Ornaments of his Age, was of this number, together with *Rouſard*, *Des Portes*, and many other perſons of great Merit, and Eſteem. But amongſt them all, *Caumont* taking particular notice of the great worth of *Mounſieur du Perron*, and conſidering his Vertue to be above all the advantages, he in himſelf was able to procure for him; took an eſpecial care to prefer him to the Kings knowledge, and at laſt, with the aſſiduity and recommendation of a true friend, plac'd him in his Majeſties chiefeſt confidence; an Office which he afterwards continued with ſo conſtant a friendſhip, as contributed no little to that greatneſs, to which he was ſometime after advanc'd.

Saint *Blancard* ſince *Mareſchal* of *France*, and Duke *de Biron*, with the greateſt part of the *Gaſcon* Nobility that then follow'd the Court, put themſelves alſo into his dependence: his Employments, and the great credit he had with the King, having in a ſhort time afforded him means to gratifie a number of gallant Gentlemen, and to acquire many Friends, and Servants, whoſe Valour and Fidelity contributed much to the preſervation of his Life, and Fortune. But his youth, having been bred up in the rudeneſs of War, requir'd ſome neceſſary improvements, the better to fit him for his Maſters converſation, who was himſelf the moſt accompliſh'd Prince of his time. The King would take care for this ſecond Education, that he might be the more proper for thoſe Employments, which his Majeſties confidence in him, and the neceſſity of the preſent times, were ſhortly to call him to; and to that purpoſe commanded *Des Portes* to be continually about his Perſon, which he accordingly obey'd; and not only by his diligence better'd him in the *French* Tongue, which then firſt began to purge it ſelf from the Barbariſm of paſt Ages: but having withal found in him a capacity that out-ſtript his Precepts, he in a ſhort time infus'd into him ſuch general notions, as, having open'd his underſtanding, made him capable

pable of thoſe important negotiations in which he was afterwards imploy'd. *Anno* 1579.

The ſame affection which had made the King ſo ſolicitous to embelliſh his Mind, made him no leſs careful to eſtabliſh his Fortune; though he ſtill conceal'd the daily progreſs of his Bounty from him, not being willing it ſeems that he ſhould ſo much as trouble himſelf with the management of his own Domeſtick Affairs; but commanded *Fontenay Mareuil* a Gentleman of quality, and of whoſe integrity his Majeſty had a particular Eſteem, to take upon him that care, and twice a week to bring him an account of *Caumonts* buſineſs, as another Perſon of Quality did of that of *Joyeuſe*. From theſe two Gentlemen the King had ſtill advice, of all Offices, and Revenues, that fell vacant; out of which his Maleſty made choice of ſuch for his two Favourites, as he thought moſt proper, and advantageous for them, and commanded their diſpatch; which afterward *Caumont*, and *Joyeuſe* were to ſolicit, but without the leaſt diſpenſation, notwithſtanding their Favour, from the due and cuſtomary forms of Law; where, if any difficulty, or oppoſition chanc'd to ariſe, his Majeſty ever interpos'd his Juſtice to over-rule them, if juſtly they were to be over-ruled: neither did they ever receive any Grace, or Largeſs, which did not either firſt paſs the Seal, the Chamber of Accounts, or an Act of Parliament.

In theſe beginnings, the two young Favourites were continually call'd to all the Councils, not to give their advice, from which by their immaturity, and inexperience, they were exempt, but to inform, and to inure themſelves to buſineſs: Which the better to exerciſe them in, the King himſelf was pleas'd often in private to propoſe weighty queſtions to them, and to make them debate them before him, without expoſing their early Opinions to the Experience of his graver Council, initiating them with his own Precepts, and forming them with his own hand; and that rather with the tenderneſs and indulgence of a Father to his Children, than with the authority of a Maſter over his Servants,

About this time (as I have already obſerv'd) the Order of the Holy Ghoſt was inſtituted, and the firſt Ceremony was already paſt: where, although *Caumont* had no ſhare, by reaſon of his Youth, but was deferred to the next Creation, which happened a few years after; yet his Majeſty, though he judg'd him too young to be admitted into that honourable Fraternity, thought him notwithſtanding ſufficient to treat with *Philibert* D. of *Savoy*, though he were one of the moſt diſcreet, and moſt circumſpect Princes of his time. This Prince had rais'd a conſiderable Army, which he

Caumont's Embaſſy to *Savoy*.

Anno 1579. intended to imploy against the *Genoveses*; and the King, who was oblig'd to protect them, dispatch'd *Caumont* to the Duke to dissuade him from that enterprize. His negotiation in this Affair met with great difficulties, and infinite oppositions, both from the House of *Austria*, the League, and the Pope; which nevertheless he overcame with that dexterity, that having untied all those knots of State, he obtain'd full satisfaction for the King his Master, and acquir'd so much Reputation, and Esteem with the Duke, as at the same time to obtain a signal Favour, and a timely assistance for himself. The occasion this.

The *Mareschal de Bellegarde* his Uncle, having for some time possest the Kings Favour, was at last, through the ill Offices of some, fallen into disgrace, and had thereupon retir'd himself into the Marquisate of *Saluzzo*, of which Province he had the Government; and whither being come, he had chas'd *Charles Birague*, the Kings Lieutenant in that Marquisate, out of all the Places and strong holds he had formerly possest; which he had taken upon him to do, without any order from the King: and indeed *Bellegarde* unsatisfied with the Court, rather endeavour'd to fortifie himself, and to secure his own interest, than to stand upon the niceties, and punctillio's of his duty. This disorder gave a hot alarm to all *Italy*, who knew not to what *Bellegardes* designs might tend; and the Queen Mother, desirous in time to prevent any ill consequence, had her self taken a Journey to accommodate the business, and had compos'd it to the Kings satisfaction, and seemingly to the *Mareschal's* too, who had receiv'd a ratification of whatever he had done: but the *Mareschal* was no sooner return'd into his Government, than he fell immediately sick, and of so violent a distemper, as in few dayes carried him away, not without vehement suspicion of poison. Many being perswaded, that his turbulent spirit having given the Court an apprehension, that a discontented man of his Courage, would be hard to be continued in the due limits of his Obedience, they thought it better at once to dispatch him out of the way, than to be at the continual trouble would be necessary to contain him in his duty.

His Son, whom he left very young, and much unsettled in his Government, soon found himself in danger to be turn'd out by the Faction of the People, the whole Countrey in general, favouring the *Biragues*, Gentlemen of good quality, and Natives of that Countrey; whom doubtless they would have restor'd to the Government, had not *Caumont*, in the time of his Embassy in *Savoy*, obtain'd some Troops from the Duke for his Kinsman's assistance, with which he brought him so opportune, and so effectual a succour,

cour, that he ſoon ſuppreſt the Faction, plac'd *Bellegarde* ſecure in his charge, and left him ſtrong enough to defend himſelf; until the King, whoſe intereſt requir'd a Miniſter of greater Experience in that Countrey, call'd him from thence to place *la Valette*, *Caumont*'s elder Brother in his ſtead, giving to *Bellegarde* in recompenſe the Governments of *Xaintonge*, *Angoumois*, and the Countrey of *Auluis*. *Anno* 1579.

It was during the interim of this Voyage, that the diſgrace of St *Luc*, one of the Favourites, was concluded. *D' Aubigné* tells us that he learn'd the cauſe of this diſgrace from St. *Luc*'s own mouth, and thereupon tells an impudent Story: but they who well conſider this malevolent Author's way of writing, will eaſily judge it his own invention, to beſpatter the Kings reputation; againſt whom (beſides the intereſt of his Party) he had a particular ſpleen, having been ill us'd, and ſlighted upon many occaſions. Of which he himſelf cannot forbear to complain in his Hiſtory, and which confeſſion in it ſelf is ſufficient to diſcredit all the calumnies he has forg'd againſt the Honour of this Prince. Here then take the true reaſon of his diſgrace.

St. *Luc*'s diſgrace.

The King, falling in love with a Lady of great Quality, had made *Caumont*, and St *Luc* the confidents of his Paſſion; ſhortly after which *Caumont* was ſent upon the Embaſſy of *Savoy*, ſpoke of before: and St. *Luc*, in this interval of his abſence, diſcovers the ſecret of the King's love to his Wife, who was of the Family of *Briſſac*, and his Wife immediately to the Queen, who could not long diſſemble her diſcontent to the King her Husband; but reproach'd him with his Love, and that with ſo many circumſtances, that in effect he could not much deny it. The King infinitely concern'd at the infidelity of his Confidents, to whoſe diſcretion he had only intruſted that ſecret, falls upon St. *Luc*, *Caumont* being out of the reach of his anger, complains how baſely he was betray'd, and in fine, reproaches him with the diſcovery. St. *Luc* excuſes himſelf, and, that he might do it with the better colour, charges *Caumont* (whoſe abſence expos'd him to that ill office) with the fault; but the King, who had before begun to diſtaſte St. *Luc*, ever ſince his Marriage with a Wife, who was very partial to the Houſe of *Guiſe* (a Family whoſe deſigns were every day more and more ſuſpected to him) was ſtill in his own Judgement more enclin'd to condemn him, than *Caumont* of the Treachery. Yet for the better clearing of the truth, which he was impatient to know, he addreſſes himſelf to the Queen, preſſing, and conjuring her, to tell him freely, from whom ſhe had receiv'd the knowledge of his Love, at the ſame time confeſſing on his part, the naked, and un-

Anno 1579. disguis'd truth, the more to oblige her to deal clearly, and candidly with him. The Queen though at first she defended her self with many excuses, and was very loath to betray her intelligence, was at last (as there are few secrets which are not communicative betwixt persons of so near relation) overcome, and confest that it was from St. *Luc*'s Wife she had receiv'd that secret. There needed no more to confirm the King in the prejudice he had before conceiv'd against St. *Luc*: and his Majesty believing there was more of design, than levity in this miscarriage, from thenceforth conceiv'd a mortal animosity against him, and was resolute to his ruine; yet would he defer the discovery of his displeasure till *Caumont*'s arrival, who was now upon return, that he might first know, how ill an office his companion, and friend had attempted to do him. *Caumont* was no sooner return'd, than the King ask't him what opinion he had of St. *Luc*'s friendship? who answered, That he took him to be his best friend, as he knew himself to be his; and that there was a particular, and strict friendship betwixt them. The King told him he must no longer continue in that error, and thereupon acquainted him with the whole story, and with the resolution he had taken against him. *Caumont* (notwithstanding the ill Offices he had receiv'd) fail'd not in this occasion to perform all the duties of a true friend, but employ'd his power with the King, to perswade his Majesty into milder resolutions: but not being able with all he could say to prevail against the just indignation he had conceiv'd against him; and seeing him exasperated to such a height, as was like enough to transport him to the greatest extremities, he gave notice to St. *Luc* speedily to retire from Court, which he accordingly did, and fled to *Brouage*. This is the true story of his disgrace, which I have received from a more faithful, and less passionate hand than that of *Aubigné*.

Anno 1580. It was at this same time of *Caumont*'s return from *Savoy*, that the King found himself engag'd in a more dangerous Affair, than this before related. The *Hugonot* Party began now to break out into open insurrection: and their Rebellion was of so much the greater consequence, by how much it interrupted, and overthrew all the designs he had laid, to establish the peace of his Kingdom. The King having had, and with great reason, the greatness of the House of *Guise* long suspected to him, had determin'd with himself, but insensibly, and with all security, to abate that growing greatness; and to bring his designs the better to pass, and with the least noise, he continually dispos'd all the great employments, and most considerable Offices, as they fell void, into the hands of his own Creatures, without distributing any part into the power of

of the *Guiſes*, or of any that he knew depended upon them, or that he ſuſpected to be of their Faction. The Houſe of *Guiſe* eaſily enough penetrating into the depth of this deſign, had fortified themſelves more than ever, in their Confederates and Friends, to oppoſe by ſtrong hand this project of the Kings; and covering with the pretence of the Catholick Religion (of which they had long aſſum'd to themſelves the titles of Protectors, either their Ambition (or what they call'd by a more ſpecious name) the neceſſity of their Defence, were ready to break out into open Arms. The King, advertis'd of their deſigns, was reſolv'd to prevent them, and for a time to lay aſide his milder Maxims, and to chaſtiſe their inſolence with an armed hand: but becauſe he ſhould have wanted means, and ſtrength, if at the ſame time, he ſhould undertake the Houſe of *Guiſe*, the *Hugonot* Party (which he alſo intended to cut off in due time) ſhould appear in Arms, he tried to moderate the laſt, by commanding all the Edicts that had been made in their Favour, to be ſtrictly, and inviolately obſerv'd. He granted to the King of *Navarre* all he could reaſonably deſire, treating with him like a Prince, that he neither thought it ſafe to raiſe too high, nor that he had a deſire abſolutely to ſubdue. A proceeding that in all apparence was likely to continue the Peace on that ſide. And the King had very great reaſon to hope, that this Prince, and thoſe of his party, would at leaſt give him leiſure to ſuppreſs the Family of *Guiſe*, who as they were dangerous to him, were alſo their open, and declared Enemies. The ſuppreſſion of which had at this time been a matter eaſie, and inevitable, had Affairs continued in this poſture. But all theſe conſiderations were over-rul'd, and overthrown by ſo little means, that certainly 'tis worthy our aſtoniſhment to conſider how light, and how contemptible things will pervert the ordinary courſe of humane prudence. *Anno* 1580.

The Queen of *Navarre* in this juncture of time retir'd from Court, much diſſatisfied with the King her Brother, as ſhe her ſelf declares in her own Commentaries; and as ſhe was a Princeſs of a dangerous Wit, a great Spirit, and one that conceiv'd the higheſt point of generoſity to conſiſt in revenge, ſhe thought ſhe could not do the King her Brother a more ſenſible injury, whoſe deſigns ſhe very well knew; nor conſequently better ſatisfie her own revenge, than by ſtirring up the King her Husband againſt him. Yet thinking her own intereſt too weak of it ſelf to prevail in a thing of this conſequence, ſhe thought fit to aſſault him where he lay moſt open to her, and where he had the leaſt power to defend himſelf. Having therefore in her train a great many very fine women, and ſuch as were well diſciplin'd in Love Affairs, ſhe won ſo far upon their

Anno 1580. *Aubigné.*

their obedience; as that they behaving themſelves according to her inſtructions towards the King her Husband, and the young Nobility about him, ſoon made as many Lovers, as there were Servants attending his Perſon: and by that means ſeated her ſelf abſolute Miſtriſs of that Court. The King of *Navarre* pre-poſſeſt with theſe ill Councils, reſolv'd upon taking Armes, which he did with that ſecreſie, that the blow was given before the noiſe was heard. The deſign was great, and vaſt (as they uſually are in all commotions) but when it came to execution, all their great projects ended in the ſurpriſal of two important places. The firſt was *Cahors Fetard* by the King of *Navarre*, the other *la Feré*, by the Prince of *Condé*; Mounſieur *Chatillon*, *in Languedoc*, nor Mounſieur *Leſdiguieres*, *in Dauphine* not being able to do any conſiderable ſervice for their party.

The King advertized of this diſorder, found himſelf neceſſitated to alter his firſt reſolutions, and to turn his thoughts to the preſent danger; ſo that inſtead of purſuing the ſuppreſſion of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, and their League, he was conſtrain'd that time, not only to wink at their Faults, but to employ their Perſons, and make uſe of their Intereſt, to ſtop this unexpected Rupture. In which he carried himſelf with that wiſdom, and diligence, as gave no little aſtoniſhment to his Enemies, when they ſaw he had in a moment ſet three great Armies on foot, to attend their motion, and to oppoſe and fruſtrate their attempts. They had principally built their deſigns upon the opinion of the Kings negligence, which they interpreted cowardize, and ſloth. But they ſoon perceiv'd themſelves abus'd in that belief, and found in this occaſion, that the pleaſure and eaſe, he was ſomething addicted unto, had not unnerv'd him from vigorous action, when his Honour and Intereſt call'd him abroad. There is one thing very remarkable in this occaſion, which is rarely obſerv'd in the order of Humane Affairs, that all things ſucceeded abſolutely according to the Kings Deſigns; and Fortune, who is wont to delude the wiſeſt Counſels, ſubmitted here to the Kings Prudence, and fore-ſight. His Majeſty had great reaſons not to oppreſs the King of *Navarre*, in this conjuncture; and though he had juſt cauſe to be angry with him, yet, he had more to preſerve him, to the end that he might in his perſon maintain a Party to make the League, who were directly oppoſite to him. He therefore ſent againſt him the *Mareſchal de Biron*, rather to ſpin out the War in exploits of little moment, than to end it at one blow. Into *Dauphine*, where there was little, or nothing to be done, no more than in *Languedoc*, he diſpatch'd the Duke of *Mayenne*, Affairs being at this time in ſuch a condition, that his Majeſty

was

was conſtrain'd to ſerve himſelf with ſome of thoſe Heads of the League, who were already ſworn to it: but he did it withal in an occaſion of ſo little importance, that the Duke was therein likely to acquire no great reputation to himſelf, nor no great advantage to his Faction. But on the contrary, for what concern'd *la Feré*, as being a Town near to *Paris*, and in *Picardy*, where the *Hugonots* had as yet no other footing, ſuch troubleſome neighbours ſtanding highly ſuſpected to his Majeſty, he diſpatch'd thither the *Mareſchal de Matignon* a Subject of great Merit, and approv'd Fidelity, to labour in good earneſt the recovery of that place. In this Army march'd the Favourites, of which *Caumont* and *Joyeuſe* in this expedition got the greateſt name; the laſt by a Harquebuſs ſhot he receiv'd in his Face, and the other by the taking of the Town; of which ſucceſs the Hiſtorians of that time attribute to him the chiefeſt reputation. He had intreated of the King the charge of *Camp-Maſter* to the Regiment of *Champagne*, that he might have ſome remarkable employment in this occaſion, and with that had obtain'd the command of a Quarter; ſo that, nothing neceſſary being wanting to the advancement of his work he rais'd by the induſtry of an Italian Engineer, a Cavalier by favour of which, having planted a battery, that look'd directly into the place, and that ſhot into the Enemies Defences, he reduc'd them to that extremity, that not daring to ſhew their heads upon the Walls, they were ſoon forc'd to a capitulation. The firſt overtures of Surrender were made to *Caumont*, who moſt preſt upon them; which the *Mareſchal de Matignon*, being diſpleas'd at, as jealous of the honour they had done him, to the prejudice (as he conceiv'd) of the command he had at that Siege, he immediately granted to the Deputies, which *Caumont* had out of reſpect wholly referr'd to him, their own conditions, without once calling *Caumont* to the determination; an injury he ſo highly reſented, that he could not govern his paſſion from breaking out at the inſtant, but ſmartly continued his Battery againſt the Town (notwithſtanding the Articles agreed upon, and ſign'd) and ceas'd not till the Kings Troops were entred into it. But he ſhortly after had a better revenge: for departing the Camp, without taking leave of the *Mareſchal*, and arriv'd at Court, he obtain'd from the King the Government of that place, which the *Mareſchal* had importunately ſued for, and kept it many years after. By this exploit the War ended, which having been undertaken rather out of a capricious humour, than mature deliberation, had the ſame ſucceſs, that commonly attends precipitous and indigeſted Counſels. The Peace that follow'd, kept *Caumont* at Court, where his favour daily encreas'd,

Anno 1580.

Aubigné.

Anno 1580. creas'd, till it came to ſuch a height, that there was no employment, or benefit, with which the King his Maſter was not highly pleas'd to gratifie him.

Before he obtain'd the charge of *Camp-Maſter* to the Regiment of *Champagne* for himſelf, he had procur'd for *la Valette* his elder Brother, that of *Camp-Maſter* to the Light Horſe; an Employment that had been ſo worthily diſcharg'd by their Father; which I have often heard him ſay, was the firſt grace he ever begg'd of the King, having it ſeems a deſire to retrive the Offices of his Family for his Brother, and to give him the firſt advantages of his Favour, reſerving nothing, ſave future hopes for himſelf: but thoſe hopes were not long ſuſpended, for the eſteem the King had of him, being founded upon his courage, and fidelity, had begot in his Majeſty ſo great a paſſion for him, that his thoughts were wholly taken up with the contrivance, how to make him great; and he has often been heard to ſay, he would raiſe him ſo high, that he would not ſo much as reſerve to himſelf the power to pull him down.

Caumont's high Favour.

The Hiſtorians of that age give him from henceforward an advantage over *Joyeuſe* in the Kings Favour, and would make us believe it was ſo apparent, as to beget a jealouſie in *Joyeuſe*; but that is a ſecret I never learn'd from *Caumont's* mouth; though it may be preſum'd that his carriage, and conduct, was more likely to pleaſe the King; *Joyeuſe* having ſuch a vanity to boaſt, and make a ſhew of the credit he had with his Maſter, and of the favours and liberalities he receiv'd from him by inordinate profuſions, and expenſe, as did not only bring many inconveniences upon himſelf, but great murmurings and diſcontents upon the King: whereas *Caumont*, who had rather be powerful and eſteem'd in effect, than in outward ſhew, made a ſober, and profitable uſe of the intereſt he had in the King; and made his greatneſs more apparent to diſcerning men, by the eſtabliſh'd conſtancy that ty'd him faſt to his duty, than by the exterior fopperies of pomp, which are but the faint reflexions of a true ſhining luſtre.

If this ſtability of his was commendable in any thing, it was much more in the conſtant averſion he had to the League, to which nothing could ever reconcile him; nor to the heads of that Faction: but on the contrary he took all occaſions publickly to exaſperate, and affront the Duke of *Guiſe*, without regarding the reputation of ſo great a man, or fearing the danger of ſo powerful an Enemy; his animoſity carrying him ſo far, as ſeveral times to beg leave of the King, that he might fight him man to man, deſiring with all his ſoul to hazard his own life, that he might by an honourable way deliver his Maſter, from the troubles, and apprehenſions, with

with which the practices of this Duke perpetually afflicted him, though his Majeſty would never conſent to it. But *Joyeuſe* liv'd after another manner, maintaining a greater intelligence with the Houſe of *Guiſe*, than ought to have been betwixt ſo oblig'd a Servant, and his Maſter's open, and declared Enemies; which doubtleſs was the chief cauſe of the diminution of his favour, and in truth either prompted by the ſole ambition of ſeeing himſelf Brother-in-law to the King, to which honour he thought he could not arrive without the Duke of *Guiſe*'s aſſiſtance, or by the deſire he had to ſecure his Fortune on all ſides, which is very often a ruinous maxim, he ever induſtriouſly labor'd the friendſhip of that Family. Some believe that he at firſt treated with them unknown to the King about his Marriage with a Princeſs of their Houſe, and Name, Siſter to the Queen. 'Tis true he had afterwards the King's permiſſion, and the overture, being once made, was preſt by the King himſelf to a conſummation of it: but it was his part to have foreſeen the inconveniences of this Alliance, and to have conſider'd the conſequences before he had embark'd himſelf. *Anno* 1580.

As one of the King's chiefeſt cares was to keep ſuch an equality towards his Favourites, that they might have no occaſion to trouble the delight he took in their converſation, with complaints, or differences; ſo had he no ſooner concluded the Marriage of his Siſter-in-law to the Duke of *Joyeuſe*; but that he would beſtow another call'd *Chriſtina*, upon the Duke of *Eſpernon*. I begin here to give him the title of Duke, becauſe he had it before, although the thred of this diſcourſe permits me not to ſpeak of his promotion to this dignity, till the following page. A temptation delicate enough to flatter a mind ſo great, and ſo ambitious, as that of the Duke; nevertheleſs he excus'd himſelf with a moderation, highly to be commended in an occaſion of this nature; neither was his prudence leſs to be admir'd, than his moderation: and all the world have believ'd, that amongſt all the actions of his life, this was of greateſt importance to the conſervation of his Fortune. Upon this refuſal of his, divers Judgments were made, all actions of great men, eſpecially Favorites, never wanting interpreters: ſuch as were juſteſt to the Duke highly approved his conduct, that ſo prudently under the ſhadow of reſpect, had rejected an advantage, that in it ſelf carried only noiſe, and ſhew; though otherwiſe it might render him capable of pretending to more ſolid things, and at leaſt make him rival the extraordinary honor the Duke of *Joyeuſe* had receiv'd; others that would leſs favourably interpret him, diſcommended his carriage, as if by this refuſal he intended tacitly to condemn the Duke of *Joyeuſe* his Vanity, and Ambition; and theſe confirm'd themſelves in their opinion, by the great diſproportion they ſaw betwixt the moderate expenſe *Anno* 1581.

A propoſition of Marriage for the Duke of *Eſpernon*.

Anno 1581. The journal of *Henry* the third.

at the Marriage of the Duke's elder Brother, and the prodigious profuſion that was made at that of the Duke of *Joyeuſe*; where the expenſe was ſo great as amounted to above two millions of Livers, an immenſe ſumme in thoſe days, and eſpecially at a time wherein the State was in great neceſſities. This gave a great occaſion of murmure, not only to the well and ill diſpos'd *French*, but even to ſuch ſtrangers as were affectionate to the Crown of *France*; whereas that of *Mounſieur de la Valette*, which was ſolemnized at the ſame time with *Anne de Batarnay*, was paſt over with very little noiſe; not but that the King would alſo in this occaſion have powr'd out his liberality: but the two Brothers, having diſcreetly avoided an unneceſſary expenſe, ſoberly husbanded their Maſters purſe, to his and their own reputation.

Anno 1582.

From the time that his Majeſty had determined to raiſe his two Favourites to the honour of his Alliance, he honoured them both with the Dignity of Duke, and Peer; and purchas'd in *Caumont*'s name the Manour of *Eſpernon*, to the end, he might bear that Title. But his Letters Patents, having been carried to the Parliament, receiv'd at firſt ſome difficulty in their verification, as it had before happened, in the caſe of *Joyeuſe*: which difficulty aroſe from the place the King had given in thoſe Letters to the two new Dukes, having there ranck'd them immediately after the Princes of the Blood, which the other more ancient Dukes, being highly diſpleas'd at, oppos'd; and had ſo wrought the Parliament to their Favour, that the King was forc'd to ſend them a peremptory command to paſs over all oppoſitions, telling them (amongſt other terms of favour) that having choſen *Caumont*, and *Joyeuſe*, for his Brothers-in-law, and intending to place them by this Alliance ſo near his own perſon, he could not endure they ſhould make any difficulty of receiving them into the degree, he had aſſign'd for them; that Honour being far inferiour to what he had already conferr'd upon them by that choice: Upon which, there being no more conteſt, the thing paſt according to his Majeſties pleaſure, and was recorded without reſervation.

The two Favourites made Dukes and Peers of *France*.

Anno 1583.

Though the King ſeem'd to have his thoughts wholly taken up with theſe little domeſtick Affairs, and to intend nothing but the advancement of his Favourites; yet was he not even in this without a further end, and deſign: for perceiving himſelf too weak by fine force, to cruſh the two powerful Factions, that divided the whole Kingdom, he try'd to accompliſh that by policy, which he could not effect by power, in depriving both ſides of all kind of authority and truſt; advancing on the contrary his Favourites, and ſuch as he had confidence in, to all the Offices, and Employments

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he poſſibly could; neither was there any grace, or favour to be obtain'd, but for them, or for ſuch of their creatures, as wholly relied upon their fortune. Neither met this deſign of his with any oppoſition from the *Hugonot* Party; who, the more they were his open and declared Enemies, the leſs were they in his way, and gave him the leſs trouble: For the Court being ſuſpected to the King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Condè*, and the other Chiefs of their party, kept them at ſuch a diſtance, as depriv'd them of the means to ſue for Governments, Offices, and commands of places; nay, it was a favour to let them enjoy thoſe they already had; ſo that living retir'd, and at eaſe, but without credit, or conſideration, their intereſt by degrees mouldred away, and grew weak of it ſelf: which was the poſture the King would have them in. But the heads of the League were in a far different condition, they had for many years upheld their credit at Court, had diſcharg'd ſucceſſively from Father to Son, the greateſt Offices of the Crown, were poſſeſt of many important Governments, and very conſiderable places, and by the greatneſs of their Birth, and Services, by the reputation of their valour, and other eminent qualities they were Maſters of, endeavour'd to eclipſe the Majeſty of the King; who, being leſs enclin'd to oſtentation, liv'd a more retir'd life than they. *Anno* 1583.

It was neceſſary to abate the growing greatneſs of thoſe powerful, and dangerous Subjects; to effect which (which was the chief and moſt important Affair of State) the King firſt exhibited a publick and general prohibition to all ſorts of people, excepting the Queen his Mother, and the Queen his Wife, not to preſume to aſk any thing of his Majeſty, whether Money, Offices, or Commands; reſerving wholly to himſelf the diſpoſition of all ſuch things, and that of his own voluntary grace, and bounty, and upon due conſideration of the party's Merit. And to the end that the over free acceſs to his perſon, might not give occaſion to thoſe he moſt ſuſpected to exceed the limits of this prohibition, he ſeconded that with another. That no perſon of what quality ſoever, ſhould come into his Cabinet, without he were call'd: but from this general rule he made a particular exception for his Favourites, whom he made free to enter at all hours, like enough on purpoſe to nettle the Houſe of *Guiſe*; though they were not the only men offended at it, almoſt all the great men about the Court, being ſenſibly concern'd, to be depriv'd of a priviledge, that was now only reſerv'd for five or ſix of his Majeſties Creatures. The ſtate of Affairs at Court, and the Kings conduct.

The Lords of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, being by this means excluded from all hope of encreaſing their power by new acquiſitions of truſt, the King began to contrive how he might gently with-

Anno 1583.

draw what they already had, out of their hands; and carried it so, that so often as there was any vacancy, by the decease of any of their creatures, he immediately conferr'd those places upon some of his own; and if at any time any of their Partizans were content to take money for such charges, as they were seis'd of, the King would stick at nothing that might satisfie them, to the end he might dispose places, into secure, and faithful hands. The Duke of *Joyeuse* by these two ways, that is by the King's gift when a Government fell void, or otherwise by Contract, had obtain'd the Government of *Normandy*, with *Haure de Grace*, *Caen*, and other places: the Government of *Anjou* for the *Compte de Bouchage*, his Brother; the Lieutenancy of *Languedoc* for his Father, with many other important Governments and Places. The Duke of *Espernon* had also the Government of *Metz*, and the *Messin* Countrey, that of *Dauphine*, *Boulogne*, *Calice*, *la Fere*, *Loches*, the Citadel of *Lions*, and some others.

As it was necessary for these two great men to find out assured Friends, and faithful Servants, into whose hands they might safely commit so many several places of trust, as the King's bounty had possest them of; so was it the Duke of *Espernon*'s care to provide himself of such persons; and supposing he could find none, who were likely to be more faithful to him, than those of his own Kindred and Relation, he to that purpose call'd the greatest part of them about his person. His elder Brother had by his recommendation the Government of *Dauphine*, in which employment he behav'd himself so well, that he preserved that Province entire in his Majesties obedience during all the commotions of the League: neither were his Services confin'd within the bounds of his Government; he passed over several times into *Provence*, and secur'd that Countrey against the attempts of the said League, when assisted both by *Spain* and *Savoy*. He also oppos'd the power of the *Hugonots*, which was very considerable in both these Provinces; so that *France* has to him only the obligation, that *Dauphiné* is not now in the Savoyard's hands, as well as the Marquisate of *Saluzzo*. *Montcasin* the Dukes Cousin was put into *Metz*, *Cajan* his Brother had the Regiment of *Champagne*, and soon after the Lieutenancy of *Xaintogne*, *Angomois*, and the Countrey of *Aulins*. And many other places were dispos'd into the hands of several men of trust, and quality, who depended upon the Duke.

The Duke advances his own Relations.

But he had yet a Kinsman in *Gascony*, to whom, next to his Brother, he had a particular regard above all others, which was *Roger*, afterwards Duke *de Bellegarde*, Son to *Mounsieur de Termes*, the Duke's Uncle by the Mothers side, and Heir to the House of *Bellegarde*.

legarde. This young Gentleman, being bred up according to his condition, to all the exercises becoming a person of his Birth and Quality, was by the Duke brought to Court; where he continued the care of his Education in his own House, keeping him still to his Exercises, till he was grown excellent in them all: but the Duke was not content to oblige him only in this, he further employ'd his care, and good Offices to place him in the Kings esteem, wherein he succeeded perhaps beyond his own desire; *Bellegarde* arriving to such a degree of Favour, as grew at last suspected to the Duke himself. *Anno* 1583.

Some years past over in these Court practices; neither from the time of the Treaty of Peace with the King of *Navarre*, in the Year 1580. until the beginning of the Year 1584. were there any Affairs of importance, save those of the Cabinet. The King constant to his first Maxims, continually labour'd the ruine of the League, and of the *Hugonot* Party; neither was he, in his own nature, more inclin'd to advance those he had a kindness for, than he was bent to weaken, and depress those who were suspected to him. The Duke of *Guise*, the Cardinal his Brother, their Relations, and Confederates, seeing all things directed to this end, and not being able to endure the condition of private persons to which they saw the King endeavour'd to reduce them, set on foot great practices, both within, and without the Kingdom, and try'd all imaginable ways they thought might help to fortifie and secure themselves. And as they had hitherto been proceeded against without violence, so had they carried on their practices without noise: but at last finding the King more openly labour'd their ruine, which was already almost inevitable, they would no longer forbear to unmask themselves, nor to publish their long premeditated designs by an open Rupture. *Anno* 1584. The first commotion of the League.

In the beginning then of the Year 1585. the Duke of *Guise* retir'd himself to *Joinville*, and there receiv'd into his House the King of *Spain*'s Deputies, together with the *Sieur de Meneville* Attorney to the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who did all the business of the League in *France*. Where also the Duke of *Mayenne* his Brother, and divers others of his Partizans, repair'd to him. At which Assembly it was resolv'd to break out suddenly into open Arms, upon such conditions, as the Historians of that time have already declar'd, and which is nothing to my business. *Anno* 1585.

The King, who was soon advertiz'd of this Conspiracy (which was now no longer a secret) to hinder it from taking any dangerous effect, and in due time to provide for the safety of the Kingdom, assembled, together with the Queen his Mother, such persons as were

Anno 1585. were of chiefeſt truſt about him, and whoſe Counſels he ever made uſe of in debates of greateſt importance, to deliberate, and adviſe what, in this poſture of Affairs, was beſt to be done. Theſe were the Dukes of *Eſpernon*, of *Joyeuſe*, and of *Retz*, the Chancellour *Chiverny*, *Bellieure*, *D'O*, *Villeroy*, and *Villequier*. The Duke of *Eſpernon* as the youngeſt, being commanded to give his opinion firſt of the Propoſition in hand, freely Remonſtrated.

That ſo long as the ambition of the Houſe of Guiſe *had contain'd it ſelf within ſome moderate limits of reſpect to their Sovereign, he had infinitely commended his Majeſties Clemency, that ſo long had wink'd at their faults, expecting when Subjects of their quality and merit ſhould come to themſelves, and ſee their own error. That in the beginning of great Crimes, Patience was almoſt a neceſſary Vertue, and that it had often oblig'd ſuch Offenders into their duty, as it would have been a matter of ſome difficulty to have reduc'd by force: but that this Patience had its bounds as well as other Vertues, and that the exceſs of it degenerated into Vices, of all other moſt pernicious to Princes. That he would never adviſe his Majeſty to cruelty, becauſe it was dreadful, and inhumane, though it often begot tht Sovereign power a more abſolute reſpect. That profuſeneſs begot love, at leaſt in the receivers; and that the otber miſtakes of Princes were ſeldom altogether unfruitful; whereas an exceſſive toleration render'd them contemptible to all the world. That from contempt men fell into hatred, and from hatred ran headlong into attempts. That above all things Princes ſhould fear being deſpis'd, which is infallibly deſtructive to Authority; as on the contrary, Fear and Reſpect ſupports it. That it was his opinion, the King without further deliberation ſhould have recourſe to Arms. That his Enemies not having yet the aſſiſtance of Strangers, and the Forces they expected at home not being yet united, would be eaſily ſuppreſt. That his Majeſty ought not to ſuſpect his own ſtrength in this occaſion; that ſo good a cauſe as his could want no Souldiers, and that his own Royal Courage would give vigour, and encouragement to all true* Frenchmen *to maintain his Authority, not only againſt his Rebellious Subjects, but againſt all the World.*

The Chancellour *Chiverny*, the Duke *de Retz*, and the Marquis *D'O*, were of this opinion, and the King himſelf had too much experience, and too much judgement, not to be of the ſame; but the Duke of *Joyeuſe*, *Bellieure*, *Villeroy*, and *Villequier*, were of a contrary advice: to whom the Queen Mother adhering, the

the King, who had ever a great deference to her Councils, cool'd in the inclination he had to that of the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and was over-rul'd into mildneſs, and moderation; which as they are uſually, the ruine of all Affairs of this nature, ſo they prov'd to be of this. *Anno* 1585.

They thenceforward therefore began to treat about this War, and that by propoſitions not like thoſe of a Prince to his Subject; but ſuch as were more proper betwixt enemy, and enemy, that ſtood upon equal ground. The King, before he would reſolve upon the laſt remedy of Arms, firſt caus'd the Duke of *Guiſe* to be ſounded, to try, whether or no, he would by fair means be prevail'd with to leave of thoſe practices his Majeſty very well knew he entertain'd againſt his Service, and his own Duty: which having in vain attempted, and finding his obſtinacy to be ſuch, as was not to be overcome by gentle wayes, he preſently diſpatch'd away into *Germany*, and *Switzerland*, to make ſpeedy Leavies both of Horſe and Foot; and conceiving he could not in the preſent neceſſity receive ſo prompt, and ſo certain a ſuccour from any, as from the King of *Navarre*, his Majeſty would try if he could not gain him to his Intereſt, that they might joyntly oppoſe the firſt fury of the League, that erected it ſelf to their common prejudice. In which deliberation there was notwithſtanding an almoſt invincible difficulty, namely the difference of Religion; for the King, what need ſoever he had of the King of *Navarre*'s aſſiſtance, could never perſwade himſelf to joyn with him in Arms, if he were not firſt a Catholick; wherein the reſpect to his Conſcience prevail'd with him, above the conſideration of his Fortune, and Kingdom.

This point therefore, upon which ſo much depended, was to be diſcreetly managed: and the Duke of *Eſpernon* as Supreme in the Kings confidence, was, before all others choſen to treat with the King of *Navarre* about this great Affair; which, that it might be carried with the greater ſecreſie, the Duke pretended a viſit to Madam *de la Valette*, his Mother at *Caumont*, whom he had never ſeen ſince his advancement to favour; nor whom (a rare example of Vertue, and Moderation in a perſon of her Sex, and Condition) he could ever, with all the inſtance he could uſe, prevail with, to come to Court, nor perſwade to leave the ſweet repoſe of her own Houſe, nor the modeſty, and retiredneſs of her former life. The King ſends the Duke of *Eſpernon* to treat with the King of *Navarre*.

Things being thus ordered, the Duke began his Journey from Court with a Train, and Magnificence, that is ſtill remembred in all the places, through which he paſt. He had above 500 Gentlemen,

Anno 1585. men, and many of thoſe men of very great quality in his attendance: ſo great authority and eſteem, he had already acquir'd; neither did that authority and eſteem ever decline, but were his inſeparable Companions during his whole life. The King writ to all the places, through which he was to paſs, to receive him with the ſame reſpect, and to pay him the ſame honours they would do to his own perſon: which was abſolutely obey'd, if not overdone, the Duke receiving infinite and unuſual civilities, both at *Orleans*, *Poitiers*, *Burdeaux*, *Tholouſe*, and in all the other Cities through which he paſs'd. At laſt he arriv'd at *Caumont*, where he had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing his Mother, who was no more dazled with the immediate ſight of her Son's greatneſs, than ſhe had been before elevated with the report of it. She diſcours'd with him of Affairs of State, and of the advantages of his own Fortune, with the Gravity and Authority of a Mother, but of a Vertuous and Prudent Mother: and I have heard him ſay, That he receiv'd more ſafe and ſolid Counſels from the prndent ſimplicity of that good Lady, than from the ſubtlety, and experience, of the moſt practis'd Courtiers.

After having ſtaid ſome days in her company, and his chief buſineſs being not to receive a diſpatch there, he parted thence towards the King of *Navarre*, who was then in the County of *Foix*. The King did him the honour to meet him as far as *Saverdun*, where they had the firſt Conference. The ſecond was at *Pamiers*, in the ſame County of *Foix*, whither the Duke of *Eſpernon* (who could by no means avoid the great crowd of Nobility, and Gentry that came from all parts of *Guienne*, and *Languedoc* to ſee him) came ſo extraordinarily accompanied; that the King of *Navarre*, who (deſigning to continue the ſame honour to him) intended to have met him a good way out of Town, was adviſed to expect him on foot at the Gates of the City, his own Friends and Retinue, being too few to make up a number, that might hold any proportion with that the Duke brought along with him.

D' Anbigné. In theſe two Conferences the Duke deliver'd what he had in Commiſſion, fortifying the propoſitions he had to make with ſo many, and ſo powerful Arguments; that the King of *Navarre* clearly ſatisfied of his own good, diſcover'd at laſt a great inclination to perform what the King deſir'd of him, *viz.* his Converſion to the Roman Catholick Religion. He evidently ſaw the eminent danger, whereinto this great conſpiracy of the League was likely to precipitate him; with the advantages he might have by running the ſame fortune with the King, of defending himſelf, and his Intereſt, by his Majeſties Authority and Power.

Requelaure

Requelaure, and many other perſons of good quality about him, fortifi'd him in this good deliberation; but he was diſſwaded from it by a far greater number of the other opinion, who repreſented to him, the hard uſage he had receiv'd at Court, the hazards he had run in his own perſon, and the perſecution thoſe of the Reform'd Religion, who were his Servants, and Friends, had ſuffer'd from thence. *Anno* 1585.

They did not ſtick further abſolutely to impute all the hard meaſure the *Hugonot* Party had receiv'd to this King; although the greateſt violencies had been exerciſed upon them in the Reign of *Charles* the Ninth, expreſſing as paſſionate a hatred againſt him, as the League ſo impudently manifeſted in their Rebellious Actions. And certainly the Misfortune of this Prince is never too much to be lamented, nor the unſteddineſs of his condition too much to be wondered at; having his Kingdom divided by two Factions, ſo directly oppoſite to one another that he could never ſerve himſelf by the one, to defend himſelf from the other; and both ſides, though implacable enemies betwixt themſelves, concurr'd nevertheleſs always in this, that they both equally deſired his Ruine.

At laſt, after many Conferences, the King of *Navarre* gave the Duke his final Anſwer at *Pau*, whither he had invited him to come, to this effect.

That he was the Kings moſt humble Servant, that he would juſtifie himſelf to be ſo upon all occaſions, and that he would never ſeparate himſelf from his Service and Intereſts, if his Majeſty did not conſtrain him to it, by condeſcending too much to his Enemies Counſels: but that he could not, for any conſideration of Honour, Riches, or any other advantages that could be propos'd to him, depart from the Religion he had embrac'd, and was ſo firmly eſtabliſh'd in.

It was in this pleaſant Palace of *Pau*, and amongſt the magnificences and delights, that place then abounded in, that the Duke had firſt the honour to ſee the Lady *Catharine*, the King of *Navarre*'s only Siſter, ſince Dutcheſs of *Bar*; in whom the Duke's Merit, who was then in the flower of his youth, and the meridian of his favour, made ſuch an impreſſion, that ſhe began from that time to honour him with her favour, which ſhe continued to him to her death. And it is certain that the King her Brother (who perhaps did not think himſelf ſo near that height of fortune, to which he ſoon after arriv'd, and who doubtleſs would have been glad to have engag'd the Duke abſolutely to his Intereſts) made him ſome propoſitions of Marriage with this Princeſs; but the condition of the time, and intervening accidents, permitting that Treaty to paſs no further, the Duke was forc'd to

Anno 1585. content himſelf with the advantage of ſo glorious a friendſhip, which was ever after dear, and precious to him, the whole remainder of his life.

The King of *Navarre* to multiply ſtill more entertainments, and favours upon the Duke, would needs have him yet to give him the ſatisfaction of another viſit at *Nerac*; which the Duke could not handſomely deny, though the Kings commands were ſomething preſſing for his return to Court: and as it is likely the King of *Navarre* ſpun out the time, that he might more maturely deliberate upon an Affair of ſo great importance; ſo was it the Duke's intereſt to give him that leiſure he deſired, if poſſible to make his negotiation ſucceed according to the King his Maſters deſire. But in the end finding he could not overcome thoſe traverſes, and difficulties, that his Majeſties enemies ſtill ſtrew'd in his way, he prepar'd himſelf for his departure; and then it was, that opening the laſt, and moſt ſecret part of his Commiſſion; he told the King of *Navarre, That though he had denied his Majeſty the ſatisfaction he deſired of him, yet that the King neverthelefs conſidering him as his Kinſman, and next Heir to the Crown, if God ſhould pleaſe to diſpoſe of him without Iſſue, had given him in charge to let him know, that he would be well pleas'd, he ſhould uſe his beſt endeauour to preſerve himſelf in a condition to oppoſe the League, that was confederated to the ruine of the Royal Houſe and Line. That ſince they could not unite their Arms to reſiſt their common Enemies, he ſhould at leaſt aſſure himſelf of the places already in his poſſeſſion; which his Majeſty took to be much ſafer, and much more at his devotion in his hands, than thoſe that ſhould hereafter be poſſeſt by the League. And that although in the preſent ſtate of Affairs he could not openly favour his deſigns, by reaſon of their difference in Religion; nor avoid being inſtant for the reſtitution of thoſe cautionary places, that had been granted to him; yet that he ſhould neverthelefs be very well ſatisfied with whatever he ſhould do to his own advantage.* After this Declaration, which was receiv'd by the King of *Navarre* with infinite demonſtrations of Obligation and Reſpect, the Duke took poſt for the Court at *Lions*, where the King impatiently expected his return.

He was now arriv'd within view of the City, and all the Court were mounted to honour his arrival, the King himſelf having much ado to forbear going out to meet him; when a ſtrange, and unexpected Accident was like to have turn'd all the Honours prepar'd for his welcome into the Funeral Pomp of his Obſequies: For one of the Gentlemen, who came out to meet him, having accidentally intangled the Chape of his Sword in the Duke's Bridle, the Horſe took ſuch a fright at it, that he immediately ran away with

with his Maſter; nor could the Duke ſtop him with all the art, and force he had, from throwing himſelf, and his Rider headlong into a dreadful precipice; the place, very remarkable by the greatneſs of the fall, and the wonderful eſcape, is to this day call'd *Eſpernons Leap*; neither was there any man preſent, who did not confidently believe the Duke certainly bruis'd to pieces: an opinion ſo firmly grounded in every one, that the report of his Death was immediately carried to *Lions*, which made as many ſeveral impreſſions in mens minds, as their inclinations were different, towards him. But the King was afflicted beyond imagination, though his Majeſty was not long in that error: For ſome of the company, having immediately deſcended the precipice, found the Horſe, who by good fortune fell plum upon his feet, and bore the whole weight of the fall, kill'd ſtone dead; but the Duke miraculouſly eſcap'd, with only a ſlight hurt in the Shoulder. This accident ſet all the Court Wits on work; neither was there any, who did not write ſomething upon this occaſion; but that which moſt pleas'd the Duke, was an Emblem, that was preſented to him. The body of the Emblem was a figure of the Duke himſelf, hanging upon the brow of a precipice; ſo as that he ſeem'd to be irrecoverably falling from that prodigious height; when Fortune running to his ſuccour, withdrew him from the danger, with this Motto in Italian, the firſt words thereof expreſſing his name, *Eper non laſciarti mai.* A Motto the Duke at firſt took for a good *Omen*; which time, and his own good conduct after turn'd into a kind of Propheſie; and cauſing it to be grav'd in a Cornelian, and ſet in a Ring, he wore it many years upon his Finger, as a mark of his gratitude to Fortune, or rather Providence, which is effectually that we call Fortune; to which he ever attributed all the ſucceſſes of his life, rather than to his own conduct. *Anno* 1585.

By this accident the Kings affection to the Duke ſeem'd to be augmented, at leaſt it made a greater ſhew of tenderneſs, than in former occaſions, his Majeſty never almoſt departing his Chamber during the time he was conſtrain'd to keep his Bed: and it was in this condition that he gave the King a full account of his Journey, and Negotiation; a thing that furniſh'd the League with a ſufficient pretenſe to decry the Kings actions; neither did the Chiefs of that Faction fail to cauſe it proclaim'd in the Pulpits (as it is uſual to make Holy Places and Religious men the Scenes, and Inſtruments to blemiſh the Actions of Princes) that his Majeſty was ſtrictly united with Hereticks: and that this ſlander might the better be believ'd, the Duke of *Eſpernon*'s Voyage (whom they endeavour'd to render odious to the people, by cal- The League makes the Duke of *Eſpernon*'s Voyage a Pretenſe to ſtir up the people.

Anno 1585.

ling him the Abetter of that Party) was first brought upon the stage; they publish'd that Negotiation to be a conspiracy against the Catholick Religion, which was no way to be oppos'd, but with their Swords in their hands: So that this was the first Pretense they made use of, to colour their Rebellion.

The Duke of *Guise* attempts to win the Duke of *Espernon* to his side by giving him his Daughter.

But before they would proceed to the effects of so violent a Rupture, the Duke of *Guise*, who would have been glad to have won the Duke of *Espernon* to his Party, by that means to remove those Obstacles which the Dukes Vigour and Fidelity ever had, and were still likely to oppose to his Designs, caus'd him to be treated with about a match with his Daughter, since Princess of *Conty*: a Princess that for the beauty of her person, the vigour of her mind, and many other endowments, and excellent qualities, had few rivals in the Kingdom; neither was the Duke of *Espernon* so blind, as not to see the honour he should receive by this alliance, had it been propos'd in a more quiet time; or had the Duke her Father been upon better terms with the King: but knowing he must by such a match abandon his duty, or at least be oblig'd to favour designs he could by no means approve, the last consideration so absolutely prevail'd above the other, that he scarce deliberated upon a thing that was likely to stagger his fidelity; and how dangerous soever it were to declare himself an open enemy to the Duke of *Guise*, which he must of necessity do by refusing his alliance; he rather chose to run that hazard, than to faulter in the least in the duty he ow'd to his Prince and Benefactor.

It is hard to judge, what passions of grief, and despite, the Duke of *Guise* was possest withal, to see his designs so frustrated, and his offer so despis'd by this refusal, which was in it self no light offense; neither did he afterwards meditate any thing more, than his revenge; and how to destroy him he could neither by civilities, nor by threats acquire unto him: but his fury was rais'd to the height by a new Honour the Duke had conferr'd upon him: which was the second Pretense the League took hold of to justifie their proceedings.

The second pretense of the League.

The King had some time before this bought the Duke of *Mayenne* out of his charge of Admiral of *France*, which the Duke had the rather laid down in favour of the Duke of *Joyeuse*; and his Majesty desirous to conferre upon the Duke of *Espernon* also some Office of the Crown (to continue the same equality he had ever observ'd in their Fortunes) propos'd to the Duke of *Guise* a very advantageous recompense in lieu of his Office of *Grand-Maistre* to the Kings Houshold; and it seem'd probable he would follow the example of his Brother the Duke of *Mayenne*, who doubtless

leſs had not quitted ſo important a charge without his elder Brother's advice: but the Duke of *Guiſe* notwithſtanding would never comply with his Majeſties deſire; and though the King would never permit him to exerciſe any function of his charge, thereby to make him weary of it; yet was he ſtill more obſtinately bent to keep it, nor would ever conſent (as he ſaid) *That his Enemy ſhould poſſeſs any of thoſe charges he had exerciz'd, and been inveſted withal.* The King ſeeing him ſo obſtinate, and perhaps not more ſolicitous to advance the Fortune of his Favourite, than willing to ſpite the Duke of *Guiſe*, reſolv'd with himſelf to erect, purpoſely for the Duke of *Eſpernon*, an Office, ſo honourable, and ſo great, as ſhould by its authority and power infinitely ſurpaſs all other the higheſt, and moſt important employments both of the State and Crown: and this was that of *Colonel General of France*; an Office formerly divided into two, on this ſide, and on that ſide the Mountains, of which *Andelot* had poſſeſt the one, and *Strozzi* the other; and after *Andelot's* death they were united in *Strozzi*, who remain'd ſole Colonel. After *Strozzi's* deceaſe, the King having by an Edict re-united theſe two Offices into one, made it an Office of the Crown, under the Title of *Colonel General of France*, caus'd that Edict to be ratified in Parliament, attributing to it the abſolute power to name in general Officers for all the vacant places in the *French* Militia, without ſo much as excepting from this nomination, that of *Camp-Maſter to the Regiment of Guards*: He eſtabliſh'd for the Colonel a Sovereign Court of Juſtice, or Council of War, to determine of the Lives and Honours of Military men, without calling any other to it, than his own Officers; adding to it beſides ſeveral Graunts, Priviledges, and Penſions, and finally (to ſum up all his bounty) his Majeſty delivering the Commiſſion into the Dukes hands, told him, that nothing troubled him, but that he knew not how to inveſt him into a more abſolute Authority, and that he could not adde a part of the Royal Dignity to his charge. And it is certain, that in giving the Duke the Governments of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, his Majeſty would have given them in Sovereignty, and have demis'd to him the Title of the Crown: but the Duke diſpleas'd with this propoſition, as an injury offer'd to his Obedience and Loyalty, complain'd to the King, that his Majeſty, honouring him with ſo noble an employment, ſhould go about to deprive him of the deareſt Relation he had, which was that of his Majeſties moſt humble, and obedient Subject, an honour that in his ſoul he preferr'd before all titles of Sovereignty, and all the advantages of Fortune his Majeſty could prefer him to; and thereupon receiv'd both the Governments,

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The Office of Colonel General of *France* erected.

ments,

Anno 1585. ments, and the charge of *Colonel General*, under the Kings Authority.

From this new advancement the League, as I have said before, deriv'd their second pretense for the taking of Arms; they look'd upon the Duke of *Espernon*'s new Honour, as an offence to their whole Party; and the Duke of *Guise* took it for a particular injury to himself, and thereupon openly publish'd.

The Duke of *Guise*'s complaints.

That there were now no more Employments, Riches, or Honours, save only for the Duke of Espernon, *and* la Valette *his Brother. That the State was only impoverish'd by profusions made in their favour. That they were the true causes of the peoples oppression. That the Treasure, set apart for the extirpation of Heresie, was by them perverted to their own uses, and particular profit. That the greatest Dignities, the most important Places, and Governments of greatest concern, were too many advantages for their ambition. That whilst the Kings good Servants were neglected, and kept under, there were new Offices, with unheard of Priviledges, contriv'd, and erected for them. That if the power they had over the King were longer suffer'd, they would equally ruine the State, and Religion. That the Duke of* Espernon *was therefore to be remov'd from Court, if men desir'd to see an end of publick Miseries. That his Majesty being deliver'd from his Counsels, which were equally violent, and interessed, would doubtless for the future be more favourable to his good Subjects, and better inclin'd to the Catholick Cause.*

At the same time a *Manifesto* was publish'd by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who was the declared Head of that Faction, containing principally the foregoing complaints, and immediately after follow'd the rising into Arms. The first design of the League was upon *Metz*, as if they meant to strike at the heart of the Duke of *Espernon*'s Fortune; a place so considerable, that the Duke had reason to look upon it, as the surest foundation of his greatness: neither did he in his latter years condescend to any thing with more unwillingness, and reluctancy, than to the surrender of that place, that proposition seeming to him, as though men were bent to the total ruine of his House; nor could he ever have been perswaded to have stript himself of such a defense, upon a less consideration, than the investiture of his Son the Cardinal of *la Valette* into that Government; who being younger by forty years, than himself, he

The League takes up Arms.

he might reaſonably hope, it would continue in his Family at leaſt during his life: but God was pleaſed to diſpoſe it otherwiſe. *Anno* 1585.

To make a right judgment of the importance of this place, it will be neceſſary to conſider its Site, and condition; and the ſhare it has ever had in the Duke's Fortune does indeed require it ſhould be ſomething inſiſted upon. *Metz* then is a City ſomething bigger than *Burdeaux*, or *Orleans*; that is to ſay, one of the greateſt, and the faireſt in the Kingdom, full of Inhabitants, and thoſe a rich and induſtrious people; to whom the neighbourhood of *Germany* gives great facility, to an advantageous Commerce. She was in former times thought beautiful enough to be the Metropolis of *Auſtraſia*, once the Inheritance of one of our Kings: but when the Empire of *Germany* began to decline, and that the Princes who were Subject to it began to withdraw themſelves from their obedience (every one being ambitious to be Sovereign in his own Dominions) many Cities, which were alſo in the ſame ſubjection, allur'd by the tempting ſound of Liberty, follow'd the ſame example. Of theſe *Metz* was one, who for many years took leave to govern her ſelf by her own Laws, annually creating Sovereign Magiſtrates, diſpoſing abſolutely of the Lives and Eſtates of her Subjects, Coyning Money, and in all things taking upon her the Authority of a Sovereign Juriſdiction; in which condition ſhe maintain'd her ſelf, till the Year 1552. that the Conſtable *Montmorency*, paſſing with the King's Army that way, totally freed her from all kind of Homage to the Empire, and ſettled it under the Protection of the Crown of *France*. 'Tis true that King *Henry* the Second, in whoſe Reign this Conqueſt was made, continued to this City her ancient priviledges; but withal to aſſure himſelf of his poſſeſſion, he did exceedingly fortifie it, eſtabliſhing a Governour of his own, and cauſing a Citadel to be built, which was mightily cryed up, for one of the beſt, and moſt exact of that time: but this was before Sieges were turn'd into a Science, and that the induſtry of man had left little to Fortune, in this kind of War. It does not now carry that Reputation; and in this condition it was when the Duke entred upon his Government, only with this difference, that what its own Laws had formerly perform'd by their own Virtue, during its independency, was now executed by his order, under the Authority of the Royal Name, the Duke (as I have ſaid before) abſolutely refuſing to accept it upon other terms. He annually appointed, and created the Supreme Magiſtrate, whom they call * *Maiſtre Eſchevin*, and appointed him his Council, and Judges,

The deſcription of the City of *Metz*, and its importance.

* Or High Sheriff.

Anno 1585. Judges, who were to determine in Sovereignty, upon the Lives, Honours, and Eſtates of all the Inhabitants: but withal the Duke had Authority upon occaſion to cenſure them, had power to remove them from their Magiſtracy within their year, if he ſaw cauſe; or to continue them beyond their term, if he thought fit. It is then no wonder if he were infinitely reſpected in a place, where all things ſo abſolutely depended upon him: but that which was indeed very rare, and very commendable, was, that in ſo unlimited a power, and in the courſe of above threeſcore years, that this City continued in his Cuſtody, he behav'd himſelf with that Juſtice, and Moderation, that not ſo much as any one Citizen ever complain'd of his adminiſtration; neither is there any now living, that do not yet remember, with a kind of delight, the indulgence, and ſweetneſs of his Government.

Whilſt the Duke ſtood ſeiz'd of a place of this conſequence, and ſo diſpos'd to his ſervice, it was no eaſie matter to cut him off; ſuch a retirement being a ſufficient refuge from all ſudden danger: neither (the Town being intruſted in the hands of valiant, and faithful friends) had it been convenient (even when he was moſt remote from it) to provoke him; leſt a place of that importance, ſhould have taken part in his diſgrace, and follow'd the humour of his diſcontents. It was therefore by the taking of this Town, that the League would begin to labour the Duke's ruine, and in that the advancement of their own Affairs.

The moſt conſiderable Forces, the League had then on foot, were thoſe of the Duke of *Lorain*; a Prince who having till this time contain'd himſelf Neuter in all the Affairs of *France*, upon this occaſion thought fit, it ſeems, to declare himſelf partial to his Family, in hopes nevertheleſs to joyn *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun* to his own Dukedom: neither was his deſign unlikely to ſucceed; for the two laſt having made no great difficulty of receiving the Duke of *Guiſe*, he had reaſon (conſidering the intelligence he had in the City) to expect the ſame from *Metz*, had not the Duke of *Eſpernon* by his vigilancy prevented him, ſeaſonably re-inforcing the Garriſon, with divers Gentlemen his particular Servants, and a good number of Souldiers; by whoſe coming it was ſo well ſecur'd, that the League thought it not fit to attempt it.

This great ſtorm, thus blown over, the Duke, alarm'd by the late hazard this City had run, reſolv'd to eſtabliſh himſelf in that important poſſeſſion, ſo as that for the future it might be ſecur'd from the like danger; and to that purpoſe ſome of his friends having rendred the Governour ſuſpected to him by ſome carriage of his

at ſuch time as the Army of the League were approaching towards him, though the grounds of this miſtruſt were not in the Dukes opinion clear enough to countenance an open rupture with him; yet were they ſufficient to make the Duke remove him from that truſt, and to call him about his own perſon, inſtituting *Sobole*, who before was only Lieutenant of the *Cittadel*, in the abſolute authority both of the *City*, *Cittadel*, and *Meſſin* Countrey; adding withal ten thouſand Crowns in Gold to mend his Equipage, that he might with the more honour ſupport the honourable charge he had ſeated him in; a bounty we ſhall hereafter ſee how *Sobole* requited: but that being the buſineſs of another time, I ſhall refer it to another place, and purſue my former Subject *Anno* 1585.

The Leaguers not contenting themſelves with thoſe petty ſucceſſes in *Lorain*, and being made wiſe and active, by the example of the Kings ruinous ſupineneſs, who ſate ſtill, in vain expecting the arrival of his Foreign Forces, almoſt at the ſame time by the ſeveral Captains they had diſpos'd into divers Provinces, ſurpriz'd a great many of the chief Cities of the Kingdom, and made no light attempts upon the reſt. The Duke of *Guiſe* after the taking of *Toul*, and *Verdun*, (which I have ſpoke of before) poſſeſt himſelf yet of *Meziere*, by which he aſſur'd to himſelf the whole Countrey of *Champagne*: The Duke of *Mayenne* took the City, and Caſtle of *Dijon*, which made him Maſter of the Dutchy of *Burgundy*: *la Chartre* ſeiz'd of *Bourges*, *Entragues* of *Orleans*; the *Count de Briſac* of *Angiers*, and many other Cities of that Province. *Vaillack* had hop'd to have done as much by *Bordeaux*, by the neighbourhood of *Chaſteau-Trompette*, of which he was Governour: but the *Mareſchal de Matignon* broke his deſign, and *Marſeilles*, by the Loyalty of her good Inhabitants, maintain'd it ſelf againſt the Faction of ſome who labour'd to betray it into the power of the League: but the enterprize of the *Cittadel* of *Lions* ſucceeded better with *Mandelot*, who was Governour of the City, and one of the Duke of *Guiſe*'s firmeſt Adherents; who having been formerly awed into his duty by the *Cittadel*, in which *le Paſſage* had been plac'd by the Duke of *Eſpernon*, to preſerve a City ſo important to his Majeſties Service; he who before-hand had been made privy to the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Deſigns, as ſoon as evet he heard they were in Arms, failed not ſuddenly to begirt the *Cittadel*; and being aſſiſted by the people (who naturally hate to be bridled by a Fortreſs) having ſurpriz'd *le Paſſage*, who little ſuſpected any ſuch thing, made himſelf Maſter of the place, and immediately raz'd it to the ground. The Progreſs of the League.

It was upon this occaſion that the ill will which had ſo long

Anno 1585. The Rupture betwixt the Duke of *Eſpernon* and *Villeroy*.

been conceal'd; yet had continually been foſtering in the Boſoms of the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and *Mounſieur de Villeroy*, broke out; from which quarrel, in the ſucceſſion of time, ſprung ſo many, and ſo important conſequences, as do not only take up a large ſhare of the Dukes Life, but alſo make up a conſiderable part in the general Hiſtory of that time; which obliges me in this place to diſcourſe, both what I have receiv'd from the Dukes own mouth, and what I have gather'd from the Commentaries of *Mounſieur de Villeroy* himſelf.

Mounſieur de Villeroy had been from the Dukes infancy Secretary, and Miniſter of State; a friend to *Mounſieur de la Valette* the Father, and a man of great Credit, and Intereſt, in the King's Council; he had ſeen the beginning, and encreaſe of the Dukes Favour, at which he ought not in reaſon to repine: but on the contrary had cauſe to believe, that ſuch a friend as he, would fortifie him with the King, and be no little aſſiſting to ſupport that Truſt he already poſſeſt in the management of Affairs. And in effect the Duke had a true affection, and eſteem for him, who as he was ever very reſpective, and conſtantly fix'd to all his Fathers Intereſts (whoſe memory he had in the greateſt veneration) it is certain had a particular conſideration for all his Friends; of which number *Mounſieur Villeroy* being one, the firſt years of the Duke's Favour were paſt over in a ſtrict correſpondency with him: but at laſt *Villeroy* perceiving the Duke's Credit proceeded ſo far, as wholly to poſſeſs that intereſt in the Kings Boſom he pretended to ſhare, he began in the end to grow jealous of a Proſperity, he ought ſo much the more to have cheriſh'd, by how much it was likely to be more uſeful to him; and thenceforward began openly to thwart all his opinions in Council, rais'd up a party againſt him, to leſſen his Reputation there: and the Queen Mother nettled to ſee her Authority weakned with the King, by the great power the Duke had with him; deſiring nothing more, than to have him remov'd, that ſhe might recover her former poſſeſſion, could find no one ſo ready as *Mounſieur de Villeroy* to ſecond her Paſſion, and the animoſity ſhe had conceiv'd againſt him. They joyntly adviſ'd that it was neceſſary to ſacrifice the Duke to the malice of the League; and that the King ought to abandon him for the general ſatisfaction; a Counſel that had been voluntarily follow'd by the Duke himſelf: and I have heard him ſay, he would as willingly have retir'd then from Court, as he did not long after, could he have obtain'd the Kings permiſſion: but his Majeſty very well perceiving that his Favourite was only a pretenſe the League made uſe of to cover their own ambition, that it was the

Royal

Royal Authority they aim'd at, and that their deſign was only to remove ſo good a Servant, with leſs difficulty to make themſelves *Maiſters* of Affairs; the more obſtinately they inſiſted upon that Article, the more reſolute his Majeſty was to protect him. *Anno* 1585.

The Duke very well inform'd that *Villeroy* was one of thoſe, who contributed moſt to his Perſecution, and ſeeing how publickly he profeſs'd to deſire his ruine, reſented it with an Animoſity proportionable to the Injury receiv'd; which was the more violent, by how much the offenſe came from a perſon he had never done any ill Office to, and whom he had ever made it his buſineſs to oblige. They were in this poſture of unkindneſs, on the one ſide, and the other, when happned the taking of the *Cittadel* of *Lions*; before which time it was thought, *Villeroy* had ſecretly treated of a Marriage betwixt *Alincourt* his Son, and *Mandelot*'s only Daughter; not having dar'd publickly to do it by reaſon of the intelligence *Mandelot* held with thoſe of the League: but having upon this occaſion taken up *Mandelot*'s Intereſts againſt *le Paſſage*; that is to ſay, againſt the Duke himſelf, *le Paſſage* being his creature, he offer'd to undertake for *Mandelot*'s fidelity to the King, provided his Majeſty would pleaſe to conſent to the Marriage propos'd, and ſettle upon *Alincourt* the Government of *Lions* in reverſion, in favour of the match; which the King, being reduc'd to the neceſſity of taking all men for friends, who were not actually otherwiſe, was forc'd to allow of, and to ratifie what he could not well impeach; by that means trying to draw *Mandelot* over to him: but the Duke exaſperated to the laſt degree could no longer ſmother his paſſion, nor diſſemble his animoſity againſt *Villeroy*; but ſpoke freely, and aloud to his diſadvantage, and of the Correſpondence he held with the League, which was the firſt effect of their open, and declared Hatred.

The end of the firſt Book.

THE HISTORY Of the LIFE of the Duke of Eſpernon.

The Second Book.

AFter the Surrender, or rather the Revolt, of the many places already mentioned, the Duke of *Guiſe*, conceiving it neceſſary to preſs nearer the King, the ſooner, and with leſs difficulty to obtain his ends, order'd the General Rendezvous of his Army to be at *Chalons*. Which place he made choice of for two Reaſons; firſt, becauſe by the nearneſs of it to *Paris*, (being but three little days Journey from thence) his preſence would be apt to fortifie the Citizens in their Devotion to him, and ſecondly, the number of his Confederates being ſo great, and ſome of them of ſo great Authority in the City, he could by their means continually infuſe into the people ſuch diſpoſitions, as might beſt ſerve his purpoſe: hoping by this means, either to incline the King, to ſatisfie all his demands; or at leaſt to be able to raiſe ſuch mutiny and confuſion in the City, as might give him opportunity, at one time, or another, to effect that by fine Force, he could not obtain by the more moderate ways of Addreſſes, and Treaty.

Anno 1585.

The Duke of *Guiſe* approaches with his Army near *Paris*.

Then it was that his Majeſty perceiv'd the manifeſt peril his perſon,

Anno 1585. Perſon, and his Affairs were in, and then would he take up Arms for his own defenſe; which he had no ſooner reſolv'd, but that at the ſame time he ſaw it was too late, and impoſſible to be done. The Reiters which he had rais'd in *Germany* could not come to him, (the Duke of *Lorain* having deny'd them a paſſage through his Countrey) and all the Forces within the Kingdom were either engag'd with the League, or with the King of *Navarre*; ſo that the King was left utterly naked of all defenſe, ſave of thoſe few Servants he had about his own perſon: Nay, even thoſe who, in the beginning of theſe troubles, would with all their hearts have aſſiſted him to puniſh the Duke, whilſt meerly in the condition of a Rebel, durſt not, now he was grown to that formidable height, and become the head of a ſtrong Party, attempt to ſuccour a weak, and diſfurniſh'd Prince, againſt an armed and prevailing Subject.

The thoughts of War then being altogether fruitleſs, and impoſſible in the poſture the King then was, he muſt of neceſſity have recourſe to the Treaties of Peace; to which reſolution he was further neceſſitated by the King of *Navarre*'s breaking into Arms, at the ſame time, which I ſhould not however have mention'd for a ſecond Motive his Majeſty had to ſatisfie the League, had this Prince pretended no further, than ſimply to defend his own Fortune with thoſe Forces he had already had in *France*; for then his deſigns might have been favourable to the King, and either have kept the Army of the League wholly imploy'd; or at leaſt have diverted their deſigns: but he fearing at once to be oppreſt by the Union of two Catholick Armies, had recourſe to ſtrangers for aid. The King knew he had treated with the Queen of *England*, and with the States of *Holland*, who both of them aſſiſted him with Men, and Money, and that all the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, made extraordinary Proviſion to ſend him a powerful ſuccour; ſo that he now evidently ſaw, he muſt in good earneſt cloſe with the League, and joyn with one of the Factions, to preſerve himſelf from being a Prey to both.

The Queen Mother ſent to Treat of a Peace.

The Queen Mother had for many years been employ'd Mediatrix in all the accomodations of Peace that had been concluded in *France*; and it was commonly believed, ſhe was not then altogether without ſuch an Intereſt in the Duke of *Guiſe*, as might have eſtabliſh'd this to the Kings ſatisfaction: I never heard the Duke of *Eſpernon* ſay ſhe was partial to that Faction; and though he receiv'd ſeveral ill Offices from her in his declining Favour, he notwithſtanding ever retain'd a conſtant Reſpect for ſo great a Princeſs, who was his Maſters Mother, and ever defended her Honour againſt

againſt all the calumnies of the time. 'Tis true he thought ſhe was not altogether diſpleas'd that there ſhould ever be a party on foot in *France*, ſuch as might oblige the King her Son to make uſe of her Counſels and Mediation; her great, and ambitious ſpirit ill digeſting the calms of peace; and worſe enduring to be depriv'd of an employment; in which ſhe had ever been as ſucceſsful as neceſſary. Her therefore the King paſſionately entreated to labour an Accommodation with the Duke of *Guiſe*, an Office ſhe as chearfully undertook, and two dayes after began her Journey towards *Eſpernay*, where ſhe had appointed the Duke to meet, and whither he accordingly came, together with the Cardinal of *Bourbon*. In the firſt overtures ſhe found a ſpirit puſt up with ſucceſs, and wholly averſe to Peace: but when he had more deliberately conſider'd, that it was not yet time to weaken the King's Authority (which he thought was abſolutely at his mercy) that there would afterwards remain the King of *Navarre* a powerful, active, and diligent Enemy, back'd with great Forces within, and ready to receive greater from without the Kingdom; he conceiv'd it requiſite to ſubdue him firſt, that he might afterwards diſpoſe of the Kings Affairs with leſs oppoſition: ſo that he altogether fell from the extravagancy of his firſt demands, and only inſiſted vpon the ſuppreſſion of the King of *Navarre*, which he call'd the extirpation of Hereſie; though it was in effect in order only to the eſtabliſhment of his own Power. *Anno* 1585.

The King had ſo openly declared himſelf an Enemy (as effectively he was) to this new Religion; and it ſo much imported him to clear himſelf to his Subjects from thoſe aſperſions the League had caſt upon him, that he was now neceſſitated to declare againſt the King of *Navarre* in the moſt ſevere Form, the League could themſelves invent; yet was it not without the greateſt reluctancy imaginable, that his Majeſty was conſtrain'd to that extremity againſt a Prince, whom (as has been ſaid before) it was not his intereſt wholly to ſuppreſs: but having loſt the opportunity he once had, whilſt they were weak, and inconſiderable, of chaſtiſing the Heads of the League, he ſaw himſelf now neceſſitated to grant them that, he could no longer, without apparent Ruine, refuſe. His Wiſdom then prompting him to ſubmit to the neceſſity of Affairs, he made a ſhow of complying in all things with their deſires; and that he might with leſs difficulty encline the Duke of *Eſpernon* to conſent to a reſolution he had ever before been ſo much againſt, he privately told him, *That he did not conſent to thoſe things that were exacted from him without very great Averſion, but that he hop'd to reap from thence a ſignal effect, and a very great advantage to his*

Anno 1585. *his Affairs; that the Party of the League was now too strong to be suppreſt by force: that they had brought their Armies to the Gates of* Paris, *and that* Paris *it ſelf was corrupted in their Favour: That he very well ſaw the time to chaſtiſe them was now paſt, and that he now knew (but too late) what he had loſt in letting the occaſion ſlip, wherein they might have been puniſh'd, when he had adviſ'd him to it; but that ſuch an opportunity would certainly return again, and that then his evil Counſellors ſhould never diſſwade him from making better uſe of his time: That in the mean time it was neceſſary to diſſemble, that they might the better look into their Enemies Intereſts, to diſcover their weakneſs, and to make uſe of that diſcovery to their ruine: That there was no Party ſo ſtrong that was not defective ſomewhere: That it was neceſſary to diſcover where that defect lay, and that it was impoſſible to make that diſcovery, without engaging with, and being intereſted in the cauſe they meant to overthrow: That being Head of the League, as they would have him declare himſelf to be, he ſhould be able to ſtrew ſuch difficulties in the way of their Deſigns, as that they would find themſelves perplex'd in every enterprize they ſhould undertake.* Though the Duke of *Eſpernon* had much rather his Majeſty would have defended his Honour, and trampled Authority, by the Arms of thoſe few good Catholick Servants he had, and to have joyn'd with the King of *Navarre* (with whom he did not think an accommodation impoſſible) and with ſuch Foreign Forces, as were affectionate to the Crown; yet ſeeing it was now expedient to ſubmit to the neceſſity of the time, he humbly acquieſc'd in the good Pleaſure of the King his Maſter.

In this poſture of Affairs the King writ to the Queen his Mother, that ſhe might conclude the Treaty upon ſuch Conditions, as ſhe thought fit; and, for a further teſtimony of his Candour, and ſincere intention herein, ſent the diſpatch by the Duke of *Eſpernon*, whom all the world knew to have the greateſt power with him, and the greateſt Antipathy for the League; to the end that the Lords of *Guiſe* might not in the leaſt doubt the obſervance of a Treaty, that was ratifi'd on his part, by a perſon who liv'd in ſo eminent a degree of favour with him.

This employment of the Duke's, though it was only intended to countenance the Queens Negotiation, and to make it more eaſily ſucceed, did nevertheleſs incenſe her in the higheſt degree againſt him. She look'd upon his interpoſition, as proceeding from a diffidence the King had in her, and not daring to manifeſt her diſſatisfaction to him, ſhe threw it wholly upon the Duke, and took from thence a new occaſion to augment the ill will ſhe had formerly conceiv'd againſt him. The Treaty was notwithſtanding concluded

concluded at *Nemours*, wherein the Lords of *Guiſe* had the full of their own demands, whether againſt thoſe of the *Hugonot* Party; or in their own particular favour. They were to command the Armies, that ſhould be ſet forth againſt the *Hugonots*; and over and above the great, and advantageous Governments they were already poſſeſt of, the King delivered over twelve, or fifteen of the beſt Cities in the Kingdom into their hands; together with vaſt ſummes of money: And then it was, that men were undeceiv'd, and that all men plainly ſaw they minded more their own private Intereſt, and the eſtabliſhment of their own greatneſs, than they regarded the advancement of the Catholick Religion. *Anno* 1585. The Treaty concluded at *Nemours*.

The Treaty then being concluded, the Duke of *Guiſe* came to kiſs the Kings Hands at St. *Maur des Fauſſez*, his Majeſty ſo ordering it purpoſely to defeat the Duke of the *Pariſians* applauſe; from whence after the Ratification of the Articles, the Duke return'd into his own Government of *Champagne*, diſmiſs'd with ſome feign'd Demonſtrations of Favour, which was alſo on his part receiv'd with the ſame diſſimulation.

From thenceforward the King began with great artifice to ſpin out the violent deſigns of the League, manifeſting nevertheleſs ſuch an animoſity againſt the *Hugonots*, and ſo firm a reſolution vigorouſly to effect what had been concluded againſt them, as he conc eiv'd neceſſary to ſatisfie a people jealous of his ſincerity, and apt to take up new ſuſpicions upon every inſtigation of their own corrupted fanſie: And in order thereunto he went to the Parliament in great Formality, and State, to cauſe an Edict to paſs againſt thoſe of the Reform'd Religion; where after a revocation of the cautionary Towns, of the *Chambres Mi-parties*, of the liberty of Conſcience, and of other Conceſſions that had formerly been granted in their Favour, they were preſcrib'd by a day prefix'd, either to abjure their Religion, or to be declar'd enemies to the State, and puniſhable to the laſt degree. The War begun by the King againſt the *Hugonots*.

Chambres Mi-parties were Courts of Juſtice eſtabliſh'd in divers Cities of *France*, in favour of the *Hugonots*, of which Religion the one half were, and the other half Catholicks.

This firſt Act thus play'd, his Majeſty aſſembled the Provoſt *des Marchands*, and the *Eſchevins* of *Paris* to demand money of them for the proſecution of the War they had ſo ardently deſir'd; which he alſo propos'd to the Clergy, who had ſhewed themſelves no leſs zealous than they: but finding both the one, and the other equally cold in the buſineſs, after he had reproach'd them with their unſeaſonable violence, which he ſaid, had hinder'd him from bringing about by eaſie, and infallible ways, the utter extirpation of Hereſie (a thing he more earneſtly deſir'd, than any of them) he told them flatly, that ſince by them this buſineſs

Anno 1585.

ſineſs was firſt ſet on foot, it was reaſonable, that they who had been the promoters of it, ſhould likewiſe be at the charge of the War.

His Majeſty thought by graſping thus at their purſes to take off their edge of fighting, and by repreſenting to them the charge, and incommodities of War, he ſhould at the ſame time imprint in them a hatred, and averſion to it. But what reaſons can prevail with a pre-poſſeſs'd, and exaſperated multitude? The people diſpleas'd at the difficulties the King laid before them, and ſuffering themſelves to be ſeduc'd by the malepert Preachers of the League, who by their ſeditious Sermons had ſoon perſwaded them into commotion, impos'd upon the King a neceſſity of beginning the War; and forgetting the reſpect due to the Majeſty of their Prince, gave him in plain terms to underſtand, that he ſhould not be ſafe in his own *Louvre*, if he did not forthwith betake himſelf to Arms.

The condition of the time, and the conditions of the Treaty lately concluded with the League, equally obliging the King to fall into ſpeedy action, and alſo to ſerve himſelf with ſome of the Heads of that Party in this Expedition; his Majeſty to comply with his own neceſſity, and likewiſe to ſatisfie that Article, diſpatch'd the Duke of *Mayenne* into *Guienne*, againſt the King of *Navarre*, the Duke of *Guiſe* himſelf deſiring to remain in his Government of *Champagne*, to guard the Frontiers, and that he might have in the other Armies. He was alſo to ſet on foot ſuch perſons, as he knew were faithful to him: He ſent the *Mareſchal de Biron* into *Xaintonge* againſt the Prince of *Condè*, and the Duke of *Joyeuſe* into *Languedoc*, reſerving for the Duke of *Eſpernon*, as a Servant in whom he repos'd the greateſt truſt, the Employment of *Provence*: A Government which being a little before left vacant by the Death of the Grand Prior of *France*, Baſtard of *Valois*, had been conferr'd upon him; and a Province wherein (of all other) his Majeſties Authority had the greateſt need of ſupport, having formerly been much weakned by the two contrary Factions that divided the State: Whereof one was commanded by the *Sieur de Leſdiguieres*, Head of the *Hugonot* Party; and the other by the *Sieur de Vins*, the Kings Lieutenant there, but a man very partial to the League. His Majeſty therefore deſiring, amidſt the confuſion that was made by theſe two Parties, to ſecure the Countrey to himſelf, ſent thither the Duke of *Eſpernon*, with a good Army, appointing *Mounſieur de la Valette* his Brother, for his Lieutenant in that Service; neither was he deceiv'd in his choice: for in leſs than four months time, *Province*, and

The Duke of *Eſpernon* ſent with an Army into *Provence*.

Dauphiné

Dauphiné were wholly ſettled in his obedience, the only part almoſt of the Kingdom, where his Majeſty was effectively, and truly ſerv'd; and had he had many more ſuch Servants to employ, his Affairs had certainly, and in a very little time, chang'd their face, and the Royal Authority been reſcued from the Rebellious Inſolence, that trod it under foot in moſt Provinces of *France*. *Anno* 1585.

The Office of *Colonel General* having given the Duke abſolute Authority over the Infantry, there was great conteſt amongſt the old Regiments, which ſhould be preferr'd to follow him in this action, in which he made ſhift to ſatisfie the ambition of the greateſt part; his Majeſty (who gave him abſolute power in matters of greater difficulty) being content, that his beſt Souldiers ſhould ſerve under his truſtieſt Captain: ſo that he drew out a good part of the Regiment of Guards, of that of *Picardy*, and *Champagne*, with other Companies out of other Regiments, to the number of ten thouſand Foot; to which was added twelve hundred Horſe, and twelve piece of Cannon, with their Equipage.

The Duke, having about the end of Summer led his Army into *Provence*, put them immediately into vigorous Action. *Vins* was the firſt he undertook, who, having before been worſted by *Leſdiguieres*, was in no condition of making any great reſiſtance; and *Leſdiguieres*, though victorious over the League, finding yet himſelf too weak to oppoſe the King's Army, conducted by ſo experienc'd Commanders, by withdrawing into his own ſtrength, gave the two Brothers liberty to make themſelves Maſters of *Seynes*, *Breoules*, *Chorges*, and many other Conſiderable places as well in *Provence*, as *Dauphiné* with wonderful expedition: ſo that by theſe ſucceſſes the two Factions, which had ſo long afflicted thoſe two good Provinces, being equally ſuppreſt, the Duke had leiſure to return to Court, where his preſence was not a little neceſſary to countermine ſuch Practices (of which *Mounſieur de Villeroy* ſays in his *Meſmoires* the Duke ſuſpected him to be Author) as were by his Enemies ſet on foot againſt him. Neither did the Duke need to make any great difficulty of retiring from *Provence*, conſidering the good poſture he had brought Affairs into, and that he left his ſecond ſelf upon the place, not only in fidelity, and zeal to the King's Service, but alſo in valour, and experience; namely, *Mounſieur de la Valette* his Brother: a man whoſe Vertues had acquir'd ſo great a Reputation with all worthy men, that he is never to be ſpoke of, without very worthy mention, and the higheſt Characters of Honour. But the Duke had *Anno* 1586.

Anno 1586. no ſooner turn'd his back of *Provence*, and taken back part of the Army with him, than the contrary Factions, encourag'd by this Diviſion of the Army, made head anew: ſo that it was neceſſary to ſet another Army on foot to oppoſe them; the care of which now wholly reſted upon *Valette*: nor did there need a more active and experienc'd Captain. His principal Exploits were againſt the League, to whoſe ſuccour the Duke of *Savoy* came in perſon, an ambitious Prince, and one that watching all opportunities of enlarging his own Dominion, had from the Leagues firſt taking Arms, joyn'd himſelf with the Counteſs of *Saut*, the *Sieur de Vins*, the *Compte de Carſes*, and other perſons of Quality of that ſide; neither has he (what Treaties of Peace ſoever have been concluded with the League) ever deſiſted from his firſt deſign of keeping that Countrey by force of Arms. But *la Valette* after having won from him the ſo celebrated Battel of *Vignon*, did ſo unceſſantly preſs upon him, and in ſeveral other encounters obtain'd ſo many advantages over him, that he forc'd him to retire beyond the *Alpes*, and to let *Provence* alone. Neither did *Dauphiné* eſcape his diligence, for *Leſdiguieres* finding himſelf too weak to meet him in the Field, gave him opportunity to withdraw *Geyſſens* from the *Cittadel* of *Valence*, which he held in the name of the League, having been plac'd in that command by the Duke of *Mayenne*, and to recover *Gap* into the King's Obedience. So that the two Factions, that of the League, and that of the Religion, being equally weakned by his Valour and Conduct; he then ſo eſtabliſh'd thoſe two Provinces in their duty, that it was afterwards no hard matter for him to continue them in that poſture of Obedience, until the death of the King.

New diſcontents betwixt the Duke & *Mounſieur de Villeroy.*

Whilſt *Mounſieur de la Valette* was employ'd about theſe brave Services for the Crown, *Mounſieur de Villeroy*, a declar'd Enemy to the Duke his Brother, was no leſs buſie, with all the ill Offices he could contrive, to ruine both their Credits with the King: Which though the Duke had long obſerv'd, and as long forborn to take notice of; yet could he at laſt no longer reſtrain himſelf from breaking out to a high, and publick Rupture with him. It was at St, *Aignan* that it happened, at the time the Army of *Reiters* were preparing to enter the Kingdom; and that the King was conſulting of the means to hinder their paſſage. I have already given an account of the Animoſities betwixt theſe two great Miniſters, and the Cauſes that produc'd them, which perhaps I ſhould not ſo punctually have done; neither ſhould I now do it, had not *D'Avila* an Authour of great Repute for the Hiſtory of that time enlarg'd himſelf more than ordinary upon this Difference,

ference, as upon an accident very conſiderable, and of great importance to the general Affairs that were then in agitation. *Anno* 1586.

The Duke then, and *Villeroy* being upon theſe ill terms, the King at the eſpecial inſtance of the Duke had aſſigned a ſumme of 20000 Crowns only, for the entertainment of *Mounſieur de la Valette*'s Army, a proportion very inconſiderable for the great end to which it was deſign'd; but very great conſidering the neceſſities the State was then in: which mony *Villeroy* (notwithſtanding his Majeſties Order) having diverted to the Payment of the Grand Provoſt, and his Archers, the Duke diſcover'd it to the King in open Council, complaining that a ſumme ſo diſproportionable to the utility of his Brothers Services ſhould be diverted to another uſe. To which Complaint *Villeroy* who was preſent reply'd aloud in his Majeſties Preſence, *That what the Duke had ſaid, was not true.* It is eaſie to judge, whether the Duke, who was then rais'd to the higheſt degree of Favour, were ſurpriz'd with ſo tart, and ſo unexpected an Injury. I have heard him ſay, That in his whole life, he was never ſo ſenſibly offended; nevertheleſs he had ſo much power over himſelf, as to forbear all kind of violence in the Kings Preſence, ſo much as from any extravagancy of words: neither made he other reply to *Mounſieur de Villeroy* but this, *That the Preſence of the King which had encourag'd him to give that Language, oblig'd him to be Silent: but that he ſhould repent it.*

The King both diſquieted, and diſpleas'd at this Quarrel, and willing to interrupt them from proceeding further, went immediately out of the Cloſet, expecting the Duke ſhould follow him; but he ſtaying behind, and being now no longer aw'd by the Reverence due to his Majeſties Perſon, fell very ſeverely upon *Mounſieur de Villeroy* for the words paſt: ſome ſay he proceeded to high threats, that he had his hand up to have ſtrook him, and that he gave him ſome very unhandſome language; though I never heard the Duke confeſs ſo much, in the many times he has diſcours'd of that buſineſs: But *Mounſieur de Villeroy* immediately went and complain'd to the King of the Duke's Threats, demanding Aſſurance, and Protection from him; where receiving no very ſatisfactory anſwer, he waited time, and opportunity, by working his own revenge to procure his own Safety, which happened not long after, when we ſhall ſee the Duke's Valour fruſtrate all his Enemies Deſigns. But let us in the mean time return to the general Buſineſs.

We have already obſerv'd, that from the firſt inſurrection of the League, the King of *Navarre* not doubting, but that all their preparations

Anno 1586.

The entry of the Reiters into *France*, and the Kings prudent conduct in this War.

parations were chiefly intended against him, had earnestly solicited all the Confederates of his Religion, not only at home, but in Foreign Parts to his aid: but when he understood, that, by the mediation of the Queen Mother, the Treaty of *Nemours*, had been sign'd by the King himself at St. *Maur*; he, then foreseeing the storm that was ready to break upon him, very well knew, that he should infallibly be overwhelm'd, without a speedy succour. He therefore again press'd his Allies immediately to send their Forces, if they desir'd to find him in a condition to receive the effects of their Assistance, his Enemies so passionately precipitating his Ruine. The German Princes spurr'd on by this new Solicitation, and having yet been ancient Allies to the Crown of *France*, would, it should seem, proceed with some shew of respect, and thereupon concluded amongst themselves to send first an honourable Embassy to the King, before they would engage in so important a Quarrel. In this occurrence all the Court expected some Civil Remonstrance on the German Princes part; but they soon found themselves deceiv'd; for the Ambassadours either prevail'd upon by their Confederates in *France*, or transported with their own Zeal to Religion, and the passion they had for those of that Party, having publickly reproach'd the King with his breach of Faith towards his Protestant Subjects, it evidently appear'd, that their design was not to mediate an Accommodation; but to push things on to the decision of Arms, by giving the King a premeditated Affront. I have heard the Duke say that he was present at the delivery of this Oration, and that the King justly nettled at so saucy an Embassy, after having in the heat, and apprehension of so great an injury, spoken with greater eloquence, than ever till that time he had heard him do, he positively, and for a final answer, return'd the lye to whoever should reproach him with the breach of his Faith. The Ambasladors dismiss'd after this manner, fail'd not at their return home, to exasperate their several Princes to the last degree; who, being before resolv'd upon a War, made speedy and great Leavies, and soon set such an Army on foot, as they thought, joyn'd to that the King of *Navarre* had already of his dependants, should be able absolutely to subdue the Catholick Party in *France*.

The King, as he very well foresaw what inconvenience the entry of such a multitude of strangers must of necessity bring upon his Kingdom, so did he by all imaginable ways try to prevent their coming: and seeing that nothing, but satisfying the King of *Navarre* could possibly divert that mischief, he once more try'd by the means of the Queen his Mother, if possible to win

win him to a timely accommodation. Which being by her undertaken, after many delayes, ſcruples, and jealouſies on both ſides, a Conference was at laſt concluded on at St. *Brix*, a private houſe ſeated upon the Banks of *Charente* near *Coynack*: but this Conference nevertheleſs being able to produce no good effect, by reaſon of that invincible difficulty, the difference of Religion, and the German Princes haſting away their Armies into *France*, his Majeſty was forc'd to prepare himſelf to oppoſe them. A Reſolution that he effected with ſo good orders, and ſo prudent a Conduct, that their defeat ought to live for a perpetual Monument of this Princes Wiſdom, no man elſe having any voice in that deliberation. It was he alone who by his own Wiſe Counſels rendred all the attempts of his Enemies fruitleſs; it was he alone that overthrew them, and that having by his own prudent orders made them ſuffer thoſe incommodities that unnerved them, and put them out of all defenſe, gave the Duke of *Guiſe* an opportunity, to win a great deal of Honour, with little trouble, and danger. So great an advantage it is to live in the publick opinion. *Anno* 1586.

The King having employ'd all his care, and art to hinder the Reiters from entring into the Kingdom, and all to no purpoſe, and finding all Treaties, and all moderate wayes ineffectual to divert the blow, that was intended againſt him, he at laſt put on his wonted reſolution, and determined bravely to encounter that danger, he then plainly ſaw he could not with all his dexterity prevent. Having therefore in this determination aſſembled his Council, to the end he might adviſe with his principal Miniſters, about an Affair of this important conſequence; and having there laid open the buſineſs to them, he found their opinions very different; neither is it ſtrange that men of ſeveral judgments ſhould diſſent in a reſolution of this high nature: ſome adviſed him to advance with his Army out of his own Confines, and there to expect, and fight the Enemy: others were of a contrary opinion; neither did the one, nor the other want reaſons, or example to juſtifie their advice. At laſt the King himſelf deliver'd his own opinion, which was, *To permit the Enemy quietly to enter the Kingdom, but withal to make them paſs through ſo many difficulties, and to ſuffer ſo many neceſſities, that they ſhould be already as good, as overcome, before they ſhould come to fight. He remonſtrated to them, that to encounter them freſh, and in their trim, as they came out of their own Country, animated to War by the Intereſt of Religion, and by the compaſſion of their Confederates, were to expoſe things to a doubtful event. That the loſs of a Battel, in the flouriſhing condition thoſe of the Reformed Religion would be after ſuch a Victory, would endanger* France,

Anno 1586.

France, *and the Catholick Religion. That he had a desire to preserve both the one, and the other, and to ruine his Enemies more leisurely: but withal more surely, and that there would nevertheless be Honour enough in the Victory, provided it were absolute, and entire.*

This being then the final Resolution, his Majesty gave order forthwith, that his Armies should be all ready in *July* following, to appear at *Meaux*, which he assigned for the general Rendezvous; and, besides the present Forces that he intended to set on foot, he commanded that in every Province, the Nobility, and * Train-Bands should be ready to march at the first Summons. He dispatch'd also several Commissions for new Leavies, to the end, they might either serve to fill up the old Troops, as they should grow thin; or to stand for a reserve in case any thing should happen amiss to the main Army. He sent Commissaries on purpose to beat down all the Ovens, and Mills that were in his Enemies way, from the Frontier, as far as the place he had appointed for his own Quarters. He caus'd all the Grain of the Country to be fetch'd in, and stor'd up in the good Towns, with all Artificers, and Tradesmen of what condition soever. He caus'd all the defensible Cities to be fortified with Men, Victuals, and Ammunition; and on the contrary, demolish'd all such places as were not tenable, nor able to withstand a Siege. He commanded all the Bridges to be broken down, all the Fords to be spoil'd, and generally all things to be destroy'd, that might any way contribute to his Enemies advantage, or subsistance. He further sent to the Duke of *Lorain*, that it stood with his Interest, in this occasion, to do the same in his Territories; and having thus dispos'd all things, and the Duke of *Espernon* having highly applauded what he had done, he told the King with his wonted freedom, that there was one thing yet left undone; which, though it were more in his Majesties Power, and Royal Disposition, than all the rest, would nevertheless be the hardest for him to execute. The King commanded him to explain himself, and to tell him what that thing was, promising withal to satisfie him in it; whereupon the Duke growing more serious, told him, *That he humbly besought his Majesty to command his Army in Person, and alone without a Competitor that might dispute with him the Honour of a Victory, that, by his Prudent disposition of Affairs, was as good as certain to him.* Which the King solemnly promis'd him he would: but afterwards, according to his custom, giving too much ear to the Counsels of others, and not enough relying upon his own wisdom, he alter'd that resolution, and dividing his Army into two, gave the better part to the Duke of *Guise*; and so depriv'd himself of the whole glory of that Action,

to

* *Arrierebans*, which upon examination I find to be in effect the same thing with our Train-bands

to beſtow it upon another. The Duke of *Guiſe* expert, and valiant, as any Prince of his time, had thoſe Forces no ſooner committed to his charge, but that he immediately march'd them away to the Frontiers of *Champagne*, to obſerve the Enemies motion, and to oblige them by his lying ſo near to march cloſe together; which, conſidering the ſpoil that had before been made of the Country, was as great an inconvenience as they could ſuffer. The Duke of *Joyeuſe* had alſo an Employment againſt the King of *Navarre*, to hold him in play in *Guienne*, and to hinder him from joyning with the Foreign Army, that came to his aſſiſtance. But the Duke of *Eſpernon* was reſerv'd by his Majeſty to attend upon his own perſon; as one in whom he repos'd an entire confidence, and as a man whoſe ſole and utmoſt aim, the King evidently ſaw, was equally directed to his Majeſties Honour, and to the Kingdoms ſafety: To him the King gave the command of the Vantguard of his own Army; in which Employment he ſo behav'd himſelf, both with his Valour, his Advice, and his Experience, that the very Hiſtorians of that time, though envious, as the greater part of men are, of the greatneſs of Favourites, could not forbear notwithſtanding to attribute to him a very conſiderable ſhare in the ſucceſs of that memorable Defeat. *Anno* 1586. *Meſmoires de la Ligue.*

And here give me leave without being blam'd for a digreſſion from my Subject, and that upon the Duke of *Eſpernon's* word, a man better read than any whoſoever in the buſineſs of that time, to oppoſe his Teſtimony againſt a Scandal *D'Avila* has publiſh'd; not only to the diſcredit of the Duke of *Joyeuſe* his Favour: but alſo to the infinite prejudice of his Honour. He ſays that the King, at the Duke's diſmiſſion to go to the Army his Majeſty had given him in command, gave him this reproach. *Che la Corte lo teneua in concetto di poltrone, é chegli era bene di levarſi queſto fregio dal viſo*: which is to ſay, *That the Court look'd upon him as a Poltron, and that he ſhould do well to wipe off that blemiſh.* Towards the Dukes latter end, I read this Hiſtory to him, which was then newly publiſh'd in *France*; and the Duke had very highly commended the Author, though in many particulars he had not ſpoken very favourably of him: above all he infinitely commended the exact care he had taken to inform himſelf of the ſecret motives, by which the ſeveral intereſts of that time were carried on; of which he does in truth for the moſt part render a very preciſe, and very often, a very true accompt: But when he heard theſe words, which were ſo highly injurious to the Duke of *Joyeuſe*, he could not forbear crying out, *That D'Avila was a lyar, that he himſelf was preſent when the Duke of* Joyeuſe *took his* *Anno* 1587.

Anno 1587. *leave of the King; that his Majesty could never have had so great a kindness for a man of whom he had once entertain'd so mean an opinion; that on the contrary he esteem'd him to be as valiant, and as brave a Gentleman, as any was in his Kingdom*: And where *D'Avila* continues to say that he was become burthensome to the King, that the King could no longer bear it; and that he therefore sent him upon this expedition purposely to be cut off: the Duke of *Espernon* bore witness, *That he saw the King weep at the Duke of* Joyeuse *his departure, than which there could not be a greater evidence of his tenderness and affection to him. That had the King had a mind to have been rid of him, and to have expos'd him to the King of* Navarre's *Forces, he would never have set him out with an Army, almost twice as strong, as that he was employ'd against, and made up of as good Souldiers as any were in the Kingdom*: *so that if he lost the Battel of* Coutras, *it was rather through the chance of War, or through the Valour, and good fortune of the King of* Navarre, *than by any default of his Army*. And to answer yet further to what has been writ concerning his Favour, of which *D'Aubigné* only speaks by hear-say, making stories, as it is his custom at the random of his own passion, and fancy: The Duke has told me that the King was indeed grown colder towards the Duke of *Joyeuse*, than he had formerly observ'd him: but that he only attributed that to the Alliance the Duke had contracted with the House of *Lorain*, and that it was only a diminution of Favour, and never grew to a disgrace; and indeed, had his Majesty conceiv'd a positive aversion to him, would he have given such publick evidences of sorrow for his Death as he did? would he have honour'd his dead Body with that excessive Pomp, and those unusual Obsequies? which were such as gave all the Nobility occasion to murmur, having never before been allow'd to any, save to the Princes of the Blood, and to the Constables of *France*, exclusively to all other great men of the Kingdom. The Historians of that time have further discours'd of the jealousie betwixt the two Favourites: to which I can answer on the Duke of *Espernon*'s behalf, that I could never find by any thing I could ever gather from him, that he had been in the least touch'd with that passion; neither is it very likely, considering the advantage the Duke visibly had in the Kings Opinion, there could be any jealousie on his part; but if there had formerly been any such thing betwixt them (as it is hardly possible but there must have been some emulation betwixt two concurrents in so high a pretense as that of a Kings Favour) the Death of the Duke of *Joyeuse*, and a long series of time having worn out those impressions, there now remain'd nothing more in the Duke

of

of *Eſpernon*'s memory, than the remembrance of their near Relation, and former Friendſhip. *Anno* 1587.

Some time before the Duke of *Joyeuſe* his Death, the knot of that Alliance had been broken by the death of *Catherine de Nogaret*, and *de la Valette*, the Duke of *Eſpernon*'s Siſter; who having at the King's motion, and to the common ſatisfaction of both the Favourites been married to the *Count de Bouchage*, younger Brother to the Duke of *Joyeuſe*; after they had for four or five years only liv'd together in a moſt perfect harmony, this Vertuous Lady died, leaving one Daughter only behind her, namely *Catherine de Joyeuſe*, the ſame, who having formerly been Dutcheſs of *Montpenſier*, is now Dutcheſs of *Guiſe*; a Princeſs of undiſputed Vertue, and ſuch as has ever ſhone equally bright, throughout the proſperities, and afflictions that have divided her life. The *Compte de Bouchage*, after having loſt his Wife, finding nothing in the world either to allure him, or to comfort him, retyr'd himſelf from it amongſt the Father Capuchins; where he took upon him the Habit of that Order, and there continued ſome years, under the name of Father *Ange de Joyeuſe*. 'Tis true, the Pope having ſince enjoyn'd his Superiours to perſwade him abroad again, to the end he might be Head of the League in *Languedoc*, that he obey'd his command: but it was to return afterwards into the ſame order again, as ſoon as Affairs would give him leave, where he continued to his death, and died in great opinion of Sanctity.

And ſince, upon occaſion, I have been drawn aſide to mention this Marriage out of its due order, it is reaſonable that I now ſpeak of that of the Duke, which happened at this time. The Duke therefore having been offer'd a match with the Siſter-in-law of his King, and having been eſteem'd not unworthy to marry with the King of *Navarre*'s Siſter, her Brother being at that time immediate Heir to the Crown: It is to be preſum'd he might reaſonably pretend to the greateſt Fortune whatſoever in *France* but amongſt the many were propos'd to him, he preferr'd that with *Marguerite de Foix*, and *de Candelle*, Daughter and Heir to *Henry de Foix*, and *de Candelle*, and to *Mary de Montmorency*, before all the reſt. The Father, and Mother of this Lady died both young, her Mother of Sickneſs, and her Father at the Siege of *Sommieres*. For the Duke *de Anville* his Brother in law, having undertaken that Siege, the *Compte de Candelle* rais'd two thouſand men amongſt his Tenants in *Gaſcony* to favour his Deſign; a very conſiderable ſupply in the weak condition the Duke *de Anville*'s Army then was; where being come, and finding the breach al-

The Marriage betwixt the Duke of *Eſpernon* and *Marguerite de Foix*, and *de Candalle*.

Aubigné.

Anno 1587. ready made, and the assault ready to be given, he intreated the Honour of the first Assault might be conferr'd upon his men, who he desir'd might give immediate proof of their Valour. A fatal request, which having been granted to him, his men went on with very great courage to the assault; where, being as resolutely receiv'd, they were at last beaten back: but the *Compte de Candalle*, not being able to endure such a repulse, return'd to the Assault, and putting himself in his Doublet only at the head of his men, he repell'd the Enemy, and won the top of the Breach; when being now upon the point to carry the Town, an unfortunate Musquet shot in his Throat laid him dead upon the place. An accident, by which the Town, already as good as taken, was again lost with the life of the Conquerour. By the death of this *Compte*, his Daughter being then but three years old, was left to the Tuition of *Francis de Foix*, and *de Candalle* Bishop of *Aire*, her Uncle by the Father's side, a Prelate who, having to the dignity of his Birth, added a singular knowledge in the profoundest Sciences, and chiefly in the Mathematicks, had the reputation of one of the most excellent Men, not only of his own time, but also of all Antiquity; Yet did not his diligence in study, though he were immeasurably addicted to it, hinder his due care of his Niece, either as to the Education of her Person, or as to the management of her Fortune; for he deliver'd her over when very young, to the *Conneſtable de Montmorency* her Aunt, a Lady of singular Vertue, who had earnestly desir'd it, that she might bring her up, as one of her own Daughters; which she accordingly did: and under her excellent Tuition this young Lady grew up to so great a perfection in all vertuous Qualities, that she won the general Applause, and was admir'd above all others of her Quality in the Kingdom. To these eminent endowments of Mind she had yet the advantage of her Birth, and the reputation of her Fortune: For the first I shall need to say no more, than that she was ally'd to almost all the Crowns of *Europe*, and that from her Family descended the House of *Navarre*, that her Family had oblig'd *Hungary* with a Queen, and *France* with a *Gaston de Foix*, with other Captains of so incomparable Valour, as took place of the most eminent Leaders of their time. Their Estates had also been very great, and there yet remain'd in fair demeasnes to the value of above fourscore thousand Livers annual Rent; though to say truth, the Affairs of that Family had of late years been so ill managed, that there now remain'd but a very small part of that vast Revenue clear, and unincumbred with Debts. Her Estate therefore requir'd both a discreet manager to husband it,

Thou.

Bemb.

and

and a man well furniſh'd with money, to diſengage it, and to reſtore it to that Splendor, and Reputation, in which it had formerly been: And if the Perſon of this Lady I ſpeak of, was not endow'd with all thoſe Criticiſms of form the curious will have concurre to the making up of a rare, and illuſtrious Beauty, ſhe had yet ſo much, and that ſet off with ſo graceful, and ſo winning a Faſhion, as oblig'd the Duke to become her Suitor; after which it was not long before the King concluded the Marriage. The Solemnity was held at *Bois de Vincennes*, the 7th. day of *Auguſt*, in the Year 1587. the King being then going againſt the Reiters, who were already enter'd the Borders of *France*. It is not long ſince I ſaw the Articles of that Contract, with the Inventories of the Dukes Eſtate, both Perſonal and Real, then taken in the preſence of the Counteſs *de Ryberac*, and a Gentleman ſent for that purpoſe on the behalf of the Biſhop of *Aire*, and by his Letter of Attorney authoriz'd to manage that buſineſs. For the Biſhop, what hopes ſoever they could give him of the obtaining of a Cardinals Hat, if he would come to Court, he could never be drawn from his Books, nor tempted to leave his Study: and his Ambition lying another way, that is, rather to ſearch into the ſolid Truth, than the vain Apparence of things, he found a greater contentment of mind in his retirement, and ſolitude, than in all the luſtre and buſtle of the Court. There were few Writers of that time that do not make mention of the Dukes great Riches, and of the Kings unlimited liberalities towards him; and yet upon this occaſion there was only found in Land, Jewels, Plate, and other Furniture, to the value of thirteen hundred thouſand Crowns; which if a man conſider the difference berwixt this Fortune, and thoſe of many others, that we have ſince known, not only Favourites, but alſo men of very mean beginnings, that have been rais'd to far greater Riches, in a much ſhorter time, than the Duke was a Favourite, will appear no ſuch prodigious proportion. His *Hoſtel* at *Paris* was alſo part of this Eſtate, which I have heard the Duke ſay, was then the beſt Houſe next to the Queen Mothers, now call'd *l' Hoſtel de Soiſſons*, and ſo little inferiour even to that, that after the Queens death he might have had it, advancing 10000. Crowns, in exchange for his own. I have made this obſervation that we may conſider to what a degree of State, and Beauty the Structures of theſe latter times are got, when this Houſe, that was then the ſecond in *Paris*, has now ſcarce any name, amongſt the many Structures that have been erected ſince.

Anno 1587.

The Duke's Eſtate at his Marriage.

Men have ſince been very liberal in their cenſure of the Duke's Oeconomy,

Anno 1587. Oeconomy, and which many unjust to his Honour, and not very kind to him, have blemish'd with the name of Avarice: I cannot deny but that the Oeconomy of his House was great, neither do I see why that should not have its due Honour amongst his other Vertues; he being in this as much a Steward for the publick, as for his own private Interests: for who does not know that the Profusions of Princes, and the Prodigalities of Favourites, are ever to be repair'd by the Oppression of the People? He was a good Husband 'tis true, but his good Husbandry, far from the meanness of Avarice, serv'd only to maintain his greatness, and to enable him the better to support the lustre of his Expense without being chargeable to the King. It has ever been such, that from his first rise to Favour, during the whole course of his life, no man ever maintain'd a nobler Table at Court, a better Stable of Horses, a more numerous train of Attendants, and those men of Quality, and good Fashion, more stately Furniture, nor a greater number of inferiour Servants than the Duke did. His expense in Building infinitely exceeded all others of his condition, and all this without the least abatement in his ordinary way of living, without any visible incommodity in his Affairs, or without ever importuning the King his Master; which can only be attributed to his Oeconomy, and the prudent government of his Affairs, many other great Persons, of far greater Estates than he, having never been able to do such things, as he did with great ease, without apparent inconvenience, and great disorder.

The King, willing upon this occasion of the Dukes Marriage to continue his Liberalities, made him then a gift of four hundred thousand Crowns: but the Duke had never other advantage by it, than the bare testimony of his Masters good Inclinations towards him: For the Treasury being either wholly exhausted, or containing no more than was necessary to defray the immediate War, the money could no ways have been rais'd, but by a new Tax upon the People, which would have bred new Discontents; and though his Majesty notwithstanding desir'd such an Imposition might be laid; the Duke a truer Servant to his Masters Interests, than a Friend to his own, would never consent, but obstinately oppos'd it. The Papers are yet to be seen amongst those that were found at his Death, for an eternal monument of this good Masters Affection, and for a testimony of the small accompt the Servant made of a Benefit, that must be exacted with the clamours of the People, and that was likely to pull down a popular *Odium* upon his Benefactor.

Amongst the preparations that were made for the Duke's Marri-

Marriage, the King was ſtill intent upon his buſineſs, not omitting any due care that might fit his Army to receive the ſtrangers; who were now upon their March, under the command of the *Baron de Dona*, and were already advanc'd to the Frontiers of *Lorain*. There it was that the Germans firſt began to be ſenſible of thoſe inconveniences his Majeſties prudent Conduct had ſtrew'd in their way, which ſtill as they advanc'd further into *France*, where they promis'd to themſelves a great abundance of all things (upon the falſe hopes wherewith their Leaders were prepoſſeſt, that the whole Court favour'd the King of *Navarre*, and that they had only the Duke of *Guiſe* to wreſtle with) they found more, and more to encreaſe upon them, all things remov'd out of their way that ſhould any ways contribute to the ſupport of ſo great a Body. And then it was that they plainly ſaw the vanity of thoſe aiery promiſes that had been made them; they found themſelves in a few days oppreſt with hunger, thirſt, and ſickneſs, their Arms with ruſt diſmounted, and uſeleſs, their Horſes unſhod, and themſelves expos'd to all the other miſeries, with which great Armies in long Marches, and in an Enemies Countrey are uſually afflicted: By which misfortunes their eyes being opened, they began to fear, and to foreſee thoſe, that in a ſhort time fell upon them: but amongſt all thoſe difficulties, that which troubled them the moſt, was their encounter with the Duke of *Eſpernon*; who, whilſt they were trying to find a paſs over the River *Loire*, having continually coaſted them, and attended their motion with eight hundred light Horſe, and five hundred Harquebuſſes on Horſeback, and having by his activity, and vigilancy found an opportunity to beat up a Quarter of twelve hundred Light Horſe, and to take the Cornets from them, they plainly ſaw by that action what they were likely to expect; for they had been made to believe that the Duke was won over to the King of *Navarre*'s Party, a ſlaunder (which, having been firſt ſpread abroad by the League) thoſe of the Reformed Religion made good uſe of, to encourage the ſtrangers to enter the Kingdom: but they, having receiv'd ſo ſmart a proof of the contrary, were now undeceiv'd: and the more clearly they were convinc'd of their error, the more did their fears encreaſe; which begetting at firſt private mutterings, and growing on to publick murmurs, proceeded at laſt to an open Mutiny.

Anno 1587.

The Reiters enter into *France*.

The Duke Beats up a Quarter of the German Horſe.

De Meſmoires de Ligue.

The Duke, well enform'd of this diſorder in the Enemies Camp, began with great dexterity to manage their diſcontents to the King's advantage; he treated therefore for an accommodation, both with the Reiters, and the Swiſſe: the latter of which made

Anno 1587. made up a considerable part of that Army, all their Infantry almost being rais'd out of the *Swisse Cantons*; pressing nevertheless with his flying Army the Rear of the one, or the other; at the same time that he disturb'd their March, and their Quarters with his Armies entertaining them with overtures of Agreement, putting them at once in fear of the King's Force, and in hopes of his clemency: by which different ways of proceeding to one and the same end, the two Nations, equally perplex'd, at last hearkned to an Accommodation: which notwithstanding was concluded only with the *Swisse* at that time, and with them the Articles were agreed upon, and Sign'd under the King's good Pleasure, the 18. of *November* 1587. Which being afterwards ratified by his Majesty, they immediately retir'd into their Confines.

This great body thus separated from the Reiters, the remaining Army was in such perplexity, that there was now nothing, but disorder, and confusion amongst them; so that their courages being abated, by the extreme necessities they suffer'd by their being abandoned by their Confederates, who made up the best part of their Army, and by the fear of worse michiefs to come, they now thought of nothing more, than of retiring from the extreme danger they saw themselves envellop'd in: and then it was that they hearkened in good earnest to the Propositions which were then offer'd to them afresh by the Duke, though much harder than the former; neither could all the Intreaties, or Authority of their Leaders, as well French, as those of their own Nation, prevail any thing, or disswade them from concluding a composition, and from retiring at last into their own Country. The Articles with them were Sign'd the eighth day of *December*, in the same year by the same Duke: by which it appears, that his courage, vigilancy, and Wisdom contributed not a little to the diversion of this dangerous storm, and to the preservation of the Kingdom from so powerful an invasion, as that of an Army consisting of forty thousand fighting men. Yet is it not to be denyed but that the Duke of *Guise* did also very brave service in this occasion; he defeated great numbers of them both at *Vilmory*, and at *Aulneau*: but in the condition they then were, ruin'd, and disarm'd by the King's forecast, beaten, and Disunited by the Duke of *Espernon's* Skirmishing, and Practices, it infinitely much facilitated the Duke of *Guise* his Victories, to have an Enemy reduc'd to such streights before he came to engage them.

The Reiters come to Composition, and retire.

But if the War was carried on with good success to the King in the forementioned engagements, things succeeded much otherwise on his Majesties part with the King of *Navarre*: for the Duke

Duke of *Joyeuſe* having precipitated the Battel of *Coutras*, the advantage of his Forces having blinded him even to a Contempt of the Enemy (an ordinary preſage of Ruine to whoever is too ſecure of his Fortune) he there loſt the Battel, with his Life, the twentieth of *October*, in the ſame year; together with as conſiderable a number of Nobility, and Gentry, as have almoſt fallen in one day in any one Battel in *France*. *Anno* 1587. The loſs of the Battel of *Coutras*.

Some have believ'd that the King was neither ſo much diſpleas'd at the loſs of this Battel, nor conceiv'd himſelf ſo much prejudic'd by it, as he imagin'd himſelf eclips'd by the Victory he ſoon after obtain'd over the Strangers; a deplorable effect of this Princes misfortune, who could neither be afflicted with his loſſes, nor yet abſolutely ſatisfied with his ſucceſs. We have already told you the Reaſons the King had not to deſire the King of *Navarre*'s Ruine; ſo that he enjoyed in part his own deſire in the loſs of this Battel, which made for the ſupport of the King of *Navarre*, and his Party; by whoſe aſſiſtance he thought with leſs difficulty to mate the ambitious Deſigns of the League: Whereas the Victory obtain'd over the Reiters, only ſerv'd to augment the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Glory, who was his real, and capital Enemy. Hence therefore proceeded his diſquiet, and affliction; and this was it that turn'd even the proſperous ſucceſſes of his Arms to his vexation, and trouble.

His Majeſty fearing leſt the Duke of *Guiſe* puft up with the vanity of the popular eſteem, and the opinion of his own merit, ſhould take upon him the aſſurance to ask ſome of the Offices, which were vacant by the Duke of *Joyeuſe* his Deceaſe, conferr'd them all immediately upon the Duke of *Eſpernon*; who was in one day made Admiral of *France*, Governour of *Normandy*, *Caen*, and *Havre de Grace*: and the diſpatches were deliver'd to him at *Gergeau*, the ſeventh of *November*, 1587. the Death of the Duke of *Joyeuſe* hapning but in the end of *October* the ſame year. The Duke of *Eſpernon* gratified with all the Offices vacant by the Death of the Duke of *Joyeuſe*.

Neither was this the only advantage the Duke reap'd from the ill ſucceſs of this Battel; for his Couſin *Bellegarde*, Governour of *Xaintonge*, *Angoumois*, and the Country of *Aulnis*, having there receiv'd a mortal Wound, and dying ſoon after, the Duke had alſo the Governments vacant by his deceaſe conferr'd upon him: which, as we ſhall hereafter ſee, at his departure from Court afforded him the benefit of a ſecure, and honourable Retreat. As alſo thoſe of *Bellegarde* kill'd at that Battel.

Although the Victories obtain'd from the *German* Army were very great, and of great moment; yet were not the Deſigns of the Enemy utterly ruin'd by the Defeat, and Diſſipation of thoſe

Anno 1587. Forces beyond the *Loire*. For the *Hugonot* Party, who were infinitely solicitous to adde all the vigour and encouragement they possibly could to their cause, were principally careful to re-inforce *Mounsieur Lesdiguieres*, who was effectually a very brave Commander, and one of the main pillars of their Faction. There had been therefore four thousand *Swisse* drawn out of the main Body of the *German* Army, and sent away into *Dauphiné* to assist him there, and to make him able either to oppose *Mounsieur de la Valette*, or (if Fortune so favour'd their Arms) absolutely to drive him out of that Province; a Force, like enough to cut out a great deal of work in those parts: But *la Valette*'s Fortune being here constant to his Valour, their coming only administred to him an opportunity, wherein to share with the Duke his Brother the Honour that was to be acquir'd in the Defeat of that Foreign Enemy: For opposing that great Body with only two thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse, he cut them all off in their passage over the River *Lizere*. *Mounsieur de Thou* says that there were not fifty Prisoners remaining; so that this may be reckoned amongst the other great losses that Nation sustain'd in this Expedition. And that which makes it yet more remarkable, is, that *Lesdiguieres*, and *Chastillon* being advanc'd on the other side of the River with three thousand Foot, and six hundred Horse to favour their passage, were beaten back, and constrain'd to look on, whilst their Confederates were all cut in pieces before their eyes, without being able to give them the least assistance. By this handsome action so happily perform'd, the hopes those of the Religion had conceiv'd, of reaping any signal advantage from their Victory at the Battel of *Coutras*, and by uniting with the Foreign Army, were utterly frustrated. Neither can I forbear in this place to give Colonel * *Aphonso*, afterward *Mareschal d'Ornano*, his due share of honour, who fought it with singular Valour; but still under *Mounsieur de la Valette*'s Conduct, and by his directions; with whom no man can dispute the absolute honour of that notable Defeat,

Des Memoires de la Ligue.

Mounsieur de la Valette Defeats part of the Foreign Army. *De Thou.*

* The same who in *D'Avila* is called *Alphonso Corso.*

Anno 1588. After so many brave exploits atchiev'd by the King for the defense of his Kingdom, and after so considerable services perform'd by the Duke of *Espernon*, and by *la Valette* his Brother, for the publick safety; who would have imagin'd but that his Majesty should have been welcom'd home with a thousand blessings of his people, and that so good Subjects should have received the praises due to their Fidelity, and Valour? Nevertheless all these Victories, with the care, industry, and hazards that produc'd them, wrought a quite contrary effect, through the blind affection

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the giddy multitude had violently plac'd upon the Duke of *Guiſe*. There was now no other diſcourſe at *Paris* but of him; the Pulpits, Courts, and Publick Aſſemblies rung with his Name: it is to him only that they owe their Lives, and Liberties, and 'tis only his preſence they deſire. The King's own Perſon, and thoſe of his moſt faithful Servants, are become odious to the *Pariſians*. They talk high of transferring the Regal Dignity to the Duke of *Guiſe*. They ſcatter up and down Printed Libels, wherein from railing againſt the King, proceeding on to the King of *Navarre*, they would have him declar'd incapable of ſucceſſion to the Crown, to the end there might remain no title to diſpute the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Poſſeſſion. Nay to ſuch a contempt of his Perſon and Royal Dignity they were grown at laſt, that theſe diſcourſes were frequent, and loud in the Kings own Family; his moſt oblig'd Servants not daring almoſt to reply; renouncing by that poor and unmanly toleration, their own intereſt, whilſt they abandoned that of their Sovereign and Benefactor. Neither was there any, ſave only the Duke of *Eſpernon*, a man that ſlighted his own danger, and deſpis'd the malice of all mankind, when his Maſters Honour lay in the Ballance, who generouſly expos'd himſelf upon all occaſions, to the publick violence, that he might preſerve the integrity of his Duty. Of which to give you an inſtance, it hapned one day, in a great deal of company, that the Archbiſhop of *Lions*, a Prelate of a ready Wit, and great Elocution, but paſſionately zealous for the League, openly maintain'd, *That the Pope had Power to abſolve Subjects from their Allegiance to their lawful Prince*: To which the Duke highly offended, as he had reaſon to be at ſo dangerous an Argument, made anſwer before them all, *That it would be as hard to perſwade him to that, as to make him believe that the Pope could grant a Diſpenſation to a Prelate to lie with his own Sister*: Now you muſt know it was generally believ'd at Court, that this Prelate was too familiar with a perſon related to him in that degree; and as injuries make the deeper impreſſion, by how much nearer they approach to truth: this ſo touch'd him to the quick, that he from thenceforward conceiv'd againſt the Duke a mortal, and implacable hatred. Neither was he long in finding out a way openly to expreſs it; for his Arms being his Tongue, and his Pen (reputed one of the moſt eloquent of his time) he employ'd them both with all the rancour imaginable, to blemiſh the Duke's Honour; he ſet upon him with a thouſand injurious Writings; nor did he fail, for ſo much as in him lay, to ſtir up a popular Fury againſt his Life.

Anno 1588.

Anno 1588.

Neither did the Duke of *Guise* labour his overthrow with less vehemency on his part, than the Bishop did on his: and as he knew the Duke's Interest to be very great, and his spirit inflexible, and hardly to be reconcil'd; so was he not content to endeavour his ruine obliquely, and underhand, but openly declar'd himself the Author of what he did, the better to effect his desire. And see the means he persu'd to work his purpose.

After the Reiters were driven out of the Kingdom, the Duke of *Guise*, accompanied with the principal Heads of his Party, retir'd to *Nancy*; where seeing the great Forces he had about him, and promising to himself wonders from the precipitous affection of the People, he resolv'd to prepare some Articles, which should be presented to the King in the Name of the League: Wherein, as he conceiv d himself in a condition to carry by a high hand, whatsoever he should propose, he principally insisted upon the Duke of *Espernon*'s removal from Court; pretending him to be a great abettor of the Hereticks, the better to colour the persecution he intended against him: interpreting after this sort the affection the Duke had for the King of *Navarre*, and for all the Royal Family, though grounded upon principles far distant from being any ways interested in that Princes Religion, as his actions ever had, and then did most clearly demonstrate.

But as it was very unlikely that the King to satisfie his Enemies, should consent to the disgrace of his beloved Favourite; the Leaguers of *Paris*, to impose upon him a necessity of accomplishing the desires of their Party, conspir'd thenceforward to seize upon the person of the King, that so they might remove all future difficulties that might lie in the way of their Designs: neither did they fail much of executing that accursed Resolution. The Council of sixteen was at that time first set up in *Paris*; neither is any ignorant what that Council was, how impudent their Proceedings, and how great their Authority with the People, even in the very face of the King himself. In this Council it was one day agreed upon to seize upon the King as he came from hunting from the *Bois de Vincennes*; and it had accordingly been executed, had not the King (advertiz'd of their purpose) doubled his Guards at his return. That Plot therefore failing, there were divers other Ambuscado's laid for him during the Carnival, that often put him in great danger of being made a Prisoner to his own Subjects; which being all happily evaded, by the timely information of one *Nicholas Poulin*, a Lieutenant in the Provosty of the Isle of *France*, who was privy to all these Cabals: Many of the Court, (who (as it is believ'd) favour'd the Designs of the League) endea-

D'Avila.

A Conspiracy of the sixteen upon the Kings Person.

endeavour'd to render *Poulin's* Intelligence ſuſpected, that the King diſcrediting his report, might at one time or another fall into his Enemies ſnare: But the Duke of *Eſpernon* in an occaſion of this conſequence, making no difficulty of hazarding his own life, to ſearch out the depth of theſe practices, franckly expos'd himſelf to infinite danger, that ſo he might diſcover the certainty of ſo neceſſary, and ſo important a truth. Being therefore advertis'd by the ſame *Poulin*, that the ſixteen had concluded an Aſſaſſinate upon him himſelf at the Fair of St. *Germains*, whither the Duke uſually repair'd to divert himſelf, with the entertainments of the ſeaſon; he reſolv'd to run the hazard, and accordingly went. The Plot was to have been executed by the Scholars, under whoſe name the Inhabitants of the Suburbs of St. *Germains* were order'd to ſlip in to fortifie the attempt; all which being diſcover'd to the Duke, it was certainly a dangerous, and almoſt deſperate adventure, he thruſt himſelf into; and which muſt proceed from an unparallel'd affection, and a vertuous care he had of his Princes ſafety, to run ſo great a hazard in ſo critical a time, when even the Court it ſelf was corrupted in the Conſpirators favour. And the Duke might excuſably enough have forborn going to a place where the danger was immediately directed againſt his own perſon, and might have made the experiment, and have penetrated into the bottom of this Conſpiracy, by another, without endangering his own life: and doubtleſs he had done ſo, had he had only his own Intereſt to conſider in the caſe; but then things would afterwards have been left doubtful, and the King's life had been ſtill expos'd in the uncertainty of the truth of thoſe cautions had been given him; which the Duke reſolv'd by all wayes imaginable to put out of future danger. He went therefore to the place where he knew himſelf to be threatned with death; but that could not affright him, provided he might ſecure the life of his Maſter; and being thither come, found the intelligence had been given him, to be punctually true: neither did they fail much of effecting their deſign; for a ſort of young people being gather'd about him, began to murmur, and from murmuring grew lowder into clamours, making ſhew at laſt, as if they would proceed to execute what they threatned: whereat the Duke not frighted with their noiſe, put himſelf into a poſture to reſiſt the violence intended againſt him; by which reſolute carriage, having with as much courage, as good fortune, diſingag'd himſelf, he leiſurely retyr'd towards the *Louvre*, not a man daring to attempt any thing upon him, as if even his Enemies had been ſtruck with a kind of reverence due to ſo brave, and ſo honourable an Action.

Anno 1588.

Du journal de Henry III.

After

Anno 1588. After there was no further doubt to be made, but that *Poulin's* intelligence was true; and by how much the King's danger ſtill encreas'd, by ſo much the greater was the Duke of *Eſpernon's* diligence, zeal, and ardour for the ſecurity of his Majeſties Perſon: ſo that there paſſed not a night, wherein ſometimes with two, ſometimes with three, or four Companies of the Regiment of Guards, he walk'd not the Round into the moſt ſeditious Quarters of the City: and if at any time he had notice of any extraordinary Aſſembly, thither it was that he immediately repair'd with a ſtronger Party; nor did he ever go to reſt, till he had firſt ſettled all things quiet, and had carefully provided for his Maſters ſafety. So that it is not to be believ'd how many of the Enemies Conſpiracies againſt the King's Perſon, were countermin'd, and fruſtrated, by his vigilancy and diligence. The ſixteen ſeeing their Deſigns thus travers'd, and fearing to be prevented (for they now no longer doubted but that their Treaſons were diſcover'd) diſpatch'd away in all haſte to the Duke of *Guiſe*, preſſing him by all means, to make what ſpeed he could to *Paris*; hoping by his arrival in the firſt place to be ſheltred from the King's Juſtice, and in the next to reap the fruits of their inordinate deſires. Neither was the Duke long deliberating upon this Journey; the time as he conceiv'd, being as favourable, as he could poſſibly wiſh, for him to raiſe his Fortune to that prodigious height, to which his ambition had already deſign'd it: For the danger of the Foreign Army being already blown over, and the King of *Navarre* ſo depreſs'd ſince, that it was almoſt impoſſible for him ever to riſe again, he thought he could never meet with ſo happy an occaſion, and conſequently prepar'd himſelf without further delay for his Journey. Of which reſolution the King being advertis'd, and knowing that he was now on his way, and already advanc'd as far as *Soiſſons*, he diſpatch'd away the *Sieur de Bellieure* to meet him, and to forbid him from coming to *Paris*; a command that added ſpurs to his deſire, which uſually in great ſpirits grows moſt violent, where it meets with moſt difficulty, and is moſt eager when moſt forbidden. But by this meſſage the Duke preſently imagining that his Deſigns were diſcover'd, and doubting that if he did longer defer to drive them on to their intended end, he was in danger to be prevented, and to ſee himſelf involv'd in the diſaſter, that commonly attends men who deliberate too long upon the execution of great Enterprizes, he made all the haſte he poſſibly could; and turning aſide from the ordinary Road, for fear of meeting another command, which notwithſtanding (his Ambition ſtill preſenting to him the image of that greatneſs to which he aſpir'd) he was reſolute not

to

to obey; he came at laſt with extraordinary diligence to *Paris*, ſurprizing all men with his ſudden and unexpected arrival. *Anno* 1588.

At this time (which made ſtill better for the Duke of *Guiſe*) the Duke of *Eſpernon* was gone to take poſſeſſion of his Government of *Normandy*: where he had been receiv'd with great acclamations of the people both at *Rouen*, *Caen*, and the other principal Cities of that Province; ſo that all places there continued quiet, and firm in the King's Obedience, *Havre de Grace* only excepted, which alone ſtood out for the League.

But before the Duke's depature into *Normandy*, the King having (as it was his cuſtom) taken him one day in his company to *Freſne*, his Majeſty there in a private Conference diſcover'd to him the trouble, and diſquiet the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Reſolution of coming to *Paris* had put him into, with the danger, to which his arrival (the abſolute power the Duke had with the People duly conſider'd) would expoſe both his Perſon, and Affairs; and there his mind equally poſſeſt with foreſight, and jealouſie, making him penetrate into the events of things, as if they had been preſent before him, he propheſied to the Duke almoſt all the misfortunes that befel him in a few days after. Whereupon the Duke freely told him that he ſaw only one way to avoid thoſe miſchiefs his Majeſty foreſaw, and that was to cauſe the Duke's Head to be ſtrook off, even in the *Louvre* it ſelf, ſhould he be ſo impudent as to come to *Paris* contrary to his Majeſties expreſs command; an advice which he fortified with ſo many reaſons, that the King bound himſelf with an Oath to do it; though when it came to the teſt, his reſolution appear'd no more conſtant in this than it had done before in other occaſions, as we ſhall preſently ſee.

But if things were thus determin'd on the King's part, the Duke of *Guiſe* was no leſs diligent on his, and had omitted nothing that might any way conduce to the effecting of his Deſigns: and that he might not, at his coming to *Paris*, lie at the mercy of his Enemies, he had ſecretly, and by ſeveral ways ſent thither divers of his beſt Commanders beforehand, with order to prepare all thoſe of his Faction in readineſs to appear in Arms upon the firſt occaſion: and having thus provided for his ſafety, came himſelf to the City the ninth of *May*, in the year 1588. and attended only with * twelve, or fifteen Gentlemen, alighted at the Queen Mothers Lodgings; who though infinitely ſurpriz'd at his coming, went immediately along with him to the King: by whom he was receiv'd (notwithſtanding that his Majeſty had been before diſſwaded from his firſt reſolution) with ſo great a diſorder in his countenance, as plainly denoted the contrary paſſi-

* *D'Avila* ſays but ſeven, *De Serres* ſays eight.

ons,

Anno 1588.

ons, that were then struggling in his mind. Which the Queen Mother perceiving, and knowing what a determination the King had put on against him; the execution of which she perhaps thought neither safe, nor easie; or perhaps willing to preserve the Duke, she took the King aside, and wrought so effectually with him, that she absolutely chang'd his mind (which was then wavering, and irresolute) from his premeditated purpose. Yet could she not so qualifie and appease him, but that he gave the Duke of *Guise* very manifest tokens of the highest Indignation: but after a few words, and those exceedingly bitter on the Kings part, the Duke retyr'd to his own house, where he more than ever continued his ambitious Designs, and seditious Practices. For his vast Courage, the excess of which had rais'd him above the condition, and debauch'd him from the obedience of a Subject, would (as it is believ'd) now perfect the work had been so long before contriv'd, and strike home to the main Design. All which though the King very well knew, and though he endeavour'd all he could to prevent him, and to deprive him of those means by which he was most likely to effect his purpose; yet those his Majesty employ'd, proving too weak to divert so great a mischief by their vain oppositions, only made the Torrent to swell higher, which soon after overflow'd the Banks with greater violence.

The *Barricades.*

All the world has heard of the *Barricades* of *Paris*, a day of all others the most infamous to the *French* Name, and to the inviolate respect that Nation has ever born to their natural Princes, that ever hapned since the first foundation of that Monarchy. Of which, to write the particulars, were to deviate impertinently from my Subject: It shall therefore be sufficient to say, that the Duke of *Espernon* was not at *Paris*, when this disorder fell; but they there found his richest furniture, upon which the hatred, and avarice of the people wreak'd their utmost spleen, and extremest rancour.

This storm of popular fury having continued the space of three days without intermission, or abatement; and the King, after the disarming of his Guards, and some other Forces he had then in *Paris*, having now no means left to defend his Person, which he saw in danger every moment to fall into his Enemies hands; the multitude preparing on every side to beset the *Louvre*, he made a vertue of necessity: and to evade the danger that still encreas'd upon him, walking out at the back Gate of the *Tuilleries*, he presently took Horse in the Garden near to the Stables, and, attended only by sixteen Gentlemen, retir'd with all possible diligence to *Chartres*.

The King retires to *Chartres.*

The

The Duke of *Eſpernon* was no ſooner advertiz'd of this diſorder, but that he preſently haſted from *Rouen* (where the news was firſt brought him) to the King; and as he did believe, with very good reaſon, that his Majeſties Enemies would not ſatisfie themſelves with what they had already done, ſo he thought it fit to go well accompanied; neither did he a little revive the Court at his arrival, having above five hundred Gentlemen in his Train. *Anno* 1588.

The Duke of *Eſpernon*'s arrival at *Chartres*.

They who have undertaken the Hiſtory of that time, variouſly report the Duke's Reception at this place: *D'Avila* ſays his entertainment was very cold, and that the King looking upon him as his Enemies Pretenſe, for all the miſchiefs they did, began to diſtaſte him; yet he ſays ſoon after with a kind of contradiction, that his Majeſty never went leſs in his affection to him, nor in the confidence he repos'd in him, from the firſt beginning of his Favour. Others write that he was receiv'd with great demonſtrations of Favour and Eſteem: of which both the one and the other ſay true; obſerving the due order of that little ſpace betwixt the Dukes Entertainment at his firſt arrival, and that he receiv'd after he had been two hours in private Conference with the King.

Contradictions amongſt the Hiſtorians about the Duke's Reception at Court.

It is moſt certain that this Prince afflicted with his Misfortunes, and reduc'd more than ever to the neceſſity of diſſimulation, did not at firſt receive him with that exceſs of kindneſs he had formerly done; and it is likewiſe true, that apprehending at firſt ſight ſome juſt reproach from the Duke's paſſionate affection to his Service, for that his Majeſty had not put in execution what he had reſolv'd upon at *Freſne*, his Majeſty put on an unuſual gravity at his arrival: But after he had talked with him, and that the Duke who was too diſcreet, at ſuch a time, to offer the leaſt ſyllable that might afflict his Maſter, had on the contrary rais'd his Spirits with new hopes, he then opened his Boſom to him more than ever; and having receiv'd his wonted good Counſels, entertain'd again the joy, and vigour, which ſeem'd to have been ſtifled in his Misfortunes, and began to meditate the means, and that with good hopes of ſucceſs, of reſtoring his Affairs to their former Condition. And then it was that he careſs'd the Duke with his accuſtomed freedom, honouring him in publick with as high demonſtrations of Favour, as ever. It was at this Conference, that the Duke gave his Majeſty an accompt of his Voyage, of the good condition, wherein he had left his Government, and what his Majeſty might expect from thence: How all things were ſo well diſpos'd there, that excepting *Havre de Grace*, the League poſſeſs'd nothing in that Province; and that even he who commanded there, had given very good hopes of returning ſhortly to his Duty: That

Anno 1588. the *Sieur de Carouges*, Governour of *Rouen*, formerly enclin'd to favour the League, was made firm to his Majesties Service, and that the people in general were as well dispos'd, as good Subjects could possibly be: An Account so highly satisfactory to the King, that he presently resolv'd upon a Journey into that Province; it seeming to him neither decent, nor suiting with his Honour to continue at *Chartres*; where to make a longer stay, would look, as if he were there shut up, and forbidden all the other parts of his Kingdom.

Neither was it without design, that the Duke spoke so advantageously to the King of the Forces of *Normandy*: And he could have wisht his Majesty had conceiv'd the same opinion of all his other Provinces; to the end that growing confident of his own Power, he might entertain the thoughts of Arms: For he certainly believ'd, that should his Majesty once undertake a War in good earnest, it would succeed infinitely to his advantage; that he would soon be in a condition to re-establish his neglected Authority, and to make himself fear'd of all his Subjects. But the King had already form'd other Designs, and the Duke of *Guise* seeming to him so strongly supported, that he could not depress him by open force, without endangering at once himself, and his Kingdom; he thought it safer, though less honourable, to lull him asleep with the hopes of Peace, than by open War to provoke his already approved Power.

The Duke of *Guise* also seeing the King escap'd out of his hands, and that he could no more impose upon him those conditions he had propos'd to the Queen Mother during the *Barricades*, was likewise not averse to an Accommodation. So that both Parties concurring in the same disposition, the business was quickly set on foot by the Queen Mother; who as she had been of the first, was now the Mediatrix of this Peace also. She had continued at *Paris* after the King's departure, and had not fail'd upon all occasions to possess the Duke of *Guise*, that the King was willing to be reconcil'd to him, and to forgive the *Parisians* upon their due Submission. Whereupon the Duke, the better to sound the King's intention herein, order'd the Parliament to attend his Majesty at *Chartres*, and there to offer him the first excuses for a fault which in its own nature admitted none: But the Provost *des Marchands* going before, and the *Eschevins* following after, both the one, and the other return'd with great satisfaction: Which the Duke of *Guise* seeing, and interpreting this flexibility in the King to an effect of Fear, he re-assum'd his former hopes, and again set on foot the same propositions, which he had before

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ſo arrogantly inſiſted upon; to wit, that War ſhould be proclaim'd againſt the King of *Navarre*, that there ſhould be a Convocation of the *States General*, and that the Duke of *Eſpernon* ſhould be baniſh'd from Court, with a privation of all his Offices: Upon which laſt Article he chiefly inſiſted, openly declaring, that there could be no durable Peace, nor no ſincere reconciliation, ſo long as he had ſo great an Enemy as the Duke in the Kings Boſom. *Anno* 1588.

The Queen Mother, as has been ſaid before, had long been jealous of the Duke of *Eſpernon*'s Power, with the King her Son; neither indeed could ſhe well brook any Favourites, but thoſe who ſtood immediately oblig'd to her for their Fortune; an humour had made her ſo much the more impatient of the Duke's greatneſs, becauſe it was an advantage for which he was indebted to none, but to his Maſters bounty. She had often therefore preſt the King for his removal, as the only means to ſatisfie the League, had propounded ſeveral honourable Employments to colour his diſgrace, and not long before would have had him ſent Ambaſſadour to *Rome* to juſtifie the King from the aſperſions, the League had caſt upon him to the Holy Sea: but his Majeſty who was as perfect in the Nature, and Deſigns of the Queen his Mother, as ſhe was in his, had ſtill been conſtant to his Servants Protection; and the Duke, having been bred up in the School of ſo politick a Maſter, had learn'd ſo much cunning, as had hitherto ever rendred all thoſe Artifices ineffectual, by which ſhe had ſo often, and ſo induſtriouſly labour'd his Ruine.

But at laſt the Queen (knowing how important the preſent occaſion was to the Kings Repoſe) embrac'd it with that fervour, that in the end it procur'd the Dukes ſo long wiſh'd for removal. She had the management of the Treaty in hand abſolutely committed to her, with the choice of any two of the King's Council to aſſiſt her; of which, ſuch as ſhe knew were affectionate to the Duke, you may be ſure muſt have nothing to do in this buſineſs; ſo that it was no hard matter, all parties concurring in the ſame deſign to conclude his diſgrace: and in concluſion, the King was plainly told, that it was abſolutely neceſſary for him to diſmiſs the Duke of *Eſpernon*, if his Majeſty intended to have that Peace, he ſeem'd ſo paſſionately to deſire.

To the ſame end there was then Printed a *Manifeſt*, ſubſcrib'd by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, as Head of the League; wherein the whole Faction were very importunate for the Duke's total Ruine, together with *Mounſieur de la Valette* his Brother; his bare removal from Court being now too little to ſatisfie their Malice: the

The League Print a *Manifeſt* againſt the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and his Brother.

Anno 1588.

League in this sole point comprehending the suppression of the *Hugonot* Party (of which they said the two Brothers were the Protectors with the King) the redress of the people (oppress to enrich them) and the satisfaction of the great ones; who might easily be contented with those Offices, and Governments, which the two Brothers now possest to their common prejudice.

The Duke resolves to give way to the time, and to retire.

The Duke who very well foresaw that he must either comply with the time, or reduce the King to a necessity of taking up Arms to protect him (which would have made him responsible to his Majesty for any sinister event that might happen) chose the lesser evil; and would rather alone undertake the defense of his own Fortune, than be any ways the occasion of so great a mischief. He saw the Kings mind perpetually fluctuating, and continually alarm'd with the Counsels of his Enemies; which, in his Majesties astonishment, grew still more, and more prevalent with him; he saw the powerful Faction of the League wholly Arm'd against his Person; neither was there any who did not conclude his ruine inevitable in so dangerous a conjuncture, should he be once, though but a moment, remov'd out of the King's Protection: but he had courage enough to run the hazard, and his undaunted Spirit (notwithstanding he very well understood his danger) made him resolute with his own single Interest to stand the shock of all his Adversaries. I ought here to adde yet another Motive the Duke had to retire from Court, a thing which will perhaps hardly be believ'd, though it be precisely true: but it merits a due place in the Duke's History, as the noblest testimony of a generous heart, and this it was. The Duke had understood something of the King's intention to cut off the Duke of *Guise*, by those ways by which it was afterwards effected at *Blois*; and not being able to divert that resolution, he chose rather to absent himself, than to be present at an action he thought so unworthy of his Masters Authority, and Greatness, though it redounded to his own particular preservation. 'Tis true, that in the first motions of the League, he had advis'd the King to take up Arms, to chastise him; that he had afterwards counsell'd him to cut off his Head at the very Gate of the *Louvre*, when the Duke came in contempt of his command to raise that Commotion in *Paris*; and that he had offer'd himself to fight him hand to hand in Duel, but he could by no means consent that his Majesty should commit an Act so unworthy of his Name: And this in truth was as powerful a Motive as any, to oblige him to retire.

There is great diversity of Opinions amongst the Historians of that time about this retirement of the Dukes, whether, or no, it were

were franckly, and of his own motion; whether he were diſmiſt with the King's good Opinion, and Favour; or whether he went not away in a real diſgrace; which they ſeverally report, every man according to his particular paſſion: But *D'Avila* much better inform'd in the Affairs of the Cabinet, than the reſt, enclines to the more favourable opinion, and ſays (very truly) that the Duke reſolv'd upon this retirement of his own voluntary inclination, and that to the King's great grief; who notwithſtanding, compell'd by the neceſſity of the conditions impoſed upon him in the Articles of Peace, conſented to it: And of this truth there are two evident proofs; One, the great familiarity, and privacy the Duke had with the King ſome days before his departure: and the ſame *D'Avila* records, a very remarkable, and a very true paſſage upon this occaſion. That the night preceding this ſeparation, the Abbot *del Bene*, a great confident of the Duke's, and a man in great eſteem with the King, for his excellent parts, (of which his Majeſty made continual uſe in his Politicks, a ſtudy in which he was ſtrictly regular) was ſhut up alone with the King in his Cabinet for many hours; not ſo much as the Grooms of his Majeſties Chamber permitted to come in all the while; by which he conjectures, and very rightly, that his Conference was in order to ſome Inſtructions, which were to be convey'd by the Abbot (who was to accompany him in his retirement) to the Duke, for his future Conduct, during the time of his abſence: And I have heard the Duke ſay, that he never in all his life receiv'd ſo many Teſtimonies of his Maſters Affection, as he did at this time. His Majeſty being pleas'd not only to chalk him out what he would have him do, and what he would have him avoid, during his retirement; but alſo adding a thouſand Proteſtations, that he would ſooner abandon his Crown, than his protection; and that he had not conſented to his departure, but with a reſolution to recall him ſpeedily back to Court with greater Honour, and to confer upon him greater advantages, than he had ever yet done: Commanding at the ſame time the Abbot *del Bene*, not to ſtir from him, to have a care of his Perſon, and to be aſſiſting to him with his Counſels, in whatever Accidents might happen, and in all the difficulties, and dangers he well foreſaw would by his Enemies be prepar'd againſt him. The other proof, that the Duke was diſmiſt in a high ſtate of Favour, was this, that his Majeſty made him at his departure, *Generaliſſimo* of his Armies in the Provinces of *Anjou*, *Maine*, *Perche*, *Poictou*, *Xaintonge*, *Angoumois*, and the Country of *Aulnis*, with abſolute Power to command: which certainly he would never have done, had his diſgrace been really true, and not meerly

Anno 1588.

Several opinions upon the Dukes retirement.

Anno 1588. meerly dissembled to satisfie the insolent demands of the League, and to comply with the necessity of the time.

Things being thus dispos'd, the Duke went to take his leave of the King, and to receive his Majesties final Commands; where, his affection in so great an extremity, suggesting to him the honest liberty, a passionate, and faithful Subject may justly take, he freely told him, *That it was not without an extraordinary violence upon himself, that he came to beg leave of his Majesty, that he might retire into his Governments, where he hop'd nevertheless to do his Majesty better service, than if he should continue about his Person. That to his extreme grief he saw of late his Majesties safest Determinations, and the Counsels of his most faithful Servants perverted by the Artifices of those evil Ministers, who had usurp'd a greater share in his Royal Trust, and Confidence, than was consistent with the prosperity of his Affairs. That the Queen his Mother (however an excellent and prudent Princess) was notwithstanding abus'd, as his Majesty himself was. That seeing no cure for this evil, he had rather chosen to deprive himself of the Honour of being near his Majesties Person, than to be an unprofitable Spectator of those inconveniences into which his evil Counsellors were about to precipitate his Affairs. That as to that hour no man could reproach him that any of his Actions had been contrary to his Majesties Service; so he would not for the future, by a toleration unworthy a good Subject, and an honest Man, draw any jealousie upon his Intentions. That by an excess of bounty, and oftentimes contrary to his own desire, his Majesty had enrich'd him with so many Possessions, Honours, and Offices, that he had nothing left to desire of Heaven, but Moderation in a Prosperity rais'd so infinitely beyond his Hopes. That having receiv'd these benefits to no other end, than to employ them in his Majesties Service, he should be ready to surrender all upon command, if by his Spoils any advantage might accrue to his Majesties Affairs. That for the sum of all Obligation, and for a final Testimony of his Majesties good Inclinations towards him, he had only two Requests to make: the first, That his Majesty would never confer any of his Offices upon any of the League; and the other, that so often as his Enemies should by their Malice seek to ruine him in his Majesties Favour, he would please to recollect the infinite Obligations he had laid upon him; which was the greatest pledge of Fidelity, a good Servant, and an honest Man, as he pretended to be, could in his absence possibly leave with so good a Master.*

The King though already prepar'd for the Duke's departure, yet touch'd with so sad a Farewel, could not refrain from Tears; and his friendship producing the usual effects that all true friendships ordinarily do in such occasions, made him forget the conditions he was bound to perform, and once more to reiterate all

sorts

ſorts of perſwaſion to make him ſtay: In which importunities, *Anno* though ſome have believ'd there was more of diſſimulation, than 1588. real truth; yet it is certain, that his Majeſty in this proceeded with a moſt ſincere affection, and that looking more narrowly into the condition of his Affairs, and conſidering he was about to ſurrender his Perſon into the hands of his Enemies, by whom he ſaw himſelf already environed, he could have been content to have retain'd a Servant of ſo approved Valour, and Fidelity about him. But the Duke having ſo often try'd, and ſo often found it impoſſible to ſettle the King's mind to ſuch reſolutions as were moſt proper to ſecure his Dignity with Honour, could never deliberate to look on, and ſee the continuation of thoſe evils, for which he could neither ſee, nor hope for any poſſible Remedy.

Remaining then firm in his reſolution to depart, he made a voluntary ſurrender of his Government of *Normandy* into the King's hands, which was as ſoon transferr'd to the Duke of *Montpenſier*, a Prince of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, very affectionate to the King's Service, and Father to *Henry* of *Bourbon*, likewiſe Duke of *Montpenſier*; the ſame, who in ſucceſſion of time came to be the Duke's Nephew by a Marriage with *Catherine de Joyeuſe* his Neece, ſhe, who (as we have ſaid before) is now Dutcheſs of *Guiſe*. And this, of all thoſe Offices the Duke ſtood ſeiz'd of, was the only reſignation the King would conſent to, whatever *D'Auila* is pleas'd to ſay to the contrary. He ſays that the King importun'd the Duke to make a ſurrender of all his Employments at once, excepting his Government of *Provence*: but that the Duke, *Who was a man of exceeding great underſtanding, and bred up by the King himſelf in all the Stratagems of State*, rais'd ſo many difficulties, and made ſo many exceptions againſt the perſons of all thoſe who were propos'd to ſucceed him, that ſuddenly departing, before any thing was concluded, he dexterouſly diſingag'd himſelf from ſo nice, and ſo dangerous a Propoſition. It is certain notwithſtanding that the Duke was never preſs'd to lay down any of his Offices: and if he did ſurrender his Government of *Normandy*, it was not only a voluntary act, but founded upon mature deliberation, and great judgment, as a Province that was near neighbour to *Paris*, ſeparated many Leagues from all the reſt of his Governments, and in which his Enemies had ſo great Intereſt, that his Preſence would be neceſſary to ſecure it; neither conſidering the ſtrong Faction they had within, was it certain to be ſecur'd. So that not being able amongſt ſo many perſecutions, as he ſaw prepar'd againſt him, to maintain all his Charges at once, he rather choſe to part with that he was not likely to keep, at leaſt with-

Anno 1588. without exposing all the rest, than to abandon the other strong Holds, and Places in his Possession; which though (particularly consider'd) they seem'd to promise less, than so important a Government as that of *Normandy*; yet that by their vicinity to one another were more likely to be kept, and to be more serviceable to him.

Thus then parted the Duke of *Espernon* from Court in *June* 1588. and retir'd himself to *Loches*, though far otherwise than in the equipage of a declining Minister, or attended like a Favourite laps'd into disgrace; but with a numerous train of above three hundred Gentlemen, and those of so good Quality, as that he employ'd the most of them for the raising of such Forces, as he had order from his Majesty speedily to set on foot. But that which rendred him every where more considerable, than this outward shew of greatness, was his brave, and unbated Courage, of which he had given so many signal testimonies in his Prosperity, that there was nothing left, but such a disgrace as this, to give it the utmost test, and the last tryal of a noble Constancy. Being come to *Loches*, he presently set himself to look into the state of those Provinces newly committed to his charge; where by establishing such order as he thought convenient, by the dispatch of his Levies, and by disposing his men into the most important places, he prepar'd himself betimes to encounter such Accidents, as the severity of the time was likely to produce.

The Duke retires into his Governments.

Soon after the Duke's departure, the King went his Journey into *Normandy*: where the greatest Obstacle, being now remov'd, the Treaty of Peace went on without any further impediment, and was presently after concluded; the King (who had already determin'd how to dispose of the Duke of *Guise*) making no great difficulty to grant him what he was resolv'd he should not long enjoy.

The Peace concluded, the Edict of Union was publish'd, first at *Rouen*, and then in all parts of the Kingdom; after which they immediately fell to the raising of Arms, for the utter suppression of the King of *Navarre*, and his Party. But above all things, the King was careful to hasten the necessary Dispatches for the Convocation of the *States General* at *Blois*, in the beginning of *October* next ensuing, an Assembly equally desir'd by the King, and the Duke of *Guise*; but to different ends: The Duke hoping there by the joynt suffrages of the several Orders of the Kingdom to see himself plac'd in that degree of height, to which his great Spirit, and vast Ambition, had so long aspir'd; and the King resolving there, and at that time to quench his restless and inordi-

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nate Ambition in a torrent of his own Blood. Thus do we often ſee the purpoſes of the greateſt Politicians deluded, who, when they think they have brought their Deſigns by the moſt infallible Rules, and Maxims of Humane Prudence to an almoſt certain Iſſue, find themſelves deceiv'd, and uſually meet with effects quite contrary to their expectation; giving us to underſtand, that we ought not to commit our actions to the blind conduct of our own frail and erroneous foreſight, but into the hands of Providence, that governs all, and that brings all things to their determinate end. *Anno* 1588.

The Edict of Union being ſworn, the Duke of *Eſpernon* remov'd from Court, and the King ſatisfied (at leaſt in apparence) with the Duke of *Guiſe's*, and the *Pariſians* excuſes; the Duke confident in the Queen Mother, (who was of late become abſolutely powerful with the King) had nothing now to hinder his coming to Court; ſo that upon his Majeſties return out of *Normandy*, he immediately repair'd to him, and having found him at *Chartres*, he there in perſon deliver'd the ſame Apologies, he had not long before preſented by the Mediation of others. All which his Majeſty received with a Diſſimulation, that was not only natural to him; but that by a long Practice, and by the continual traverſes, and difficulties of his Reign, was grown to ſuch a habit in him, that it was no hard matter for him to put on any kind of Language, or Behaviour, on any occaſion wherein he was moſt likely to be ſurpriz'd: So that in outward ſhew the King was ſo well pleas'd with no Company (as indeed it was almoſt all he had) as with the Duke's, his Relations, and Confederates. Amongſt which the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who was now alſo come to Court, was entertain'd with extraordinary marks of Favour, and Reſpect; neither was there any Commands, or Offices, Military or Civil, granted to any, but by their recommendation: inſomuch that ſome have thought the Duke of *Guiſe* by winning, and ſubmiſſive carriage, had made ſome real impreſſion upon the Kings Inclinations, and that his Majeſty was diſpos'd really to love him, as he had formerly done, if he could have moderated his Ambition, and would have laid aſide thoſe deſigns which rendred him ſuſpected to him. The Duke of *Guiſe* comes to Court.

In a conjuncture ſo favourable to their Deſigns, neither the Duke of *Guiſe*, nor thoſe of his Faction ſlept in their Buſineſs; but with all poſſible induſtry, ſtill more, and more labour'd the Duke of *Eſpernon's* total Ruine, as a thing that imported moſt of all to the confirmation of that Authority, and Truſt, to which they ſaw themſelves by his removal already advanc'd: So that

Anno 1588. the King being daily afflicted with a thousand Accusations against him, and wearied by their importunities, was at last so far overcome, as to consent that many of his Offices should be taken away, being not yet to be prevail'd upon for his absolute Ruine. Whilst the Duke was present, he continually by his good Services fortified his Masters mind, against all impressions of calumny, his Enemies could invent, to the prejudice of his Fidelity, and Honour, and had ever triumph'd in his Majesties good Opinion, over the Envy and Malice of his Detractors: but he was no sooner remov'd out of his Eye, than that Confidence began to stagger, his detractors representing him for an Enemy to the Crown, a Friend to the King of *Navarre*, and one that seducing daily all the Garrisons in his Government to a Revolt, was upon the point to Proclaim open War against the King himself.

In the mean time the Duke had very good Intelligence of all that pass'd at Court; he very well knew that his Enemies made use of all imaginable ways to destroy him, that the King was by them perpetually socilited against him; and that consequently it concern'd him in common discretion to frustrate their Designs, and to provide for his own safety in the strength of those places he possess'd: Neither was he much surpriz'd at the unexpected news of what the King had consented to against him, he was very well acquainted with the constitution of the Court, and had very well foreseen what would certainly be attempted against him; but he could hardly perswade himself, that his Majesty could ever forget his Fidelity, and good Services; yet did he not for all that neglect his own preservation, that he might live to do him one day more, and better Service: the only revenge this faithful honest Servant meditated for the ingratitude of his Master.

He fell therefore presently into Consultation with his Friends, what course he were best to take; a Debate wherein Opinions were very different: some there were who advis'd him to return to Court, representing that his presence would infallibly disperse all those shadows of mistrust, which by his absence his Adversaries had had opportunity to possess the King's mind withal; that his tried Fidelity would soon recover its former place in his Majesties Opinion, and that then he would soon be in a condition to return the mischiefs had been intended against him, upon the heads of the first contrivers. Others there were who gave him counsel to put himself into *Metz*, others to make immediately for *Provence*, and some of those there to joyn with the King of *Navarre*; That to that purpose he should first go into *Angoumois*, whither he might suddenly, and with great facility convey himself, where

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he had a ſtrong City to retire unto, and where he would be in a Country very convenient to favour his Paſſage into *Provence*, by the way of *Guienne* and *Languedoc*; the Friends he had in thoſe two Provinces being enough to make his way, through the one, and the other, ſhould he be put upon a reſolution of retiring thither. *Anno* 1588.

The firſt propoſitions being accompanied with great, and almoſt invincible difficulties, the Duke wholly adher'd to the laſt advice, and ſo far follow'd it, as to retire to *Angouleſme*, without joyning himſelf nevertheleſs (though infinitely ſolicited ſo to do) with the King of *Navarre*. A thing impoſſible for him to reſolve upon, had he been ſo enclin'd, for two Reaſons; Firſt, by reaſon of that Princes Religion, and ſecondly, becauſe being a declared Enemy to the King his Maſter, the Duke would rather have periſh'd a thouſand times, than appear to favour, much leſs to engage with ſuch, as he knew acted poſitively againſt his Majeſties Service.

One of the Duke's old Servants * *De Guez* by name, a man of fourſcore and eight years old, but notwithſtanding ſo entire in his Judgment as diſcover'd nothing of the infirmities of Age, gave me not long ſince a full Relation of all theſe Circumſtances. He was at this time about the Duke's Perſon, and (as one of his principal, and moſt truſty Servants) preſent at this Deliberation; when the Duke asking his particular Opinion of all had been propounded to him, *De Guez* told him, that he believ'd the reſolution he had already taken, to be without all diſpute the beſt, provided it were put iuto ſpeedy execution: but that it was to be fear'd, that whilſt he ſtood deliberating with his Friends what was beſt to be done, his Enemies, who were very powerful, and already reſolv'd what to do, might effect ſomething to the prejudice of his Fortune; and that the leaſt moments were to be husbanded in a buſineſs of ſo great conſequence as this. An advice that being ſoon conſider'd of by the Duke, he immediately commanded that every one ſhould make himſelf ready to depart within two days; neither did he longer defer it, but accordingly put himſelf upon his way to *Angouleſme*, and that very ſeaſonably, as by the following diſcourſe will ſuddenly appear.

* *De Guez* was *Balzac's* Father.

But before the Duke left *Loches*, he was preſented with a diſcourſe, by way of Apology in the behalf of himſelf, and his Brother, againſt the Calumnies contain'd in the forementioned *Manifeſt* of the League: a piece ſo eloquently couch'd, and ſet forth with ſo many powerful, and ſo pertinent Arguments, that it is certain the Leaguers could afterwards have wiſh'd they had never aſſaulted the Duke by the way of writing, that ſo they might

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The Duke publishes an Answer to the *Manifest* of the League.

not have drawn upon themselves so tart a Reply. I forbear to transcribe it in this place, because it would swell this Volume with things that are elsewhere, and in better language, than I should perhaps express it, to be found: But *Mounsieur de Thou*, one of the most celebrated Historians of these latter times, thought it a Discourse worth inserting at length in his History; and having translated it out of the Original, into his own elegant Latine, has commended it to all the Nations of Europe, where his works are read with an universal applause. And although the Duke never thought of justifying his actions that way, and that he had so little a share in this answer, as neither then, nor ever since, to know his name, who undertook his Quarrel and Interest with so friendly a Zeal (a thing somewhat hard to believe, that a man who would oblige the Duke at so kind a rate, should deprive himself of the thanks justly due to so great an obligation) he nevertheless took it upon him, and publish'd it in his own name, that all the world might be satisfied both with his and his Brothers Innocency: and certainly it wrought upon all disinterested spirits impressions very disadvantageous to the covert practices of the League.

The Duke arrives at *Angoulesme*.

Having caus'd this Declaration to be publish'd, he departed towards *Angoulesme*, where he safely arriv'd in *July*; and where the several Orders of the City contented with great emulation, which should give the greatest testimony of joy for his Arrival. Being thither come, the Duke would needs take up his Lodging in the Castle, which although it was only a rude pile of stone, and naked of all defense, (though by him afterwards fortified, and made more considerable) and though there was in the same City a *Cittadel*, much stronger, and more commodious, commanded by the *Sieur de Bordes*, a particular creature of the Dukes; yet to shew the Inhabitants how entire a Confidence he repos'd in them, he would rather choose to lie in the other, and that with so much civility to the Town, as that he permitted not one of the Souldiers he brought along with him so much as to come within the Walls of the City.

The King commands the Inhabitants of the City not to receive the Duke.

Two days after his Arrival the *Sieurs Nesmond*, Chief Justice, and *Normond* Consul of the City receiv'd dispatches from the King, Sign'd by *Mounsieur Villeroy*, wherein his Majesty positively commanded them, not to admit any whomsoever with any Forces into their City, without his express Order; whatever they might pretend, or what Commissions soever they should produce to the contrary. And indeed his Majesty had been so importun'd to exclude the Duke from this important place (being withal made

made to believe that he had only left *Loches* in order to a cloſing with the King of *Navarre*) that being unwilling to have that Faction ſtrengthened, by ſo powerful, and ſo active a Confederate, he had conſented to this diſpatch: but the Duke's diligence having prevented this command, ſo fruſtrated the execution of it, that whereas it had before (had theſe orders come in time) been a very eaſie matter to have kept him out, it was now impoſſible to obey the Kings deſire, he being got in, or to thruſt him out again, who had already made himſelf Maſter of the place. *Anno* 1588. But too late.

The Conſul notwithſtanding communicated the Orders he had receiv'd to ſome of his Relations, and moſt intimate Friends; where the greater part of thoſe he conſulted about this buſineſs, being enclin'd to the League (and it is hardly to be imagin'd how ſtrangely that contagion had diffus'd it ſelf throughout the whole Kingdom, no Family almoſt being without one, or more of their Party; no City without ſome notorious Ring-leader of their Faction; nor no Province wherein their Intereſt was not grown to a formidable height) it was ſoon reſolv'd upon, that (ſince the Kings pleaſure could not now be fulfill'd in the preciſe Form his Letters preſcrib'd) to propoſe to his Majeſty other ways, by which (as they conceiv'd) they might work as conſiderable, if not a more advantageous effect, for his ſervice, than they could have done, by that it was now too late for them to perform. The Conſul therefore diſpatch'd away to Court one *Souchet* his Brother-in-Law, a notable Leaguer, and a bold Factious Fellow, to acquaint the King with his Deſign; which was, to ſeize upon the Duke's perſon, and to detain him Priſoner in the City, till his Majeſties further Order: who accordingly arriving at Court, and addreſſing himſelf to *Mounſieur de Villeroy*, made this Propoſition to him, and was by him very well receiv'd. *Villeroy* promiſing to acquaint the King with the good affection of the Inhabitants, and to give him a ſpeedy anſwer. I ſhall not here make ſhie of delivering plainly what I have receiv'd from the Duke's own mouth upon this occaſion, and that without fear of reviving Animoſities long ago extinct; the Duke, and *Mounſieur de Villeroy* having often ſince (and that with ſome kind of delight) diſcours'd themſelves into a better intelligence about this Subject: So true it is, that time is a Sovereign Remedy for the moſt violent paſſions, no former unkindneſs betwixt theſe two great Miniſters being of force to hinder the mutual eſteem they had of one anothers Vertue in their later years, from ending in a moſt ſincere, and perfect Friendſhip.

The King's anſwer to *Villeroy* was; that he ſhould be glad to have

Anno 1588. have the Duke within his power, that so he might hinder him from joyning with the King of *Navarre*; but withal, if it could not be done without endangering his Person, that they should by no means attempt it; his Majesty being neither willing to have him destroy'd, nor exasperated, but only restrain'd within the bounds of his Duty: Which were the very words his Majesty repeated to the Duke at his return to Court, graciously adding, that it was in order to a speedy recalling of him about his own Person, where he intended to use him like a Son (a title by which his Majesty was ever pleas'd to Honour him in his Letters, and ordinary Discourse) as hitherto he had ever done. But this was too nice a Commission for his Enemies to work upon, who would by all means make use of this occasion the hair-brain'd Citizens presented to them, to take a full revenge of former injuries: for after the business had been communicated to the Duke of *Guise*, it was told *Souchet* by *Mounsieur Villeroy*, that it was the King's desire, they should take the Duke Prisoner, and that they could not do his Majesty a more acceptable service. Whereupon *Souchet* having reply'd, that it would be an enterprize hard to execute so, as to meet with no opposition; and that in such a case he desir'd to know how they were to behave themselves: he was further order'd to take the Duke alive, or dead; that such was his Majesties intention, and that it was a business of so great importance, that both he, and all others, who should be employ'd therein, might certainly expect a recompense proportionable to the merit of the Action. Some have further added, and it was a common report, that a man utterly unknown to *Souchet* was disguis'd in his Majesties Cloaths, and taught to pronounce this Command, as if it had come from the King's own mouth: but however it were carried, certain it is that *Souchet* could not have return'd more fully perswaded, than he did.

At his return he acquaints the Consul with his Instructions (at a private place without the City) who hoping to do the King a signal Service, communicated the Order he had receiv'd to forty, or fifty, all active and resolute men, of his most intimate Friends, and confer'd yet further with some Gentlemen of the Duke of *Guise*'s Faction about it; so that having made himself as strong as he could, and having writ to the Vicount *Aubeterre*, who was Head of the League in that Province, to be ready to assist in an action so important to the Service of the King, and the Catholick Union, he at last receiv'd the Deputy into the City upon St. *Laurence* Eve, the day following without further delay being design'd for the execution of the Enterprize.

There

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The Conſpiracy of *Angouleſme* againſt the Duke of *Eſpernon.*

There are few Hiſtorians of any note, of thoſe times, who have not given a full deſcription of this days buſineſs, and who have not thought it (though only relating to a particular perſon) an action for the Novelty, and handſome performance of it, worthy to be recorded amongſt the general Tranſactions of that time. *Mounſieur de Thou*, *D'Aubigné*, and *D'Avila*, have all made long Relations of it; and there were many Printed Reports of it current in *France* immediately after the thing was done, of which ſeveral old Copies yet remain; to all which I could refer my Reader, and ſpare my ſelf the pains of repeating it over again, could a buſineſs ſo highly important to the Duke's Honour be left out of the recital of his Life, without making my ſelf guilty of an omiſſion, Poſterity might juſtly blame me for. Take here therefore what I have collected, both from the Duke's own mouth, and from ſome of his Servants; who, as they ſhar'd in the danger of this Conſpiracy, had alſo the Honour to do their Maſter ſignal Service in ſo memorable an Action.

The Duke living in great ſecurity in the City, and behaving himſelf very obligingly to all the Inhabitants in general, but more particularly to thoſe he ſaw bore the greateſt ſway amongſt them, ſpar'd no kind of good Entertainment, that he thought might win the Conſul over to his Devotion: a man, who beſides the addition of his Authority, was very conſiderable in his own Perſon, as being deſcended from one of the beſt Families in the City, and a man of great ſagacity and valour. The morning of his enterprize therefore being St. *Laurence* day, he going early, as it was uſual, to give the Duke a Viſit, was by him entertain'd with extraordinary civility; the Duke not ſuffering him to depart, till he had made him a promiſe to come again to Dinner: which the Conſul, thinking by that means to have his acceſs into the Caſtle more open, and free, for the effecting of his purpoſe, readily engag'd himſelf to do: And in the mean time returning home, he found *Souchet*, and with him ſome dozen of the moſt reſolute Fellows, and fierceſt Leaguers of all the Town, got thither before him. Theſe were to begin the work, and the others to the number of five and forty, or fifty, were lodg'd in the Houſes neareſt to the Caſtle, to be ready to ſecond them, when they had given the firſt Aſſault. Neither were theſe all in the Conſpiracy, for there were divers others diſpos'd into the ſeveral Streets of the City to alarm the reſt of the people (altogether ignorant of the Enterprize) by telling them that the *Hugonots* had taken the Caſtle, by the Poſtern-gate that look'd into the Park, and to make them by this device run to their Arms to repel them.

Things

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Things being thus order'd, the Conſul firſt entred the Caſtle, taking along with him *Souchet* Booted, and Spurr'd, as if he newly arriv'd from Court, with another in the ſame Equipage; and being come into the Hall, where he met with ſome of the inferiour Servants, he of them enquir'd for the Duke, ſaying, He had there two Courriers to preſent to him, who brought him good news from Court. Whereupon the Servants who ſaw him every day with the Duke, and receiv'd with great Demonſtrations of Favour, and Reſpect, made no difficulty to tell him, that he was in the Wardrobe: But whilſt they were thus talking, ſix more of the Inhabitants, who were alſo of the Plot, were come in under pretenſe of paying their Service to the Duke, and to wait his coming out to preſent themſelves: And all of them, both the Conſul, and the reſt, Arm'd under their Cloaks with Curaſſes, or Coats of Mail, ſhort Swords, and Piſtols.

The three firſt having paſs'd through the Hall, and the next Chamber, without giving any ſuſpicion, came into the Wardrobe, where they expected to find the Duke, who by good Fortune was juſt gone into his Cloſet, having taken in with him the *Abbot d' Elbene*, and the *Sieur de l' Iſle Marivault*, two perſons in whom of all others he repos'd the greateſt Confidence; and where they were reading a Scandalous * Libel, publiſh'd to the King's diſhonour, that had been ſent the Duke that morning. The Conſpirators, without taking notice who were in the Wardrobe, vigorouſly aſſaulted the firſt they met; and at their firſt entrance letting fly their Piſtols, betook themſelves to their Swords, crying out as loud as they could, *Kill, Kill*: At this noiſe the other ſix (who, dazled with the Cupboard of Plate in the Hall, had ſtaid behind to pilfer) ran preſently to their Fellows, and all together joyn'd in the Aſſault: The firſt that oppos'd their Fury in the Wardrobe, was *Signior Raphael Girolami*, a *Florentine* Gentleman, and *Sorlin* the Duke's Chirurgion; the two Secretaries, who were alſo in the Chamber being for want of Arms able to make no reſiſtance. But *Sorlin* drawing his Sword, gave the Conſul a ſlight hurt in the Head; and *Girolami* on his ſide, having firſt mortally wounded three of the Aſſailants, was at laſt by a Piſtol ſhot laid dead upon the place; ſo that he being diſpatch'd, and *Sorlin* deſperately wounded, the Conſul and the reſt of the Conſpirators, had free acceſs to the very door of the Cloſet, where they call'd out aloud to the Duke to yield, or otherwiſe he was dead.

* In which Libel the Duke of *Eſpernon* was compared to *Pierce Gaveſton*, as *Jean de Serres* reports.

The Duke had already at the firſt uproar, not knowing by whom he was aſſaulted, nor what ſecurity he might promiſe to himſelf from the aſſiſtance of his Domeſticks, and Friends, Barricado'd

ricado'd up the Door of his Cloſet, expecting a further light into this diſorder; *D' Elbene*, and *Marivault*, who were both with him, having perſwaded him ſo to do, and with-held him from going out, until he firſt underſtood the cauſe of this Tumult, which was yet utterly unknown. There were two Doors to this Cloſet, one at the further end of a little Gallery, which was open; but there was no way to the ſecond, but through this Gallery, which being dark, and ſo narrow as only to admit one a breaſt, made the acceſs to the inner Door very difficult, and dangerous: ſo that by this means the Duke, and thoſe that were with him, had a conveniency of making ſome kind of reſiſtance, till they might be better inform'd of the buſineſs. And I have heard the Duke ſay, when talking ſometimes of this Mutiny, that in the heat of the Action, he remov'd with one hand, and with great facility, unwieldy Truncks, and Cheſts, to Barricado up the Door; which, after he had a little compos'd himſelf, and thought it neceſſary to go out, they could not ſcarce all three, with all their ſtrength united, remove again to their places. *Anno* 1588.

At the ſame time that the Aſſault began, the * *Tocqueſain* rung throughout all the Churches in the City; at which Signal, the people ran on all ſides to Arms, lodging themſelves in the Houſes neareſt adjoyning to the Caſtle; mov'd ſo to do by the outcry of the Conſpirators, diſpers'd into the ſeveral quarters of the Town, that the *Hugonots* had poſſeſt themſelves of the Caſtle.

* An Alarm Bell, which it is the cuſtom in *France* to ring upon any Tumult, or Inſurrection.

In the mean time the Conſpirators immediately appointed for this execution, and who were order'd to follow thoſe already got in with the Conſul, attempting to poſſeſs themſelves of the Gate of the Caſtle, that they might let in the people, who came running in Arms from all parts, were oppos'd by ſome of the Duke's Gentlemen, who were walking without in the baſe Court, to attend his going abroad; of which the chief were *Ambleville*, *Beaurepaire*, *Sobole* the elder, *Lartigue*, and ſome others. Neither was their Deſign prevented without fighting; for *Beaurepaire* being kill'd with the blow of an Halbert, and ſome of the Guards being knock'd down by him, other of the Duke's Gentlemen, who were walking at a further diſtance from the Gate, perceiving what they were about, made all the haſte they could, and came time enough to get in before the Gate was quite ſhut; amongſt whom were the Count de *Brienne*, the Duke's Brother-in-law, *Miran*, *Gohas*, *la Coſte*, and *Des Emars*.

All theſe Gentlemen being joyn'd together, and having with much ado ſhut the outward Gate, and left a ſufficient Guard to defend it, ran up the Stairs to ſee what was become of the Duke;

Anno 1588. where meeting no body to enquire of, they believ'd him to be certainly dead, and all thoſe that were with him: But after having a little recollected themſelves from the aſtoniſhment ſo ſtrange a ſolitude had begot in them, and having gathered together ſuch other Gentlemen, and Souldiers, of the Duke's Guard, as they could find in the Caſtle, they reſolv'd to ſet upon the Conſul, and his Aſſociates, and to that purpoſe made directly towards the Duke's Chamber, the only part of the Houſe from whence any noiſe was to be heard.

The Conſpirators ſeeing themſelves alone, the Gate of the Caſtle ſhut, the Duke's Friends, and Servants got together, and united, and (which moſt of all perplex'd them) that the people could not force their entrance ſo ſoon as was requiſite for their ſafety, would yet try by the ſame Door by which they had entred, to recover the principal Tower of the Caſtle, and to make that good, till they might be reliev'd from without: But the paſſage was ſo ſtoutly maintain'd by the Gentlemen, and thoſe of the Guard, who were joyn'd to them, that the Conſul being mortally wounded, and ſome other of his Complices more ſlightly hurt, the ardour of their firſt reſolution began apparently to cool, their Enemies being poſſeſt of the only paſs, by which they were to expect a prompt, and neceſſary ſuccour.

At this new uproar in the Wardrobe, the Duke having, amidſt ſo great a confuſion of voices, diſtinguiſh'd ſome of them to be his own people, ſallied out of his Cloſſet with the Abbot *D'Elbene*, and *Marivalt*; ſo that theſe ſallying out with Sword, and Piſtol, by the Door of the Cloſſet, whilſt the other Door towards the Hall was made good by the Duke's Friends, the Conſul and his Complices found themſelves beſet on all ſides; and ſeeing no hopes of ſafety by the way they had in vain, and with many wounds attempted to paſs, they reſolv'd to get out by a third Door of the ſame Wardrobe, which yet remain'd free, and that led by a back way to the forementioned Tower; and accordingly carrying off the wounded Conſul with them, recover'd a little pair of ſtone Stairs, the only refuge was left them, and where they intended to defend themſelves to the laſt man: neither wanted they means ſo to do; for being all arm'd, which neither the Duke nor any of his Followers were, and reſolute Fellows, as they had ſufficiently made it appear; and having only a narrow pair of Stairs to make good, they were not to be aſſaulted, but with infinite hazard, in a place of ſo great advantage: which made the Duke reſolve upon putting fire to the Stairs, to the end he might there, as it were beſieg'd, keep them in.

Whilſt

Whilſt theſe things were doing within the Caſtle, a Maid came running, and told the Duke, that the Conſuls Brother, with a great number of armed Men, were upon entring by a hole they had made in the Wall, on that ſide next the Curtain; which made him immediately repair thither, as where his preſence was moſt neceſſary, leaving only three of his Guard to make good the Stair-foot, where the Conſul and his Confederates were, that they might attempt nothing in his abſence. At his coming into the Court he found the Conſul's Brother, and another with him, already enter'd the place, who both of them ſtrove with incredible valour, to make way for the reſt: But the Duke having ſoon kill'd the firſt with his own hand, the other being no better handled by his Followers; and having left a ſufficient Guard upon the place, he ran preſently to another Alarm, no leſs dangerous, than this he had already taken ſo good order in: For the Conſpirators without having (as we have ſaid before) been able to force the great Gate, by reaſon of the vigorous reſiſtance they had met there, were run to another little Poſtern, that no body dream'd of, with fire to burn it down; by which means, and by a petard they had alſo got to blow it open, they doubted not to force their entrance that way; but the Duke arriving opportunely upon the place, with ſome fifteen he had rallied together, after a dangerous, and obſtinate Conflict, beat back the Aſſailants, and ſo fortified it for the future, that it was impoſſible for them afterwards to force that paſs. *Anno* 1588.

Whilſt the Duke was thus buſie without, thoſe who were with the Conſul upon the Stairs, ſeeing the paſſage now guarded by only the three Souldiers, who had been left to that purpoſe, attempted to make their way, and to eſcape, which they hop'd they might do whilſt the Duke, and his Servants, were elſewhere employ'd; intending afterwards to force ſome of the Avenues (it being impoſſible they ſhould be all well guarded, the Duke having ſo few about him) and to let in the reſt of their Confederates to their ſuccour: But the Duke, with marvellous diligence preſenting himſelf in all places where there was any ſuſpicion of danger, coming opportunely in, when they were already diſputing it with his Guards; and having, by the death of one of the Inhabitants, whom he diſpatch'd with his own hand, beaten back the reſt, defeated them of all further hopes, of eſcaping out of his Power. In which encounter he ran an exceeding great hazard, for the Stairs upon which they fought, having been already looſened in the Joynts by the heat of the fire, and moreover ſhaken by the agitation of the Combatants, could no longer ſupport it ſelf

Anno 1588. from falling down with a ſudden ruine, the ſtep whereon the Duke ſtood only remaining firm, who without ſo miraculous a fortune had certainly periſh'd in the fall. *Miran*, a Gentleman of good underſtanding and great courage, told me ſome years ago this Story: in which as he had himſelf a particular ſhare, ſo has he often aſſur'd me, that without the Duke's perſonal courage, great vigilancy, and noble reſolution he did believe they had never eſcap'd that eminent peril; that in his life he never ſaw a man ſo conſtant in all kinds of danger; and that as they who had faithfully ſerv'd him in this occaſion had doubtleſs deſerv'd very well at his hands, ſo ſtood they no leſs oblig'd to him for their own preſervation, than he to them for his, having done more towards it in his own ſingle perſon, than almoſt all the reſt, all their endeavours put together.

The Inhabitants, who had this while poſſeſt themſelves of a Houſe call'd the *Queens Caſtle*, ſeparated only from that wherein the Duke was aſſaulted by a little Court, and of equal height with it, by powring continual ſhot in at the Windows, which were very large, and high, did not a little incommodate the Duke; another inconvenience to be provided againſt, as it ſpeedily was, and (as that had already done for the other defects of the place) ſo well, that it was almoſt impoſſible by ſtrength of hand to force him.

The toil, and buſtle of this Action having been ſudden, and violent, and the Fight almoſt unintermitted from the beginning, the Duke and thoſe with him found themſelves ſo weary, and their ſtrength ſo abated, that to refreſh themſelves, and to recover a little breath, the Duke call'd for ſomething to drink; but upon examination there were but four Bottles of Wine, no Water at all, and very little, and that courſe Bread, to be found in all the Caſtle; neither was there any more to be hop'd for, the Inhabitants being as they were Maſters of all the Kitchins, and other Offices, as alſo of a Well in the back Court, which could not poſſibly be recover'd from them, an irreparable, and unexpected inconvenience to the Duke and his Followers, who ſaw themſelves at once aſſaulted with Enemies, within, and without, and more violently with hunger, and thirſt; two Enemies they could the worſt defend themſelves againſt; a condition in which they continued for two dayes, and one night, and wherein the Duke's conſtancy is no leſs to be admir'd, than in ſo gallantly defending himſelf againſt the violence of his armed Adverſaries, the neceſſities of Nature being much harder to be contended withal, than the moſt obſtinate attempts of the moſt reſolute Enemy.

Hitherto

Hitherto the Duke ſaw no ſigns of ſuccour; *Tagent* his Couſin, and Lieutenant in that Government was at *Xaintes*, with the Troops, and the *Cittadel*, wherein he had a truſty Servant, had made no ſhew of ſtanding for him, having not ſo much as made one Cannon, or Muſquet ſhot againſt the City: For the Conſul who was no leſs circumſpect than valiant, having, when he firſt plotted the Deſign of this Enterprize, forgot nothing, that might any way contribute to the ſucceſs, had cunningly drawn *Bordes* Governour of the *Cittadel* into the Town, under colour of ſome important Buſineſs he was to communicate to him, and had there ſeiz'd of his Perſon; ſo that at the ſame time the Duke was firſt aſſaulted in the Caſtle, they who had *Bordes* in cuſtody, brought him before the *Cittadel*, and with a Dagger at his Throat commanded him to yield it up: but he ſcorn'd to do a thing ſo unworthy of himſelf in ſo great an exigency, and his Lieutenant remain'd alſo firm in his duty, though it be true that the regard he had to his Captains ſafety made him forbear to ſhoot, till the laſt extremity. *Anno* 1588.

As if the Duke in ſo eminent a peril were not ſufficiently diſquieted with his own troubles, he had yet preſent before his eyes the danger to which the Dutcheſs his Lady was expos'd; who, being a little before the tumult began gone out of the Caſtle towards the *Jacobins*, to hear Maſs, was ſeiz'd upon by the Inhabitants, as ſhe was retiring towards the *Cittadel*, the way to the Caſtle being ſhut up: Her two Gentlemen Uſhers, the one call'd *Piar*, and the other *Seguencio*, bravely offer'd to make ſome reſiſtance, but were both wounded to death, whilſt they held her by the Arms; ſo that their Blood flew upon her Cloaths: Neither was the Dutcheſs alone arreſted after this manner, many of the Dukes Gentlemen who were abroad in the Town, ſuſpecting nothing, being alſo taken priſoners; of which *la Curée*, ſince *Camp-Maſter* to the Light Horſe of *France*, was one, with St. *Meſme*, *Bleré*, the Baron *de Coſe*, *de Ramel*, and many others.

In theſe extremities, to which the Duke was reduc'd, he let a Footman by a Rope down the Caſtle-Wall, on that ſide towards the Park, to carry *Tagent* intelligence of the danger he was in: but the Fellow was no ſooner down, than intercepted by the Inhabitants, who had every where ſet Guards to that purpoſe: notwithſtanding which, two of the Duke's Gentlemen, being gone early abroad a Hunting, and upon the noiſe of the *Tocqueſain* they heard from the City, being return'd upon the ſpur up to the very Graſſe of the *Cittadel*, to know the meaning of it, were ſoon enform'd, and as ſoon turn'd full ſpeed to carry *Tagent* the

news,

Anno 1588. news, who by them receiv'd the first intimation of the Duke's danger.

Tagent, upon the arrival of these two Gentlemen; caus'd the Trumpets immediately to sound to Horse, and presently mounting with what Cavalry he had, arriv'd with all possible diligence at the Gates of *Angoulesme*: It was in a time when the Duke could hardly hold out any longer against hunger and thirst, which for two whole days he had sustain'd, without any kind of refreshment, that little provision before mentioned having been equally divided amongst his Friends, the Duke disdaining to preserve his own life longer than he could also support so many brave persons, as so franckly expos'd themselves to all hazards for his safety.

The people had in the mean time continued their first Fury, in which they had been assisted, and advis'd by several Gentlemen of the Countrey, who took part with the League; whereof those of chief note were *Meré*, a man who was a particular Servant to the Duke of *Guise*, and who had been bred up in his Family; *la Messeliere*, *Les-Bouchaux*, *de Macqueville*, and some others who were drawn into that Faction, by the specious pretense of Religion, a Colour by which most men of that time were pre-possess'd, and abus'd. These having invested the Castle on all sides, had summon'd the Duke to Surrender, with offers of free Quarter, and Bag, and Baggage to him, and his; a Summons to which the Duke had smartly reply'd, *That he would rather choose to die, than to receive the least courtesie at their hands; and that he hop'd e're long to reduce them to such a straight, that they should be glad to receive conditions at his.*

It should seem that in this occasion the Duke's Enemies would also give his Dutchess an opportunity wherein to manifest her generous Spirit, that she might share with her Husband in the Honour of so handsome an Action; for having already found there was no good to be done upon the Castle by any violent means they could practise against it, they threatned the Dutchess, that unless she did perswade the Duke her Husband to make a speedy Surrender, they would make her serve for a Gabion before the place, whither they accordingly led her; such were the Complements wherewith a Lady of her Birth, and Quality was entertain'd by these rude people: but she, without being mov'd with their threats, made answer to those who talk'd so impudently to her, *That did the Duke her Husband's Resolution stand in need of incouragement, she should her self desire to be presented before him, that she might fortifie him to persist in his defense: but that being altogether*

unnecessary

unneceſſary, their menaces to her were much more impertinent; that nevertheleſs ſhe could not but wonder, at their inſolence, and that ſhe durſt venture to Propheſie, ſhe ſhould e're long make them repent it; and afterwards turning towards *Meré*, who of all others had been the moſt uncivil to her, ſhe reproach'd him with his barbarous carriage, in ſo handſome Language, with ſo maſculine a courage, and ſo graceful an indignation, as if ſhe had foreſeen all the good ſucceſs, that ſoon after hapned in this buſineſs, contrary to all humane expectation. *Anno* 1588.

The enterprize of which we are now ſpeaking had been carried on with that ſecreſie, and had ſo ſurpriz'd the Duke, and his Family, that there were only eight of his Guards to be found in the Caſtle, when this buſineſs began, all the reſt having been trapt in the Town; which ſmall number were notwithſtanding ſo conveniently diſpos'd into places of moſt danger, and were ſo expert in the uſe of their fire Arms, that it was obſerv'd they never ſhot in vain; a dexterity that has ſince grown to ſuch a habit in all who have ſucceeded in that employment, that they have ever ſignaliz'd themſelves by their Activity, and Valour, above all others upon all occaſions, and by thoſe qualities acquir'd ſo great a reputation; that the late King intending to raiſe a Troop of Dragoons (as he did) for the guard of his own perſon, did them the honour to chooſe ſix out of the Duke's company, to ſettle the Order, and Diſcipline of that Troop.

If the Duke were himſelf vigorouſly aſſaulted without, he no leſs importun'd the Conſul, and his Complices within the Caſtle, who nevertheleſs defended themſelves with great reſolution; but ſeeing themſelves preſs'd upon by the fire, that by little and little ſtill encreas'd upon them; by hunger likewiſe, and the Sword, and finding themſelves weakned by their wounds to the laſt extremity, their Ring-leader at the point to die, and themſelves out of all hopes of relief, they let one of their company by cloath cut into ſhreds, and tied together, down into the Caſtle Ditch, to acquaint the Sub-Conſul, whoſe name was *Corlieu*, with the condition they were in; who preſently aſſembling the people, and conſulting with them about their Friends neceſſity, it was ſoon reſolv'd upon, that they ſhould come to Propoſitions of accommodation; in order to which the Sub-Conſul preſented himſelf before the Caſtle, and demanded a Conference; which being granted, the Abbot *D'Elbene*, and *Ambleville* drew near to parley with him.

But before they could come to any concluſion, the Conſul, and thoſe with him being reduc'd to a final neceſſity, had ſurrendred

Anno 1588. dred themselves upon the Duke's word; which notwithstanding he punctually observ'd to them without the least injury, or violence (though the Consul died of his Wounds before the end of the Action) yet as soon as he had them in his power, he order'd them to write to those of the City, what danger their lives were in, should they any more offer to assault the Castle: A Policy that oblig'd their Relations so to importune the Sub-Consul to conclude the Treaty, that he again return'd to the Castle to intreat the Duke, that *Ambleville*, and *D'Elbene* might come into the City to Treat with them, which *Ambleville* absolutely refus'd to do; it being, as he conceiv'd, inconsistent with his Honour, to abandon the Duke in a time of so great danger: So that the Abbot (sufficient Hostages being first deliver'd in for his security) was fain to go out alone, and was immediately conducted to the Town-Hall.

The Abbot had by his dexterity brought things to so good a forwardness, that the Accommodation was upon the point to be concluded, to the Duke's Honour, and satisfaction, when *le Meré*, who would by no means lose so fair an opportunity of sacrificing the Duke, to his Master the Duke of *Guise*'s hatred, broke off the Treaty, by promising the people a speedy, and infallible succour from the Vicount *D'Aubeterre*; who (as he said) having receiv'd express Orders from the King, was with all possible diligence coming in to their assistance.

The Abbot then must return to the Castle, which he did, not without some danger; so high was the insolence of the people rais'd by this little beam of hope, though false, and impos'd upon them. Every one now ran again to his Arms, which they employ'd with greater violence than before; the Drums, the *Tocquesain*, and the clamours of the Seditious rabble, indifferently compelling, as well the Nobility, and Gentry, as the Commons; as well those who were averse to the League, as the Leaguers themselves to joyn in the common mischief. They hop'd by a Petard which they intended to apply to a part of the Castle-Wall, they knew to be very weak, to make a sufficient breach to enter at; which accordingly playing, and having wrought some effect, the Gentry, and the people presented themselves with great courage to the Assault; but they found greater in the Defendants, who, though very few in comparison of the Assailants, after a long dispute, forc'd them to retire, with the loss of a great many very resolute men.

The next day about three of the clock in the morning, the Inhabitants heard the Trumpets of the Duke's Cavalry, who were led

led by the *Sieur de Tagent* to his Relief; the report of whoſe arrival having put life into the Commanders and Souldiers of the *Cittadel*, they began to ſhoot againſt the City, which till then they had never done: And if the arrival of this ſuccour encouraged the one party, it no leſs coold the fury, and obſtinacy of the other; who now began ſubmiſſively to ſue for a concluſion of the Treaty, which they had ſo inſolently broken off the day before, and ſent again to entreat that the Abbot *D'Elbene* might once more come out to that purpoſe; a requeſt the Duke made then ſome difficulty to grant, though in truth he had the greateſt reaſon to deſire it. *Anno* 1588.

The Abbot nevertheleſs went out the ſecond time into the City, but as vainly as before; for the Baron *de Touverae*, with many other Gentlemen of the League being arriv'd, and amongſt others *La-Caze*, Quarter-Maſter to the Vicount *D'Aubeterre*'s Company of *Curaſſiers*, put new vigour into the Inhabitants; *La-Caze* aſſuring them, that the next morning the Vicount would infallibly come to their ſuccour, with three hundred Horſe, and five hundred Foot; by which the Citizens being re-aſſur'd, they now breath'd nothing but War, the common people being ever as forward to entertain raſh and giddy reſolutions, as they are uſually backwards, and cowardly in the execution of them.

The Abbot was therefore again to recover the Caſtle, and that with greater danger than before, being firſt carried to the Gates of the *Cittadel*, and there conſtrain'd with a Dagger at his Throat, to forbid the Souldiers from ſhooting any more againſt the City, which nevertheleſs they did not forbear to do: The Duke (preſs'd upon now more than ever by thoſe of the City) having found means, from the high Tower of the Caſtle, to give a ſign to the Commanders of the *Cittadel*, who might eaſily ſee it, to ſhoot continually, ſo to divert the fury of the Enemy, that ſo violently aſſaulted him; a Command ſo well underſtood, and ſo readily obey'd, that the confuſion was now far greater in all parts of the City, than hitherto it had ever been. Neither had it ceaſed ſo ſoon, had not the *Sieur de Neſmond*, chief Juſtice of the place, a man of great authority amongſt them, and no leſs conſiderable for his quality, than his Employment, with ſuch of the principal Magiſtrates, as had not conſented to this tumult, reſolv'd to joyn all their intereſts together to put an end to the buſineſs.

To that purpoſe therefore they aſſembled at the Biſhops Palace. This Prelate *Charles de Bony* by name, an Italian by birth, having long govern'd that Dioceſs with great reputation of Vertue, and Piety, could not without infinite ſorrow behold theſe confuſions,

Anno 1588. though authoriz'd by the League, and palliated with the pretext of Religion; so that in this Assembly, he, the Magistrates, and some well dispos'd Citizens, having consider'd the peril the City was in, as also their own particular danger, who were likely to be involv'd in the common ruine, uniting themselves against the seditious, with some Gentlemen of Quality of the Country (who being come in at the noise of this disorder, had stood neuters during the whole Action) sent two of the most eminent amongst them to the Duke, to entreat him, that he would please to consent that the Capitulation, which had been agreed upon the day before with the Abbot *D'Elbene*, might be Sign'd, and Ratified by *Tagent*, who was with his Cavalry in the Suburbs; a request was readily granted by the Duke, who was now no longer in a condition, had he been so dispos'd, to refuse it.

It had now been above forty hours since the Duke, or any of those who were with him in the Castle had either drank, or eaten; their powder was all spent, the men for the most part wounded, and those who were not, so worn out with watching, fasting, and continual labour, that it was their courage only that did support them; a support that would soon have fail'd them, with their lives, had the Besiegers known their necessities, which were such as flesh and blood could no longer endure: But God, who reserv'd the Duke for better occasions, was pleas'd to deprive them of that knowledge, and so to order things, that the impatience of two short hours deliver'd him from that eminent, and apparent danger. The Abbot *D'Elbene* therefore went out the third, and last time into the City; and, together with the Inhabitants repair'd to *Tagent*; who, to the Duke's great astonishment had all this while stood an idle Spectator, without once endeavouring to enter the Town to his succour: 'Tis true, he sign'd the Capitulation, which was all the share he had in this business: But the Articles were no sooner Sign'd, than they immediately fell to breaking down the Barricadoes, the people retir'd every one to their own Houses, and the Dutchess of *Espernon* was conducted to the Castle by the aforesaid Abbot.

The end of the Action. Where being come, after she had given the Duke her Husband some tender, and affectionate testimonies of joy for his deliverance; the first thing she did, in return of the barbarous usage she had receiv'd, was to mediate their Pardons, by whom she had been so ill us'd, with the Duke; who, though he had meditated a severe Revenge upon them, who had committed so great an outrage against him, was notwithstanding content to surrender his Animosities to the generous intercession of this Ver-

tuous

tuous Lady. He moreover ſet thoſe he had taken Priſoners with the Conſul at Liberty, conſented that *Meré*, with the other Gentlemen of his Party, ſhould retire to their own Houſes, giving them a Convoy of Light Horſe for their defenſe; and by a notable effect of Generoſity, and good Nature, having reſtor'd the dead Bodies of the Conſul, and his Brother to their Relations, and Friends, he permitted them to be buried with publick Obſequies. *Anno* 1588.

Laſtly, he ſo franckly pardon'd all the reſt of the Citizens, that not any one of them, who would afterwards live in Peace, could ever perceive in him the leaſt memory of any former unkindneſs; but on the contrary, receiv'd from him all the good Offices, and gentle Uſage they could expect from a man, they had never offended: by which exceeding Clemency, and by the protection both the City and Country receiv'd from him, for the ſpace of fifty years, which he afterwards held that Government, he ſo won the hearts of that people, that there was not one of them who would not chearfully have ventur'd Life, and Fortune for his Service, and who have not, to this hour, his memory in great Veneration, as the Father, Protector, and Reſtorer of their Country.

The King of *Navarre*, who was ever ſo intent upon his own Affairs, as to let no occaſion ſlip, that he conceiv'd might any way ſerve to advance them; foreſeeing that after the Aſſembly which was to be holden at *Blois*, he ſhould certainly have all the Forces both of the King, and the League bent joyntly againſt him, had not fail'd to ſend to the Duke upon his retirement from Court, (a time very proper to have taken his Reſentments in the heat, had he been a Male-content) with offers of as high, and honourable conditions, as he himſelf could poſſibly have propos'd, if he would joyn with him. To which the Duke equally firm in his Religion, and Loyalty, made anſwer, that he did beſeech his Majeſty to reflect upon the infinite obligations he had to the King his Maſter; and then he did aſſure himſelf, that his own generoſity, would for ever condemn him of ingratitude, ſhould he abandon his Service for any perſecution his Enemies could practice againſt him: After which, and many humble, and reſpective thanks for his gracious offer, he gave him plainly, and freely to underſtand, that he would rather periſh; than to live oblig'd to any other for his protection, than to him who was the ſole Author of his Fortune.

The King of *Navarre* endeavours to draw the Duke over to his Party.

The Duke excuſes himſelf.

But this Prince not checking, at this firſt refuſal, would yet try if in the buſineſs of *Angouleſme*, by his own Actions, and

Anno 1588. Presence, he could not work more effectually upon the Duke, than by the mediation of Agents, he had hitherto done; and to that purpose, being advertis'd of this enterprize (though at a time when he was upon the point to fall upon the City, and Castle of *Clisson*, in the lower *Poictou*, very considerable places, and which in all apparence he was likely to carry) he nevertheless gave over the Design, to come to the Duke's Relief: A deliberation that some have believ'd, was not so much intended to rescue the Duke from the danger he was in, as to make use of that occasion, in the Confusion the City then was, to seize upon it to his own use, and to reduce so considerable a place into the hands of his own Party: But whatever his Design was, he met intelligence by the way, that the Duke had already disingag'd himself from his Enemies, and was settled in a posture of safety: by which though he found he should come too late to do the Duke any Service, unwilling nevertheless to lose the thanks of his good intention, he sent to congratulate with him for his happy Deliverance, which he said was so much the more glorious to him, as it was wrought out of himself, and effected by his own Valour, and Constancy; advising him withal to consider how many of the like attempts he was to expect from his Enemies malice; withal once more offering to joyn his Interests with his, and to run the same Fortune with him in all hazards. But the Duke answering still with the same civility, and respect he had done before, without suffering himself to be tempted from the duty he ow'd to the King his Master, continued constant in his Resolution, never to take part with any, who were his open and declared Enemies.

The King of *Navarre* tries again to perswade the Duke, but in vain.

In this place methinks the Duke of *Espernon* is chiefly to be consider'd, to make thence a right judgment of the greatness and constancy of his mind: He had scarce been seven years a Favourite, when he saw the prodigious Engine of the League ready to fall upon him; a body so formidable, and so great, as having already constrain'd the King himself to bow before it, made all those of the Reformed Religion to tremble at its motion; no Authority was able to stop it, no Power to resist it, yet could it never startle this young Dukes constancy: But on the contrary, though he saw himself forsaken by the King, and expos'd to the malice of his Enemies; though he saw the people, in his own Governments, rais'd in mutiny against him, and all things as it were conspiring together to his Ruine; yet could he not even in these extremities ever submit to the King of *Navarre*'s Protection, though offer'd, and so handsomely offered to him: but

though

though alone in his own Quarrel, at leaſt without other aſſiſtance than of his Friends and Servants, he had yet the courage to defend his own Intereſts, and the Service of his Prince, even againſt his Prince himſelf, who was now become General of his own Enemies; Yet had he ever ſo excellent a Government over himſelf, as to do nothing contrary to his Conſcience, or his Duty: So that not being to be mov'd either by the Menaces of the League, or by the Hopes he might reaſonably conceive from the aſſiſtance of thoſe of the Reform'd Religion, he ſubdu'd thoſe two Paſſions that exerciſe the moſt abſolute Empire over the minds of men, and that bear the greateſt ſway in all Humane Deſigns. *Anno* 1588.

The end of the Second Book.

THE

THE HISTORY Of the LIFE of the Duke of Eſpernon.

The Third Book.

WHilſt the Dukes Enemies exercis'd his Vertue with theſe continual troubles, they were themſelves no leſs afflicted with their own Ambition. The Aſſembly of the Eſtates was held at *Blois*, where all things in outward ſhew were diſpos'd in favour of the Duke of *Guiſe*: but ſtill as he approach'd nearer to his Object, the greater the height, and the more difficult the acceſs unto the place, to which he aſpir'd, appear'd unto him: That one remaining ſtep he was to climb, to reach the height of his deſires, ſeeming to rise ſtill further from him, as oft as he attempted to gain it. So that tir'd out with ſo many preſent difficulties, and apprehending yet more thoſe which were to come, 'tis ſaid he was often almoſt reſolv'd to leave off his Deſigns, and to rely upon the King's Word, that had ſo often aſſur'd him the enjoyment of his preſent greatneſs, wherein alſo he doubted not without any great difficulty to maintain himſelf. The Duke of *Mayenne*, either jealous (as ſome have thought) of his Brothers Greatneſs, or elſe of a more moderate temper,

The Affairs of the Court during the Duke's abſence.

The Duke of *Guiſe* in ſuſpenſe, whether or no he ſhould purſue his Deſigns.

Anno 1588. temper, than the reſt of his Family, had often advis'd him to this Reſolution; but the Cardinal their Brother, and the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, were the Incendiaries, that rekindled his dying Ambition, and that hurried him on to that precipice, into which they themſelves at laſt fell with him: "They repreſented to him "by what infinite labours, and induſtry they had plac'd him in "that height to which he was already arriv'd; That if he ever "had reſolv'd there to limit his deſires, and to content himſelf "with a competent Fortune, he ought never to have undertaken "thoſe pains, nor to have undergone thoſe dangers he had ſo "glorioufly, and ſo fortunately overcome; That the merit of his "Anceſtors had left him greatneſs enough to ſatisfie an ordinary "Ambition: but that if he ever had the thought of riſing above "them, as doubtleſs he had, the way was open to him, and that "he had already overcome the greateſt difficulties: That the grea-"ter part of *France* ſtood for him, and that almoſt all Foreign "Princes, and States were favourable to him: That God him-"ſelf ſeem'd to take his part, by giving him a negligent and vo-"luptuous Prince; whoſe nature being ſoftned, and unnerv'd by "eaſe, and ſloth, had laid him open to his Deſigns: That it was "an eaſie matter in the condition himſelf then was, to make him "ſure: That not ſuddenly to do it, it was to be fear'd the King "might recover from his Lethargy; and, looking into himſelf, "might re-aſſume his former vigour, and recover his almoſt loſt "Authoriry: That the very fear the King then liv'd in, ought to "be highly ſuſpected to him: That no Counſels were ſo violent "and dangerous, as thoſe that proceeded from apprehenſion, or "extream neceſſity: That he infinitely deceiv'd himſelf, if he "thought there could be any ſafety for him (what promiſes ſoever "the King might make) in that height to which he had already "rais'd himſelf: That the Fortune of a Subject was never more "unſtable, and unſafe, than when it rendred him ſuſpected to "his Prince: That he muſt boldly therefore ſtep out of the qua-"lity of a Subject, if he would be out of the danger of a Sove-"reign. They further remonſtrated to him what Opinion all Eu-"rope, who were joyn'd together in his Favour, what all good "*Frenchmen*, who were paſſionate in his cauſe, what all poſterity "(to which he ought to have a greater regard, than to the pre-"ſent) could have of his courage; if the Duke of *Guiſe* only "ſhould think himſelf unworthy of that Dignity, to which all "the world beſides ſo paſſionately wiſh'd he might arrive: That "he ought then boldly to end, what he had ſo generouſly begun, "and ſo glorioufly purſu'd; and that though death it ſelf ſhould

follow

"follow (which was not in the leaſt to be doubted) it were not- *Anno*
"withſtanding more honourable to periſh in ſo brave a Deſign, 1588.
"than to ſurvive the ſhame of not daring to perform it.

The Duke of *Guiſe*, whoſe ambitious and unquiet Spirit was apt enough to take fire at ſuch Counſels, as theſe haughty, and mutinous Prelates were fit to give, was ſoon perſwaded to renew his former practice; and, as if he had only ſuſpended the proſecution of his Deſigns to take a little breath, that he might fall on with greater violence, he preſently ſent new diſpatches to *Rome*, and into *Spain*, ſtill more and more to fortifie himſelf in the Authority of the one, and Strength of the other, aſſuring further to himſelf at the ſame time, either by promiſes, or threats, by himſelf or by his Adherents, almoſt all the ſuffrages of the ſeveral Deputies of the Aſſembly: which the King, to whom all theſe practices were very well known, being enform'd of; and then ſeeing the manifeſt danger he was in of loſing both his Authority, and his Crown, he determined to prevent the Duke by Counſels as ſevere and bloody, as his own were raſh and mutinous, and to cut him off before he ſhould have time to effect what he had ſo politickly, and ſo dangerouſly deſign'd. A reſolution which, being ſoon agreed upon with ſome of the Nobility, his Majeſty knew moſt faithful to him, had the execution of it without further delay committed to eight of the five and forty. Theſe five and forty were all of them Gentlemen of approved Valour, and for whoſe fidelity they who had recommended them to the King, ſtood themſelves engag'd; ſo that of this Company (to which the number had given the name) his Majeſty made his moſt aſſured Guard (the greateſt part of his Domeſticks being become ſuſpected to him) and as it were wholly entruſted the ſafety of his Perſon to their Fidelity, and care: They attended him where-ever he went, they nightly kept Guard in his Anti-Chamber; and (as nothing is ſo powerful as benefits to win the hearts, and affections of men) there was not one of them, who, beſides his Salary of an hundred Crowns of Gold a month (which was very much in thoſe times) had not over and above either receiv'd, or had not very good reaſon to expect, great recompenſes from his Royal bounty: So that theſe men being abſolutely ty'd to all his Majeſties Intereſts, it was no hard matter to induce them to make an attempt upon the Perſon of the Duke of *Guiſe*, againſt whom the King had conceiv'd a violent, and implacable Hatred. I ſhall here ſay nothing of the manner and circumſtances of the Death of this Duke, nor of that of the Cardinal of *Guiſe* his Brother, who at the ſame time came to the ſame violent end,

The Duke of *Guiſe* confirm'd in his firſt reſolutions.

The King reſolves upon his death

Anno 1588.

most of our Historians being particular in that Relation: but I can bear testimony that the Duke of *Espernon* did neither then, nor ever since approve of that execution; and that although he had receiv'd very hard measure from the Duke in his life, he notwithstanding had his great qualities in high esteem after his death. And indeed he had so often, and so generously employ'd those rare Endowments for the safety and honour of the Kingdom, that his Vertue could never have been too highly commended, could he have added the qualities of a good Subject, to those other excellencies which rendred him one of the greatest men of his time.

A little before the Duke of *Guise*'s death, the King had dismist from Court the High Chancellor *Chiverny*, and the *Sieures de Bellievre*, and *de Villeroy*, Secretaries of State, upon considerations that were then variously interpreted; though the King would have the Duke of *Espernon* believe, that the chief cause of *Mounsieur de Villeroy*'s disgrace was the business of *Angoulesme*, which his Majesty wholly laid to his charge; and that the Duke might the better be confirm'd in this opinion, the *Sieur de Révol*, a particular creature of the Dukes, one that was, under him, Comptroller of the Exchequer of *Provence*, and that had no interest at Court saving his Protection, was receiv'd into his place.

New Ministers chosen after the Duke of *Guise*'s Death.

His Majesty had no sooner absolutely determin'd the Duke of *Guise*'s Ruine, than that foreseeing the consequences so bloody an execution was likely to draw after it, he dispatch'd away Colonel *Alphonso Corso*, afterwards *Mareschal d'Ornano*, to seize upon the Duke of *Mayenne* at *Lyons*, where he then resided; which, if it could have been in time effected, his Majesty had in all apparence been secur'd from the greatest part of those mischiefs which this action afterwards produc'd: but the Duke, having receiv'd the news of his Brothers Deaths some hours before *Alphonso*'s arrival, was already in great diligence got to Horse, and fled out at one Gate of the City as *Ornano* entred at another to surprize him, and by that means first recovered *Dijon*, and afterwards *Paris*, without any impediment: Where he was no sooner arriv'd, than that laying aside that moderation he had euer manifested, during his Brother's Life, he declar'd himself Head of that Party, he had ever till then, to his great Reputation, seem'd to condemn; and drawing together all the Forces of the League that lay scatter'd up and down in several places, he of them, without stirring from *Paris*, made a very considerable Army.

His Majesty easily judg'd that this storm would suddenly break upon him, and fail'd not, out of that foresight, to call all his principal Servants about him, which nevertheless made up but an incon-

inconſiderable Body, and ſuch as could no ways ſecure him from any attempt of the Enemy: So that he was advis'd to ſend once more to the King of *Navarre*, to intreat him to advance with his Troops to his ſuccour, which notwithſtanding the King not being able to perſwade himſelf to do, (his regard to Religion, and the reſpect he bore to the Pope, oppoſing that Council) he only at that time ſent Orders to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, who had then a conſiderable Force on Foot to come over to him; though afterwards, and after many deliberations, being alſo diſpos'd to call in the King of *Navarre*, he ſent to the Duke, that before he put himſelf upon his march, he ſhould firſt go to this Prince, to make the firſt overtures of this buſineſs to him. The *Sieur de Beaujeu* was purpoſely diſpatch'd to the Duke with theſe Orders, which were no ſooner receiv'd by him, than he departed from *Angouleſme* to go to St. *Jean d' Angely*, where the King of *Navarre* then was; and where having found him well diſpos'd, and very ready to do his Majeſty the Service he deſired of his Perſon, and Faction, he immediately made himſelf ready to go to the King; who, ſeeing his Enemies now ready to fall upon him, had ſent a new, and inſtant Expreſs to the Duke in all haſte to come, and joyn with him: which expreſs Order to ſatisfie with the greateſt diligence, he rather choſe to leave the Negotiation he had already ſo ſucceſsfully begun with the King of *Navarre*, to the Dutcheſs of *Angouleſme* (who ſoon after brought it to effect) than one moment to defer his attendance on his Maſter in ſo critical a time, and on ſo urgent an occaſion.

Anno 1588.

The Duke call'd back to Court.

All theſe great tranſactions hapned at Court, after the Duke of *Eſpernon* had retir'd himſelf from thence into his Governments. Neither was he in his retirement, or in his choice of the place he retir'd unto, either unactive in himſelf, or in a Scene improper for his Majeſties Service; for he was no ſooner diſingag'd from the enterprize of *Angouleſme*, but that he put himſelf immediately into a condition to awe many of his ill Neighbours in the adjoyning Provinces, ſo as either to continue them in, or to make them return unto their duty: For which purpoſe having increas'd his Forces, the firſt occaſion he had to employ them was againſt thoſe of the Religion; who having beſieg'd *Periguex*, and upon the point to make themſelves Maſters of the place, at the Duke's approach rais'd the Siege in great diſorder, and retir'd not without ſome conſiderable loſs.

Anno 1589.

Some actions of the Duke during his retirement.

The Duke was after this preparing himſelf for greater enterprizes, when *Beaujeu* brought him thoſe foremention'd Orders from the King; by whom having underſtood the great prepa-

Anno 1589. rations the Duke of *Mayenne* made to come first to *Blois*, and from thence to *Tours*, whither the King had then retir'd himself; and knowing his Majesty almost naked of all defense, and as it were, expos'd to the violence of his Enemies, he thought it necessary upon the instant to move with all his Forces that way, and at the same time by a Gentleman to give his Majesty notice of his motion, that he might receive his Majesties Commands upon the way: By which Gentleman the King sent him presently word, that the most important service he could then do him, was to put himself into *Blois*. For the Duke of *Mayenne* having resolv'd to make his first attempt upon that place, either by the ruine of the Castle to revenge in part the death of his two Brothers, who there last their lives; or to make that City (which by its vicinity to *Tours*, was very proper to watch all advantages against the King) his seat of War; his Majesty conceiv'd there would be little security for him in *Tours*, should his Enemy posses himself of that Post, and had therefore bent all his care, and endeavour to preserve it out of the power of the League.

His Majesty would have put the *Mareschal de Biron* into that place, and afterwards, he having excus'd himself, the *Mareschal d'Aumont*; but both the one, and the other having refus'd the danger of defending, and with unequal Forces, a place, that being in it self open on all sides, was not well to be defended, and that was to expect the first fury of the League to be bent against it, his Majesty turn'd his thoughts towards the Duke of *Espernon*; and knowing that the difficulty of the undertaking would be no little motive to make the Duke embrace it, his Majesty sent him word, that the *Mareschals de Biron*, and *d' Aumont* had both of them already excus'd themselves from that Employment; and that he only remain'd, from whose Valour and Fidelity he could promise to himself so signal, and so honourable a Service in so difficult an undertaking, and in so dangerous a time; that the defense of that City was of pressing, and immediate concern; but that withal he should be infinitely glad to see him, and that he therefore left it to his own free choice, and judgment, either to come immediately to him, or to defer giving him that satisfaction, till the occasion, which at present call'd him another way, should be past, and blown over. The Duke had then in his Army four thousand and five hundred Foot, five hundred Light Horse, and three hundred Harquebusiers on Horse-back, besides other Levies he had order'd should be made in the Country, which accordingly soon after came to him; of which he detain'd three thousand Foot, with a proportion of Horse for the defense of *Blois*, and

The Duke's Forces.

the

the rest he sent away to the King under the command of *Moncassin*, and *de la Curée*; from which Forces his Majesty receiv'd no little assistance in the occasion that soon after hapned before *Tours*. Anno 1589.

The Duke in the mean time, according to the King's Order, took his way towards *Blois*, and interpreting the Liberty his Majesty had so freely given him, (either presently to repair to Court, or to defer it till a fitter season) as he ought to do; he conceiv'd himself oblig'd by his duty, rather to deprive himself of that present Honour, and Satisfaction, than any ways to neglect that Service was expected from him. Advancing therefore with all diligence, and his way lying through *Amboise*, where the Arch-Bishop of *Lyons* had been detain'd Prisoner, ever since the death of the *Guises*; he (although the Bishop was his capital Enemy, and a man from whom of all others he had receiv'd the most sensible injuries) would nevertheless go give him a visit in the Castle. The sad estate, and present condition of this Prelate, had so far reconcil'd the Duke unto him, that in return of all former injuries, after he had some time entertain'd him with some consolatory Expressions, as towards his present Fortune; he afterwards made him a promise, as soon as ever he should see the King, to labour with all his Industry, and Interest, for his Enlargement; as after he did, it being one of the first Requests he made, and obtain'd, after his return to Court. A generous act of the Duke.

From thence, having recover'd *Blois*, he presently fell to fortifying the place, and in few days put it into so good a posture of Defense, that it would be no easie matter to force it. He also put into St. *Oüin*, a little Town upon the Road, betwixt that, and *Paris*, the *Count de Brienne*, his Brother-in-law, and the *Sieur d' Ambleville*, with eight hundred Men, the most part Horse; which he did, not so much out of design to keep that place, which he knew was not to be defended, as for some few days to stop the progress of the Duke of *Mayenne*, and by that means to give the King some leisure to fortifie himself: A design that succeeded accordingly; for the Duke of *Mayenne* not being able to carry this place by assault, and obstinate in the taking of it, having staid to lay a formal Siege, although he took it in the end, and in it the *Count de Brienne*, *Ambleville*, and some other Gentlemen upon composition; yet having lost four days time in the Action, he gave so much respite to the King, who had very great need of it, to prepare himself. This block in the Duke of *Mayenne*'s way, was perhaps none of the least things that concurr'd to the preservation of the Royal Affairs: but whether it were or no, the Duke D'Avila.

was

Anno 1589. was however infinitely condemn'd for having so wilfully set himself upon an Enterprize of so little moment, in a time when nothing could be so advantageous as diligence to the execution of his Designs.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, measuring by this first Essay the opposition he was likely to meet withal from the Duke of *Espernon* at *Blois*, alter'd his design of attempting that place, and resolv'd without further delay to turn the torrent of his Arms upon the King himself, and against the City of *Tours*, where his Majesty then resided.

The King of *Navarre* had joyn'd himself with his Majesty but the day before, and had with his men taken up his Quarter in one of the Suburbs of the City; whom his Majesty being gone to visit in his Quarters, and walking with him abroad, the earnestness of their discourse had unawares drawn them so far out of the Suburbs, that the Avant Coureurs of the Duke of *Mayenne*'s Army mist very little of surprizing them both, and consequently of making an end of the War, almost as soon as begun: but the two Kings notwithstanding being happily retir'd within their strength, the Skirmish grew hot on both sides, and then it was that the Duke of *Espernon*'s Troops signalized themselves. For *Moncassin* long, and bravely defending himself in the very face, and against the first fury of the Enemy, was there wounded in the presence of the King, who was himself Spectator of the Fight; and who, during all which with a constancy far from any shew of that effeminacy his Enemies had so often laid to his charge, himself gave the whole direction, and continued in the danger till the end of the Action.

Monsieur de Thou.

The Duke of *Mayenne* being frustrated in his Design upon *Blois*, and baffled before *Tours*, principally through the Duke's opposition, and that of his Forces, seeing nothing was now to be effected, resolv'd to retire without attempting any thing further at that time; upon which retreat hapned the total dissolution of his Army: whereas on the contrary, the Duke of *Espernon*'s Forces grew still greater in strength, and reputation; who having lately receiv'd a recruit of fifteen hundred foot, and three hundred Dragoons, the Royal Army receiv'd a greater increase from those Regiments he had brought over to the service, than from any other whatsoever. The King of *Navarre* had not yet had leisure to draw his Forces together, they being dispers'd into several parts, as was most convenient for the preservation of such places as were in the possession of the *Hugonot* Party; by which it may easily be imagin'd, the King could have no very considerable Army;

The Duke re-inforc'd by new Supplies.

Army; yet was it neceſſary to make uſe of the diſorder the Leaguers were then in, which oblig'd the King upon great probabilities, and almoſt aſſurance of ſignal advantages to be reap'd by it, to reſolve upon leaving *Tours*; and to make directly for *Paris*. In this March the King of *Navarre* commanded the Vant-Guard of the Army, and his Majeſty himſelf the main Battel, reſerving the command of the Rear for the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and that in the very face of the *Mareſchals de Biron*, and *d' Aumont*, and of all the other Nobility who were then about his Perſon. *Anno* 1589.

The Command of the Rear-guard reſerv'd for the Duke of *Eſpernon*.

It was at this time that the Duke came up to the King, by whom he was receiv'd with all the honour, and kindneſs he could expect from his Majeſties old Affection to him, now newly reviv'd by the important Services he had ſo lately receiv'd from his Fidelity, and Valour: And then it was that his Majeſty, never thinking he could ſufficiently evidence the eſteem he had for him, endeavour'd (till better times ſhould render him capable of a better acknowledgement) principally to ſatisfie him concerning all things that had paſt during his abſence from Court, receiving him into a degree of greater Privacy, and truſt, than he had ever been in, in his higheſt pitch of Favour.

The Duke's arrival at the Army, and his favourable reception.

The Duke, that he might make a grateful return to thoſe infinite teſtimonies he receiv'd of the King his Maſters great affection to him, ſought on his part all occaſions to pleaſe him in all things; and knowing very well he could not give him a greater, nor a more ſignal ſatisfaction, than to reconcile himſelf to the *Mareſchal d' Aumont*, a man very acceptable to, and in great eſteem with his Majeſty, but who had long been upon ill terms with the Duke; he went one day franckly to his Lodging, and without regarding the formalities uſual in ſuch Accommodations, there made him offers of Reconciliation, and Friendſhip; the greateſt violence imaginable to his own nature, of it ſelf not eaſie to be reconciled (an humour in which he has ever ſince perſiſted, but too obſtinately for the advantage of his own Affairs) but the deſire he had to gratifie the King his Maſter overcame that difficulty, whoſe great Intereſt it was, that thoſe few Servants, who continued about his Perſon, and were faithful to him, ſhould live in perfect intelligence with one another. The Duke therefore having embrac'd the *Mareſchal*, told him, "That he was "come with all freedom, and candour, to deſire his Friendſhip, "as alſo to make him a tender of his; that the evil intelligence "they had ſo long liv'd in could not but be prejudicial to his Ma-"jeſties Service, which they both ſo zealouſly deſired to pro-"mote; That there had no offenſe paſt betwixt them, wherein their

Monſieur de Thou.

Anno 1589. "their Honours could be any ways concern'd; that if notwithstanding he had entertain'd some little discontents, he desir'd "him to forget them; as for his part, and that sincerely, he would "blot out all memory of his. The *Mareschal*, overcome by this generous, and unexpected freedom, as readily met the Duke in his courtesie, like a true *Frenchman*, laying open his bosom to the reconciliation with more sincerity, and affection than ever: Whereupon they both of them went immediately to the King, who was not a little pleas'd at an Accommodation so important to his Service; and having been particularly inform'd of the Duke's manner of proceeding, gave it the favourable interpretation due to so noble an Action; so that still more, and more encreasing the esteem, and kindness he had for him, he made it so highly, and so publickly appear, as gave *D'Avila* occasion to say, he was re-establish'd in the highest degree of Favour he had ever been, as it was effectually true, whatever *D'Aubigné* is pleas'd to write to the contrary.

He enters into higher favour than ever.

The same *D'Aubigné*, a man very perfect in calumny, and with which he continually bespatters all the King's Actions, contrary to the truth known and receiv'd by all the world, says further, That they had much ado to prevail with the King to march his Army out of *Tours* towards *Paris*; that the King of *Navarre* was forc'd to use all manner of perswasion, and even a certain kind of violence to bring him to it: but besides that all our Historians are contrary to him in this, the King was observ'd after the death of the Duke of *Guise*, to be so vigorous in all his actions, that at Court they would ordinarily say, he had now re-assum'd that Lions Courage, he had for some years suppress. His whole discourse was nothing, but of reigning with Authority, and of chastising such as would not acknowledge him in their obedience, which his actions likewise confirm'd. In the attempt upon the Suburbs of *Tours*, *Mounsieur de Thou* (as being continually with the King, and particularly all that day) gives this testimony, That although in this occasion, which was very hot, his Majesty was surpriz'd in his Doublet only, he nevertheless gave orders with so much assurance, and gave so evident proofs of Valour and Constancy in so great a danger, that the whole Army took it for a happy *Omen*, and every man by his Example fortified himself with Courage and Resolution. In fine (whatever men may say of this Prince) 'tis most certain, that a Martial Disposition govern'd in him, as he had sufficiently made it appear in his Youth, when he was meerly led by his own natural Inclination: but it is likewise true, that being come to the Crown, and having learn'd by

The King's generous Resolution.

by the miſeries of War, that Peace is the greateſt good with which a Prince can gratifie his people; he endeavour'd by all means (and doubtleſs too induſtriouſly) to eſtabliſh that happy Government in his Kingdom. To this end were all his Politicks (which as I have ſaid) he made his ordinary, and regular ſtudy directed: but at laſt incens'd at the ill ſucceſs of ſo good a Deſign, he abſolutely reſolv'd upon the taking Arms, never to lay them down, till he had re-eſtabliſh'd his Authority, and that in the higheſt degree any of his Predeceſſors had ever done. *Anno* 1589.

With this reſolution then he departed from *Tours* in the beginning of *May*, 1589. The firſt Town upon his way that ſtood for the League was *Gergeau*, and this little Town had the confidence to ſhut their Gates againſt the Royal Army: So much were mens minds infatuated with zeal to their Faction. The Duke of *Eſpernon* was order'd to go before to block up this place, and to caſt up the firſt earth againſt it, which he accordingly did; and the whole Army being a few days after come up to the Siege, the King of *Navarre* advanc'd as far as the Trenches, to ſee what progreſs they had made: A Prince whoſe Valour and Bravery were ſo generally known, as that his Reputation was univerſally receiv'd, and eſtabliſh'd in the opinion of all: But the Duke, who till this time had never had the honour to be near him in any occaſion of this kind, would now let him ſee that he alſo was no Novice in matters of Warre: 'Tis true, he might have choſen a fitter opportunity of giving the King a teſtimony of his own Valour, without expoſing his Perſon to ſo great a danger; but the heat of Youth tranſported him: and I have heard him diſcourſing of this Action, and (alwayes accuſing his own indiſcretion) magnifie to the higheſt degree, the King of *Navarre*'s courage, which appear'd in great luſtre upon this occaſion. *D'Aubigné*, who was himſelf then preſent, gives this Relation of it; and I ſhall make uſe of his own words, being in this caſe not much to be ſuſpected, ſince every body knows he was never very partial to the Duke. The King marches from *Tours* to *Paris*.

"*The King of* Navarre (ſays he) *being gone to viſit the Duke of* Eſ-
"pernon's *Trenches, the Duke ſhewing him what he had done, leads*
"*him through the middle of the ſpace betwixt the Trenches, and the*
"*Town, in his Doublet only, and that ſo unconcern'd, and ſo open to*
"*the Enemies view, that* Houeilles *the Duke's Couſin, and Camp-*
"*Maſter, as alſo another of his people fell dead at their feet; when ha-*
"*ving gain'd a Guard commanded by* Belangreuille, *they came out on*
"*the back ſide of that, and paſs'd within forty paces of the Courtine*
"*which play'd upon them all the while, and laid two men more dead up-*
"*on the place. The King of* Navarre, *and the Duke having at laſt*

Anno 1589.

"*gain'd the blind of a Garden Door.* Frontenack, *and another (which* "*other must be* D'Aubigné *himself, who was Gentleman of the Horse* "*to the King of* Navarre) *earnestly solicited the Duke to retire, which* "*he was about to do by a way, perhaps likely to engage them in more* "*danger than before, when the King of* Navarre *staid him by the Col-* "*lar of his Doublet.* This is that he says: but he adds after a thing wherein he is not so good a testimony, as of the first, and which is not so true, *viz.* that the King being enform'd of this Action, spoke highly against the Duke, and in terms that nothing tasted of Favour, and that so soon as he saw him, he severely reprehended him, and reproach'd him, that he would have destroy'd his Brother. 'Tis true that his Majesty chid the Duke for his rashness, telling him, *That he ought to reserve his Valour for better occasions, and not so lightly to expose the Person of the King of* Navarre *his Brother, and his own*; which were rather words of tenderness, than distaste; and it is likewise very true, that the King of *Navarre's* Servants murmur'd highly at it, endeavouring to possess the King, that the Duke had not engag'd him in this danger without Design: nay himself manifested something at his coming out of the Trenches; for it was told the Duke that he should say to some of his people, *I think this man would be content to lose an Arm, to have my Brains beaten out*; which was never the Duke's intention, he being only spurr'd on by the inconsiderate heat of Youth and Bravery, without any other Design.

The King of *Navarre's* first aversion for the Duke of *Espernon.*

From *Gergeau* the Army advanc'd towyrds *Piviers*, which immediately open'd its Gates, as also the City of *Chartres* surrendred at the first summon: but *Estampes* stood out a Siege, which being soon after taken by Assault, some of the King of *Navarre's* Souldiers ran on in their prevailing Fury even to the Church of that Town, there committing all sorts of insolence; which the Duke being advertis'd of, by the Guards he had plac'd at the Doors of this Church (wisely foreseeing that the King of *Navarre's* people, who for the greater part were men of the Reform'd Religion, would not abstain from violation even of Holy things) he ran thither himself to prevent further disorder; where being come, and seeing the Chalices, and other Sacred Ornaments of the Altars in the hands of the rude Souldier, not being able to endure that things, dedicated to so Sacred Use, should be profan'd after that manner, he furiously drew his Sword, and ran the first Offender in his way quite through the Body; which by chance hapning to be one of the Dragoons of the King of *Navarre's* own Guard, and in his own Livery, the Complaint was immediately carried to him, and by him as soon to the King; of which

which the Duke having alſo notice, he preſently repair'd to his Majeſties Quarter, to make his defenſe. There being come, and his Majeſty having demanded of him the reaſon for what he had done, he gave him a particular accompt of the whole buſineſs: Whereupon the King of *Navarre* told him with ſome bitterneſs, *That he had no Authority over his Souldiers, and leſs over his Domeſticks*; to which the Duke made anſwer with a reſpective, but a manly boldneſs, "That the truſt wherewith the King was pleas'd to ho-"nour him, and the command he had given him in the Army, "inveſted him with ſufficient Authority to chaſtiſe Impious, and "Sacrilegious Perſons; and that moreover every good man "ought to aſſume that Authority in Offenſes of ſo high a Nature. Their Diſpute was like to grow into hotter terms, when the King impos'd ſilence both upon the one, and the other, not condemning the Duke's action nevertheleſs; but deſiring the King of *Navarre* to take care for the future, that there might be no more offenſes committed of that kind. Thus by little and little ſecret diſcontents againſt the Duke crept into the King of *Navarre*'s boſom, which many, envious of the Duke's greatneſs, endeavour'd to augment: neither was the Duke blind on that ſide, nor was it without ſome affliction that he ſaw himſelf ſo ill requited for the ſincere and unintereſſed affection he had ever manifeſted for this Princes Service in his greateſt adverſity: but having found by ſufficient experience, that the beſt Offices are not always the beſt recorded, he contented himſelf with the conſcience of his own integrity, and ever paying the reſpect due to the Birth, and Vertues of this excellent Prince, in all other concerns of his command he exercis'd his Duty to the utmoſt height of Authority he had ever done.

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Encreaſe at the Siege of *Eſtampes*.

The Army advancing daily towards *Paris*, the Duke had order to make an attempt upon *Montereau faut-Yonne*, which he carried by Petard; neither was it a ſervice of light importance; for in the ſequel of Affairs, that which the Duke won in a few hours coſt the King's Enemies many months, and many good men to recover it. From thence the Army being come to *Pontoiſe*, the Duke had there the ſtorming of a Suburb, which was very well fortified, committed to him; and which notwithſtanding he carried, though with as much hazard as ever he tempted in any action of his life. He was himſelf the firſt that leap'd upon the Rampire; and though in this aſſault he had above a hundred men laid dead at his feet, amongſt which were many Perſons of Quality, and Command, he nevertheleſs reſolutely perſiſted in the Enterprize, and forc'd the Enemy at the Swords point even to the

The taking of *Montereau faut-yonne*.

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The Surrender of *Pontoise*.

Gates of the City, whither he compell'd them to retire; and where having block'd them up, he pres's'd on the Siege with that vigour and conduct, that the place soon after surrendred upon composition. Thus did the King find all things give place to his Arms, as if Destiny had smooth'd, and levell'd for him all the paths that lead to Death and Ruine; and in this prosperity of his Affairs, his Majesty resolv'd upon the Siege of *Paris*.

The Siege of *Paris*, and the death of *Henry* the Third.

Already were the *Swisse*, and new rais'd Reiters come up, and joyn'd with the Body of the Army; the Officers were dispos'd into their several Quarters, and the King had taken up his own at St *Clou*, and given the Guard of them to the Duke, in order to a formal Siege. His Majesties Lodging in this narrow Quarter was at the *Hostel de Gondy*, as that which was most capable to receive him; and it was in this House of *Gondy* that (whilst this great Prince was forming the designs of restoring his despis'd Authority of chastising the temerity, and disobedience of his evil dispos'd Subjects, of rendring his name venerable to all his Neighbours, and of establishing the Peace of his Kingdom, having already almost extinguish'd all the sparks of Division that had enflam'd it) that I say an accursed Parricide in the Meridian of all his Glory, and in the Crisis of all his Designs plung'd a murthering Knife into his Entrails. Every one has heard who *Jaques Clement* was, and the black story of his Bloody Assassinate: but no one could ever yet penetrate so far as to discover by whom he was prompted on to this execrable Act. The King feeling himself wounded, drew the Knife immediately from the Wound, and strook it up to the haft in the Villains Face, at which bustle betwixt them, one of the Grooms of the Wardrobe, who guarded the Closet Door, into which his Majesty was withdrawn to give this wicked wretch a more private audience, ran in to them, as also did several Gentlemen who waited in the outer Room, who all of them drawing their Swords, by an imprudence in it self criminal, if not excus'd by the violence of their Affections, gave the Caitiffe an hundred Wounds; whereby in a moment he vomited out a life, that ought not to have been dismist, till after the horror of a thousand torments.

The King, feeling himself Wounded, commanded the Duke of *Espernon* to be immediately sent for, who was then at the Post neareſt to the City, putting some Troops in order, which were to fall into the Suburbs of *Paris*; but at this sad and unexpected news he ran in great confusion to the King's Lodging, whom he yet found in the same posture wherein he had receiv'd his hurt, with his hand still upon the Wound: At which sight, the Duke bursting

burſting out in tears, as fearing a ſiniſter event, his Majeſty gave him comfort, by telling him he hop'd the Wound would not prove Mortal; and ſaying to him further theſe very words, *Thou ſeeſt here (my Friend) the effects of my Enemies Treachery and Malice; but I hope God will ſhortly enable me to bring them to condigne puniſhment.* To which the Duke returning no other anſwer, than his tears, they laid his Majeſty upon a bed, and ſearch'd his Wound; which the Chirurgeons at the firſt dreſſing, apprehended not to be ſo dangerous, as it was; ſo that all that day was paſt over in this error: but that night, and the morning following, the dolours of his Wound encreaſing, and at laſt growing to be extreme, it was then judg'd that his bowels were pierced, and that Death muſt neceſſarily, and in a few hours enſue. The King of *Navarre* had haſted with all diligence, at the firſt bruit of this accident, and being come to his bedſide, his Majeſty ſaid to him almoſt the ſame things, he had ſaid before to the Duke; and talk'd of nothing the firſt day, ſave of the exemplary puniſhment he would inflict upon his Enemies: but his Wound being at laſt judg'd to be mortal, and feeling in himſelf that he drew near his end, all his diſcourſe of Puniſhment, and Revenge, was turn'd into that of Pardon and Oblivion: and certainly no Prince ever made a more Chriſtian, or a more conſtant end. He declar'd upon his death-bed the King of *Navarre* neareſt of his Blood, and and conſequently right Heir to the Crown, provided he were a Catholick; exhorting him at the ſame time to abjure his own Religion, and to reconcile himſelf to the Holy Church, commanding likewiſe the Duke of *Eſpernon* (whom he held by the hand) to ſerve him upon that condition; after which, and a Pious Reſignation of himſelf, he gave up his laſt breath in the middle of his victorious Army. *Anno* 1589.

We are now entring upon a new Reign, and one the Duke found very different, from that wherein he had hitherto liv'd; for he now not only ſaw himſelf ſtript of all kind of Favour: but he further ſaw the envy, and hatred of the whole Court directed againſt him. He was now no more call'd to Council, nor any longer entruſted with his Princes ſecrets; but on the contrary every one labour'd to diminiſh that greatneſs, to which his own Vertue, and his Maſters Royal bounty had already rais'd him. But we ſhall ſee how he overcame all theſe difficulties: and the Juſtice of this new Prince at laſt giving the Merits and Services of this vertuous man their due, we ſhall ſee him not only ſupport him in his own preſent Fortune, but alſo encreaſe it by his daily bounty, and ſo eſtabliſh it in him, as to empower him to ſettle it in his own Poſterity.

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So soon as the King was dead, all the Roman Catholicks of quality in the Army assembled themselves together, to advise what in this occurrence was to be done for the maintenance of the Catholick Religion in the Service of this new King: And here their opinions were split into three several Councils; for some there were who thought it fit absolutely to acknowledge the King without condition, or reservation, but those were very few: Others there were who would absolutely abandon his Service, and joyn with the League; and those were fewer than the first: But the third proposition, and that which was concluded on by the most principal, and prudent Lords of the Army; amongst which were the Dukes of *Longueville*, of *Nevers*, of *Espernon*, and of *Luxembourg*; the *Mareschals de Biron*, and *d'Aumont*, the Marquis of *Rambouillet*, and many others, was to serve the King, and to tye themselves wholly to his Fortune, provided his Majesty would please to give them some gracious assurance of his speedy Conversion. Which being deliver'd to his Majesty as their determinate Resolution, and the condition prescrib'd as it were, by the King his Predecessor, he wisely chose such a mean as seem'd necessary to him in this occasion, for the establishment of the uncertain state of his Affairs; and would by all means preserve that moderation, and indifferency betwixt both parties, as should by an equal hope in them both, keep both his Catholick and *Hugonot* Subjects within the bounds of their duty. His Answer therefore was, "That it would appear to all the world very "easie, and unhandsome in him to change his Religion, only to "satisfie his Subjects humour, and to receive a Law from them in "a thing, which in its self, of all other, ought to be most free: "That he desir'd to be instructed, and satisfied in his Conscience "before he proceeded so far, as to change his Religion: That to "this purpose he promis'd within six months to call an Assembly "of men of known Piety and Learning, and if occasion were, "a National Synod, to whose final Decree he would absolutely "submit, and that in the mean time he would be careful to protect, and maintain the Catholick Religion.

Several Propositions about the new King amongst the Chiefs of the Army.

The Lords Catholick send his Majesty their Resolution.

His Majesties Answer.

After divers Messages of Treaty sent to, and fro, on either part, it at last ended in this, that many of the Catholick Lords submitting to his Majesties first Proposition; what he had then promis'd by word of mouth, was now only more formally drawn into a writing interchangeably deliver'd betwixt the King, and his Catholick Subjects, and Sign'd by the greatest part of Men of Quality, that were then in the Army: But the Duke of *Espernon* believing this delay of six months propos'd by the King, to be no other

The major part of the Catholick Lords submit to the King.

delay, intended only to win longer time, and that at laſt their hopes, and expectations would be deluded, demanded ſome further aſſurance, than he yet ſaw of his Majeſties converſion; neither could he, notwithſtanding the importunities of all the Friends he had, be drawn upon other terms to ſeal to that Writing. And this was the true, and only reaſon of his refuſal, and not what both *Mounſieur de Thou*, and *D'Avila* have reported of it. They ſay that the thing which made him refuſe to ſeal to that Inſtrument, was a conteſt which hapned betwixt him, and the *Mareſchals de Biron*, and *d'Aumont*, who ſhould ſign firſt; theſe as *Mareſchals* of *France*, and in immediate command in the Army pretending a priority; and he claiming a precedence as Duke, and Peer: a difficulty that might eaſily have been overcome, had that been all. But the cauſe proceeded from a principle of greater moment, than the trivial conteſt of a ſlight Ceremony. *Anno* 1589. The Duke of *Eſpernon* ſtands out.

The King however caus'd him by ſeveral hands to be over and over again ſolicited, and importun'd, to ſatisfie himſelf as other good Catholicks had done; and as the Dukes were the beſt, and the fulleſt Regiments of the Army, and as his perſon, and his example (which were likely to be follow'd (as they afterwards were) not only by thoſe under his own command, but by many others of good quality in the Army) altogether render'd him very conſiderable: So did his Majeſty by all ſorts of perſwaſions and promiſes, endeavour to detain him; but all to no purpoſe. 'Tis true, he acknowledg'd the King for lawful Succeſſour to the Crown, as he had ſufficiently declar'd in a time when the greateſt perſecutions were practis'd againſt him, and when he was only King of *Navarre*, by which he had in part drawn the hatred of the Duke of *Guiſe* upon him. And it is alſo true, that he had all the reaſon in the world to deſire that Prince ſhould now become his Maſter, whom he had all his life labour'd to raiſe to that Dignity to which he was now arriv'd: But he thought the Ruine of the Catholick Religion inevitable, ſhould things continue in the poſture they were now in; which made him rather chooſe to expoſe himſelf to all thoſe diſgraces he knew his Enemies were preparing for him, than to ſerve his own intereſts (whoſe advancement he likewiſe ſaw infallible in ſo favourable a juncture) to the reproach, and prejudice of his own Conſcience. The Duke obſtinate to leave the Army.

Fortified therefore ſtill more and more in this reſolution, he caus'd his Troops to be made ready for his departure: theſe, at his firſt coming to the King conſiſted of ſix thouſand Foot, and twelve hundred Horſe; which though they were now much di-miniſh'd in the Service, yet were they notwithſtanding in ſuch a condition,

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condition, as that there were hardly so many more *French* in the whole Army, as he had under his sole command. The Marquis *de Rocquelaure*, and other of his intimate friends labour'd by all imaginable means, to disswade him from his ill taken up resolution; but not being able to prevail, his Enemies would have perswaded the King, to have met his obstinacy with a Stab, a Counsel the Duke was as soon enform'd of. But whether it was, that he thought this generous Prince, not to be perswaded into so foul an action; or that he thought it at that time a thing not easie to be executed, he had the assurance, notwithstanding the caution had been given him, to go take his leave of the King, before he left the Army, and to excuse his departure: A Ceremony that was pass'd over in few words; and I have often heard him repeat the manner of it to be thus. The Duke took along with him thirty Gentlemen of his Train, in whom he repos'd the greatest confidence, and of these he left some at the Doors of the King's Lodgings, and others upon the Stairs, to facilitate his retirement, if any foul play should be offer'd to him; and himself with only two more in his company enter'd the Gallery. The last Journey he made to *Paris*, he hapned to lie in the same house, and shew'd us the place where he took his leave of the King. This house did at that time belong to *Mademoiselle du Tillet*, his old, and intimate Friend; a Lady illustrious for her courage and constancy, and passionate for the Duke's Interests to that degree, that he has had few friends who have justified their affection by so great, and so continued a fidelity. The King was at the one end of the Gallery, when the Duke appear'd entring at the other; whom the King no sooner perceiv'd, but that coming up to him, with an angry countenance, and striking his stick with some vehemence upon the floor, he said. *What* Mounsieur d' Espernon, *it seems you have refus'd to Sign the Writing, which has been Sign'd without difficulty by most persons of Quality in my Army, as good Catholicks as your self! do not you, as well as they, acknowledge me for your King?* To which the Duke made answer, "That he was his Ma-"jesties most humble Subject, and Servant; That there was not "a person in his Kingdom, who had more ardently desir'd to "see him in the place where he now was, should the King his "Master die, than himself had done; That he would never do "any thing contrary to his Service; that he had rather die, than "once to entertain so dishoneſt a thought: but that he did humbly "beseech his Majesty to excuse him, if being of a Religion dif-"fering from that his Majesty profess'd, he could not attend his "person; that being a thing he could not do, without offering the "greatest violence to his own Conscience. The

The King perswaded to cause the Duke to be stab'd.

The Duke goes to take his leave of the King.

The King's angry Speech to the Duke.

The Duke had ſcarce made an end of ſpeaking, when he heard a noiſe of armed men behind him in the Gallery; and then it was that he certainly believ'd, theſe were the men appointed to kill him, as he had been pre-adviſ'd: but he was ſoon deliver'd out of that fear, when he ſaw the King move forward with a ſmiling countenance to embrace them. Theſe were two Captains of the King's Light Horſe; the one call'd *le Baron de Sainte Marie du Mont*, a *Norman*; the others name I have forgot: who, having upon their Guard (which was at a good diſtance) receiv'd intelligence of the Death of *Henry* III. were come in all haſte to congratulate the King with his new Advancement; and lighted at the Door of his Lodging, were come up in the ſame poſture the news had ſurpriz'd them in upon their Guard to preſent their Duty: The Duke taking this occaſion to retire, withdrew himſelf forthwith to his own Quarter; but before he would abſolutely depart, he would firſt attend the Corps of the King his Maſter, and Benefactor, as far as *Compeigne*, whither they were carried with very little Ceremony, the diſorders of the time not permitting greater; and where having paid his laſt duty, he return'd to overtake his Troops, which were now marching upon the Road of *Loches* towards *Angoumois*. *Anno* 1589.

The example of the Duke's departure was followed by many others, ſo that in a few days the Army was grown ſo thin, that the King had ſcarce any ſave ſtrangers left in his Camp, and even they in the end, for want of pay, disbanded as well as the reſt; and then it was that the Duke's Enemies, with a redoubled malice, ſpoke loudeſt in his diſgrace, and did all they poſſibly could to animate his Majeſty in the higheſt degree againſt him. There had already paſs'd (as you have heard) ſome ſecret diſcontents betwixt the King, and the Duke, during the life of the late King; amongſt which the buſineſs of *Gergeau*, and that of *Eſtampes* had made no little noiſe; but to theſe many have added, and likewiſe ſome endeavour'd to poſſeſs the King, that the Duke ever impatient of a Rival in his Maſter's Favour, and leſs able to endure his Majeſty who was ſo much above him, had in that time done all the ill offices he could invent to beget a miſ-underſtanding betwixt the King, and him, ſuch as might cauſe a ſeparation; and certainly ſo effectually had they labour'd with him, as to make him believe too much; by which they had ſo incens'd his Majeſties mind againſt him, that doubtleſs he would have bent his whole endeavour to the Duke's Ruine, upon the late refuſal he had made of his aſſiſtance, had not the neceſſity of his own Affairs diverted his deſigns another way: but all theſe evil diſpoſiti-

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ons, though they still threatned worse consequences, could not hinder the Duke from persevering in his resolution to retire.

As his departure was of infinite importance, whether we consider it as to the Fortune of the King, and Interest of the State; or as to the Duke's own particular concern, and that there are few Historians of that, or later times, who have not taken occasion to blame the Dukes proceeding herein: I think it fit to say something here in his vindication, and to discover the reasons upon which he built that resolution; which having receiv'd from his own mouth in the same terms that I shall faithfully deliver here, every one may afterwards form what judgment of the Action he shall in his own discretion think most fit. He told me that a little before his departure, many of his intimate friends had endeavour'd to dissuade him from his Design, by presenting before him the present juncture of Affairs, so favourable (as they said) to the support of his immediate condition (so generally envy'd by all) that he could not himself have wish'd a more advantageous conjuncture: That as it was principally by his means, and assistance the King could build any probable hopes of effecting what he desir'd; so were there present no advanrages (besides an indempnity, and oblivion of all pass'd unkindnesses, a thing in it self highly to be consider'd) to which he might not reasonably pretend: That he might now establish his own greatness in so sure a condition, that it would be no hard matter to maintain himself for the future in the same height, should the Kings humour chance to come about: That all men plainly saw how much upon his departure, or stay, depended the standing, or dissolution of the Royal Army: That upon his concurrence with his Majesty, depended that of the greatest part of the Catholicks, and the Ruine of the League, wherein were his most capital Enemies: That by his assistance men might yet promise to themselves the reducing of *Paris*, and in that the peace and settlement of the whole Kingdom: That having in his hands the disposition of things of so great utility to the publick, and so great honour to himself, he neither ought to envy his Country those advantages, not to deprive himself of the glory of so admirable a success.

The Remonstrances of the Duke's Friends to perswade him to stay.

These were considerations that in their own weight, and laid home to him by men he knew to be his Friends, were not unlikely to prevail, and to have overcome his obstinacy, as doubtless they had done, had the Duke look'd no further, than his own Interest; and so he told his Friends, who had so freely argu'd with him: "He told them that he was not so little acquainted with "the business of the world, that he did not well enough discern all

" all thoſe advantages they had propos'd, as relating to himſelf: *Anno*
" That he did very well believe his Majeſty, aſſiſted by his Catho- 1589.
" lick Subjects, might reduce his Enemies to the point he deſir'd;
" but that from thence would infallibly enſue the ſubverſion of
" the Catholick Religion, which would likewiſe bring on the
" ruine of the State: That inſtead of the Peace they propos'd to
" themſelves, after the League were reduc'd to their obedience,
" they would ſee themſelves engag'd in a more violent, and obſti-
" nate War than before: That thoſe of the Reform'd Religion being
" grown more ſtrong, and having a lawful, mighty, and active
" King to head them, would doubtleſs eſtabliſh their own Reli-
" gion in *France*, and conſtrain the Catholicks to ſubmit to what-
" ever Law they would impoſe upon them: That it was far bet-
" ter betimes to refuſe to countenance the evil, which lay conceal'd
" under the apparence of a preſent good, than to engage himſelf
" in miſchiefs of ſo inevitable conſequence, and to forbear a while
" the fruits of a ſpecious, and alluring Peace, to enjoy it at better
" leiſure, more permanent and ſecure: That the King, what pro-
" miſes ſoever he had made, and what real diſpoſitions ſoever he
" might have to cauſe himſelf to be ſatisfied within ſix months,
" had nevertheleſs been prompted by thoſe of his own perſwaſi-
" on, to demand that reſpite for no other end, than to keep the
" Catholick Forces about him, that he might make himſelf Ma-
" ſter of *Paris*: That having done that, which muſt neceſſarily
" put an end to the War, and being wholly poſſeſt by creatures
" paſſionate for their ill receiv'd and new opinions, he would
" certainly be continued in his Error by their reſtleſs practice:
" That there was a neceſſity of a prompt, and ſincere Converſion;
" not ſuch an one, as was to be hop'd for no man knew when,
" and that then perhaps would be luke-warm, and unſound:
" That whenſoever that ſhould come to paſs, they ſhould ſee him
" ſtake his Fortune, his Friends, and his Life, for a Prince whom
" he did ever acknowledge undoubted Succeſſour to the Crown:
" That in the mean time he made no doubt but his Enemies (as
" they uſe to do) would lay all the diſorders that ſhould happen,
" at his door, and hourly incenſe the King againſt him with all
" the malice, and artifice they could invent; but that he hop'd his
" Majeſty would himſelf one day commend his Zeal to Religion,
" which ought to be the firſt thing in every good man's proſpect,
" and which was alſo his ſole object in that reſolution, wherein
" he would live and die: That he was retiring into his Govern-
" ments, where his Actions ſhould juſtifie the integrity of his
" heart, and that he would there ſerve the King to his utmoſt

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" power, by making Warre upon those whom he knew to be " enemies to his Service.

This was the Duke's Declaration to his private Friends, to which his Conduct afterwards was so conformable, as sufficiently demonstrated to all the world, that he was possess'd with a better spirit, than that of Ambition. 'Tis true, his determination was in it self positive, and bold; and he had reason in all apparence to apprehend a dangerous issue, and has himself ever acknowledg'd, that according to the Maxims of humane Prudence, he herein committed a dangerous error; but that having nothing but the sole interest of Religion for his aim, he had reap'd greater advantages by it, than he durst have propos'd to himself from any other resolution; and that he did believe it was from this fountain he since deriv'd all the successes of his Life; of which the most signal was, that his Majesty himself after some time, having pierc'd deeper into the candour of his intention, receiv'd him into as high a degree of Favour, as any of his other Servants: but it was not until he had first receiv'd many infallible, and continual proofs of his Loyalty and Affection.

Having after this manner deserted the Army, he soon arriv'd at *Angoulesme*; where the first thing he did after his arrival, was to send the Pope an accompt of his proceeding, and that he had been constrain'd to quit the Army, being bound so to do, out of his respect to the Catholick Religion: It was also requisite he should by a Declaration purge himself from the Calumnies cast upon him by the League, who had deliver'd him to the people for a grand Confederate with the Hereticks: But other particular correspondencies he had none; for of all Foreign Princes, the Popes were only they with whom he ever held any intelligence; and whatever has been said to the contrary, he ever preserv'd his fidelity unspotted from the practices of other Princes, who daily tempted him with no contemptible offers to an intelligence with them; a vertue not to be pass'd over in this part of his Life without a worthy mention, it being in a time when few of the great ones of either party had so temperate a respect for their duty; the misfortunes of the time, and the various Factions that divided the Kingdom, seeming as it were, to give every one liberty to fortifie the interests of his own party, by all the Friends, and Confederates he could make.

The Duke having engag'd himself before his retirement from the Army to serve the King by all the ways he could, would now sit no longer idle, but gave immediate order for the recruit of his Troops; and the experience of what had formerly past, having given

given him ſufficiently to underſtand what confidence was to be repos'd in the people, he was now reſolv'd no longer to depend upon their giddy, and voluble humour; nor no more be ſubject to ſuch commotions, as his Enemies might attempt to raiſe amongſt that credulous, and mutinous rabble. He therefore caus'd a conſiderable Fortification to be ſpeedily rais'd at the Caſtle of *Angouleſme*, the King having given him leave ſo to do, as alſo to raiſe what mony was neceſſary to the perfecting that work, upon the Province. He likewiſe rais'd another at *Xaintes*, ſo that in a ſhort time he ſecur'd himſelf from all Surprizes, like that of St. *Laurence*: but he had ſcarce time to ſettle this good order in his Governments, when he was call'd away to look after other, and thoſe very conſiderable, Affairs, that immediately concern'd the ſafety of the Kingdom. *Anno* 1589.

The Duke fortifies the Caſtle of *Angouleſme*, and the Citadel of *Xaintes*.

All the Provinces of the Kingdom being divided betwixt the King, and the League, it was to be expected that the great Cities would likewiſe bandy within their own Walls, and ſtand up for the one party, or the other, as mens paſſions, or judgments enclin'd them to the cauſe. Of this number was the City of *Limoges*, where the Biſhop, who was of the Family of *Martboine*, aſſiſted by the *Sieurs de Pompadou*, *de la Guerche*, *de Raſtignac*, *de la Chappelle Biron*, and many other Gentlemen of Quality, favour'd alſo by many of the Inhabitants, labour'd all he could to make the Town, and City declare for the Duke of *Mayenne*, and his Faction, wherein nevertheleſs he at firſt met ſome difficulty: but proceeding from perſwaſions to open force, he, by the aſſiſtance of thoſe Gentlemen, made himſelf Maſter of the City, and was upon the point to have made himſelf alſo Maſter of the Town, when the *Count de la Voute* eldeſt Son to the Duke of *Ventadour*, put himſelf into it, and made all poſſible reſiſtance to preſerve it out of their hands: Yet had he not (his Party being ſo much the weaker) been able long to have held out, had not the Duke of *Eſpernon*, advertis'd of this diſorder, come in to his timely ſuccour: But at the report of the Duke's arrival, the Leaguers immediately diſpers'd themſelves, abandoning the City they already poſſeſs'd, as he afterwards turn'd all ſuſpected perſons out of the Town, and ſettled it ſo well by the prudent order he eſtabliſh'd there, that it never after ſtarted from its duty; but on the contrary continued ſo firm, and maintained it ſelf ſo well, that it was almoſt the only City of the Kingdom which taſted not of thoſe miſeries with which the Civil War by taking, re-taking, plunder, and other miſchiefs, infeſted all other Cities of *France*; a happineſs that place principally owes to the timely ſuccour it receiv'd from the Duke of *Eſpernon*'s vigilance and care.

The Duke reſcues *Limoges* out of the hands of the League.

The

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The Duke besieges Sr. *Germain*, which surrenders.

The example of the Capital City, contain'd almost all the lesser Cities of the Province in his Majesties Obedience; neither was there any except that of St. *Germain* which refus'd to keep within the limits of its Duty; but that, declaring for the League, constrain'd the Duke to turn his Forces that way to reduce it. *Puiferrat*, a Gentleman of the Country, commanded there, who after some vollies of Cannon shot, surrendred upon conditions, that he, and his Souldiers should have free Quarter, and march away with Bag, and Baggage; a capitulation notwithstanding very ill observ'd, to the Duke's great displeasure; who having appointed the elder *Sobole's* Troop of Light Horse for their Convoy, without considering their Officer had been kill'd at the Siege, the Cavaliers, incens'd at the loss of their Captain, reveng'd his Death upon these miserable people, and cut them almost all to pieces. A cruelty some Authors have laid to the Duke's charge, though very unjustly; for had his generous heart been capable of committing so dishonourable a crime, what advantage could he have propos'd to himself, from so foul a treachery?

The Duke call'd back into *Angoumois* to suppress the Leaguers there.

And now was the Duke resolv'd to have clear'd all that Province, when the disorders of his own Government call'd him back to look after his own immediate concerns. We have already given a Narrative of the Enterprize of *Angoulesme*, upon St. *Laurence* day, and further an accompt of the Clemency the Duke shew'd to those who had treated him after so barbarous a manner: of which there yet remain'd some, who (as they were most zealous for the League, and as they had been most guilty of that sedition, mistrusting by the Conscience of their own Crimes, that the Duke could never heartily pardon, and forget them) chose rather, leaving the security and peace of their own Houses, to commit their safeties to the guard of their own Arms, than to rely upon a promise they knew they could not expect in reason should be observ'd. The *Chavalier d'Aubeterre*, one of the principal sticklers for the League in that Province, having put himself in the Head of these Mutineers, and having gather'd together some other discontented people of the Country, had of these compos'd a Body of Light Horse, and some Companies of Foot, with which in this time of the Duke's absence, he committed a thousand Insolencies: nay, to that confidence were they grown of their own strength, having committed such Riots, whilst there was none to oppose them, that they at last shut up themselves in the Castle of *Villebois*, which they intended should serve them upon all occasions for a secure retreat; a place indeed of very advantageous situation, very proper for close Fight, and

that

that had all the Avenues unto it of ſo difficult acceſs, that Cannon without infinite labour was not to be brought up to force it. In this place then they thought to remain in great ſecurity, and being but three Leagues diſtant from *Angouleſme*, did by their continual ſallies very much incommodate that City. The Duke call'd now home by their inſolencies, ſent them preſently a Summons to Surrender; to which they return'd ſo haughty, and ſo impudent an anſwer, that he ſaw he muſt be forc'd to Beſiege them, as he ſoon after did: and having, though with infinite trouble, planted two pieces of Cannon upon the Hill where the Caſtle ſtood, he caus'd them immediately to begin to play. The beſieg'd endur'd above two hundred ſhot, without ſhewing any countenance of fear: but at laſt ſeeing a breach made, which put them out of all hopes long to defend themſelves, their inſolence was turn'd into apprehenſion, and aſtoniſhment, and their ſcornful language into terms of intreaty, and humble ſupplication, ſubmiſſively begging (as the utmoſt grace they could expect) that they might be permitted to depart with the aſſurance of their lives: to which the Duke would by no means conſent, nor receive them on other terms, than upon diſcretion; to which, after many difficulties, which they had good reaſon to make, they were in the end conſtrain'd to ſubmit. Their Commander in Chief, Lieutenant to the *Chevalier d'Aubeterre*, call'd *Maumont*, knowing very well, that both by the Law of Arms, and by the terms of the Capitulation, he was to expect nothing but death, try'd to eſcape with the ſooneſt, by cauſing himſelf to be let down by Ropes into the Graffe of the Caſtle: but being purſu'd, and overtaken, he died more honourably than he expected, being diſpatch'd by a Piſtol-ſhot in his head. As for his Complices, the Duke ſeparated thoſe who had been concern'd in the Conſpiracy of *Angouleſme* from the reſt, whom ſeeing to be men ſo obſtinate in their malice, as neither reaſon could reduce, nor mercy reclaim, he caus'd eighteen to be hang'd up before the Gates of the Caſtle, and pardon'd all the reſt. It is but a very little while ago, that an old man of fourſcore and two years old, told me this ſtory, wherein he himſelf had been no little concern'd, as being one of thoſe ſet apart for the Rope; for having before made one in the buſineſs of *Angouleſme*; but his good fortune reſerving him for one of the laſt that was to die, and the Marquiſe *de Mezieres* who was at that time Miſtriſs of the Caſtle of *Villebois*, being then in the Country, and by ſome of the poor man's Friends apply'd to, that ſhe would intercede for him, ſhe had ſo much time as to entreat, and obtain his pardon; and this was I think the only

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man

Anno 1589. man of thoſe former Offenders, who eſcap'd that Execution; neither indeed could ſuch a mercy have been better plac'd, than on a man who knew ſo well how to husband his life, when it was once more his own, as to preſerve it almoſt an age after. This Caſtle with the demean and territory belonging to it (one of the faireſt of that Country) was ſoon after purchas'd by the Duke, and ſince advanc'd into a Dutchy, and Peerdom, under the Title of the Dutchy *de la Valette*: And I have often heard the Duke lament the ruines he was forc'd to make of this Caſtle, being before a delicate Pile of Stone, and very capacious; but never after wholly repair'd, there ſtill remaining ſome monuments of the Rebellion as alſo of the puniſhment, thoſe deſperate men ſuffer'd, who were the Commoters of it.

This execution, that would have appear'd more like an example of Cruelty, than Juſtice, had the Crimes of the Offenders been leſs, or not repeated, ſtrook ſuch a terror into the reſt of that Party, that they were not now ſo haſty to appear for a ſide they had ſeen ſo roughly handled; ſo that the Duke did now not only enjoy the repoſe of his Government, but gave ſanctuary to many of the King's Party of the neighbouring Provinces, who were overmatch'd, or oppreſs'd by the League. I have already told you the occaſion that call'd him into *Limouſin*, and I ſhall now tell you of another of the ſame nature, and of no leſs importance, though it made not ſo great a noiſe in the world, that call'd him into the Government of *Guyenne*. The *Mareſchal de Matignon*, the King's Lieutenant in that Province, had his hands ſo full in, and about *Bordeaux*, that the impoſſibility of his being preſent in all places, where his preſence was requir'd, gave opportunity to *Luſſan*, the Governour of *Blaye*, a man enclin'd to the League, to lend ſome Gentlemen of that Party ſome Forces, in order to the taking of *Bourg*; two little Leagues diſtant only from *Blaye*. This Town, though of a very little circuit, is notwithſtanding of very advantageous ſituation; for beſides that it ſtands upon an eminence of very difficult acceſs, it abſolutely commands the River of *Dordongne*, as it alſo at leaſt awes that of *Garonne*, being not above a quarter of a League from the *Bec d'Ambez*, where theſe two Rivers meet to make the *Gironde*. It muſt therefore needs be of great advantage to the League to poſſeſs this place, by which means *Bordeaux* would be abſolutely depriv'd of the ſuccour of two ſo conſiderable Rivers, by which the City was continually, and abundantly ſupply'd. The Leaguers therefore, ſpurr'd on by theſe conſiderations, had laid Siege to *Bourg*, and were by the favour of ſome of the Inhabitants of

their

their Party receiv'd into the Town, without any oppoſition; but *la Joviziere*, a man of approved Valour, who commanded in the Caſtle, defended himſelf ſo well, notwithſtanding the ill condition of the place, and the vigour of the Aſſailants, who preſs'd hard upon him, that he gave the Duke time to come to his Relief, at whoſe firſt appearance, the Enemy retir'd; when the Duke having publickly commended the Governours Valour, and the fidelity of ſome honeſt Inhabitants who had ſtuck ſtoutly to him in this occaſion, withdrew the Captain into his own Service, for the teſtimony he had given of his Valour, leaving *Campagno*, after Colonel of the Regiment of Guards, and ſince Governour of *Boulogne*, with a good Garriſon in his room; as judging this place of that importance, that it ought to have a perſon of no leſs Authority to defend it againſt any attempt from the Garriſon of *Blaye*, ſo near, and ſo dangerous a Neighbour: Yet did not the Duke keep it long in his poſſeſſion; for the King not long after commanding him to deliver it up to him, he immediately obey'd, though he had in a manner himſelf made a conqueſt of it: Some ſay that the *Mareſchal de Matignon*, jealous of ſo conſiderable a neighbour as the Duke, had earneſtly importun'd the King to retrive this place out of his hands.

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The Duke relieves *Bourg*.

The Duke having by theſe ſucceſſes ſettled all his Neighbours in peace, whilſt the reſt of the Kingdom was in trouble, it was but reaſonable that he himſelf ſhould ſhare in that felicity, wherein his Valour and Vigilancy had ſo fortunately eſtabliſh'd others; and of this he receiv'd the firſt and moſt happy fruits by the Bleſſing God was pleas'd to give his Marriage-Bed; for having been already three years Married to *Marguerite de Foix*, Counteſs of *Candale*, without Iſſue, (the great, and various agitations, wherewith he had been continually exercis'd all that time, ſcarce allowing him the leiſure to live in company with his Wife) at laſt this vertuous Lady in *March* 1591. was at *Xaintes* brought to Bed of *Henry de Foix*, and *de la Valette* his eldeſt Son, whom we have ſince ſeen Duke of *Candale*, and whoſe Valour has manifeſted it ſelf in moſt parts of Europe, where he acquir'd the Reputation of one of the greateſt Captains of his time: To theſe Military Vertues, he had yet the addition of ſo many other excellent qualities, that it was hard to ſay, which was to be moſt admir'd, his Valour in War, his Sweetneſs in Converſation, or his Prudence and Dexterity in the Management, and Conduct of the moſt weighty Affairs. The year following 1592. the Duke was enrich'd with another Son, *Bernard de Foix*, and *de la Valette*, who was born at *Angoulſme*, and who is now the ſole Heir of that Illuſtri-

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The birth of *Henry de Foix*, and *de la Valette*, the Duke of *Eſpernon*'s eldeſt Son.

The birth of *Bernard de Foix*, and *de la Valette*, the Duke's ſecond Son.

Anno 1591.

The Birth of *Lewis* Cardinal *de la Valette*, the Duke's youngest Son.

illustrious Family; a Prince whose Vertues would furnish me, with sufficient matter for his praise, did not his modesty impose my silence. The third and last was *Lewis* Cardinal *de la Valette*, born at *Angoulesme* the year following; one whom the Court esteem'd, and acknowledg'd for the greatest, and most accomplish'd Courtier that had there been bred for many years. He render'd himself conspicuous in his profession whilst he continued in it, by embellishing, and adorning an excellent natural ingenuity with the choicest Flowers of Divine and Humane Learning; and doubtless, had he apply'd himself wholly to his Book, might have gone equal to the most famous Church-men of this latter age: but the heat of his Courage having tempted him, out of the bounds of his Spiritual Profession, he prov'd a better Captain, than the chance of War would give him leave long to continue; for the Wars of *Italy* wherein he serv'd the State with unparallel'd Diligence, and greater Success, than was to be expected from so few Forces, as he commanded, spurr'd on his untimely Fate, as also his elder Brothers, who both of them in less than four months space, lost their lives in the same Army.

Passages at Court in the Duke's absence.

Whilst the Duke had been employing his Power, and Person in these forementiond exploits, there had pass'd much important action about the Person of the King; who after the Skirmish of *Arques*, and the Battel of *Ivry*, was grown to such a height of Power and Reputation, as had put him into a condition to undertake the Siege of *Paris*; which doubtless he might then have taken, if on the one side his Majesty had been less solicitous to preserve the City (which would have been utterly destroy'd should his Army have entred by storm) or on the other side the Citizens had been less obstinate in their defense: but their despair fortifying, and hardning them against their necessities, which in truth were insupportable, they gave the Duke of *Mayenne* time to fetch the Duke of *Parma* to their Relief, which for some years prorogu'd the entire Victory his Majesty might then, but for his Clemency, have obtain'd. After the raising of this Siege, the King's Army being much decay'd by the length, and ill success thereof, all the Catholicks who had thus long serv'd his Majesty, even his most particular Servants, took the liberty, highly to complain of his slow proceeding towards his intended Conversion; as also the several Societies, and Companies of the Kingdom, generally sent their Deputies humbly to beseech his Majesty to put an end to that good work, which would likewise put an end to all his own troubles, and be the only means to preserve his Kingdom; nay even the Court it self grew importunate in the same suit, and

The King importun'd to hasten his Conversion.

were

were already laying the deſign of a third Party, which would have involv'd the King in a new difficulty his Majeſty had then no need of; but to prevent all inconveniencies, to ſtop mens mouths, and to hinder all theſe Court-practices, his Majeſty ſaw it neceſſary to renew the War with new vigour, and by ſome notable, and important action, to gain a reputation to his Party. He took therefore a reſolution to call all the Nobility he could win over to him, about his perſon, and that not ſo much to re-inforce his Army by their preſence, as to hinder them (being at diſtance, and in full liberty to diſpoſe of themſelves) from joyning either with thoſe Factions already form'd by his Enemies, or ſuch as were now (even by thoſe who had hitherto follow'd his Fortune) forming againſt him. Nevertheleſs his Majeſty knowing very well, that the major part of thoſe, who had ſeparated themſelves from him, had done it meerly out of reſpect to Religion, and that they would not eaſily be induc'd to return, unleſs he firſt gave them ſome hopes, as to that particular; he ſent to aſſure them, that he deſir'd nothing more ardently, than to be inſtructed in the Catholick Religion, to the end, that with the ſatisfaction and ſafety of his Conſcience, he might make open profeſſion of it to all the world. Upon this aſſurance of his ſpeedy Converſion (which notwithſtanding was not accompliſh'd till ſome years after) the Duke of *Nevers*, with many other perſons of Quality, came over to him; and amongſt others, the Duke of *Eſpernon*, whom his Majeſty having alſo invited to his Service, and who having only forſook him at the firſt out of ſcruple of Conſcience, that being now overcome by the reſolution his Majeſty profeſs'd to have taken, he made no difficulty to return, and with a Train that ſufficiently denoted with what paſſion he embrac'd his Service; bringing along with him three thouſand five hundred Foot, four hundred Light Horſe, and four hundred Harquebuſiers, on horſe-back. With which Forces (which the Duke had rais'd at his own charge, and by his own credit) his Majeſty being very well recruited, he reſolv'd to make a new attempt upon *Paris* it ſelf, and to aſſault it in four places at once: A Deſign he intended to execute by Ladders, and Petards, and to lead on one of the Diviſions to the Aſſault in his own perſon, in which the Duke of *Eſpernon* was appointed to attend him; and indeed of his men chiefly conſiſted that Body his Majeſty would in perſon lead on to the Aſſault. A Deſign which, had not the *Pariſians* had timely information of, had been very likely to have taken effect: but the preparation of Ladders, and other proviſions for the attempt, being made at St. *Dennis*, and other adjacent places, almoſt in the

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The Duke of *Eſpernon* returns to Court.

D'Avila.

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sight of *Paris*, the King's Forces no sooner appear'd, than the *Parisians* were also found ready upon their Walls, in a resolute posture of defense; which his Majesty perceiving, he retir'd without making a fruitless attempt in a Design which could not possibly, but in case of a surprize, succeed: So that this Stratagem failing, he resolv'd upon the Siege of *Chartres*, which in the end he took, but not without much difficulty, expense of much time, and the loss of a great number of men.

The Siege of *Chartres*.

The Duke having consider'd that he might now have a fit opportunity during this Siege to go to *Boulogne*, of which he had enjoy'd the Government during his time of Favour, to settle it in a posture of safety, he entreated leave of his Majesty that he might undertake that Journey. This place (a Town of great importance) had hitherto been commanded by the *Sieur de Bernay*, whom the Duke had formerly plac'd Governour there, and in whom he had for many years repos'd an intire confidence: but at last *Bernay*, having by some odd carriage of his, rendred himself suspected to the Duke, he was resolv'd to withdraw him from that trust: And forasmuch as *Picardy*, in the utmost borders of which this Town was seated, was very partial to the Leaguers, who were possess'd of most of the chief Cities of that Province, the Duke entreated his Majesty, that he might take five hundred of those Horse he had brought with him to the Service, for his Convoy in this expedition; a request the King made no difficulty to grant, his Majesty having no great use of Horse in this Siege: So that departing in this equipage, he perform'd his Journey without the least opposition, or shew of an Enemy, withdrew *Bernay* from *Boulogne*, and plac'd the Marquis *de Roüillac*, his Brother-in-law, in his stead, who serv'd many years after in that employment under his command: But though the Duke had met no body to oppose him, as he went through the Country; the Duke *d'Aumale*, Governour general for the League in *Picardy*, had nevertheless been meditating how to cut him off in his return, and to that purpose had call'd *Minieux*, the particular Governour of *Montreüille*, into his Design, where betwixt them it was agreed, that *Minieux* should follow the Duke in the Rear, till he had dogg'd him within sight of the Duke *d'Aumale's* Forces; so that being charg'd at once in the Rear by *Minieux*, and in the Front by the Duke of *Aumale*, it would be impossible for him, thus beset on all sides, and by Forces double to his own, to disingage himself from so inevitable a danger. And certainly had the Order been as well observ'd, as the Design was well laid, the Duke would have had verymuch ado to have freed himself from so many

The Duke goes into *Picardy*.

manifeſt a peril: his good fortune nevertheleſs deliver'd him from it by an accident, that in it ſelf had been like enough to have haſtned his Ruine. This *Minieux* had for ſome time been the Duke's particular, and mortal Enemy; and upon the pretenſe of not having been well us'd by him in the height of his favour, had with great impatience watch'd an occaſion like this, wherein to execute his Revenge. Wherefore lying in Ambuſcado with two hundred and fifty Light Horſe, upon the way the Duke was to paſs, and the Duke of *Aumale* not far off in a Wood within half a League of *Pont de Douricé* with ſeven hundred more, *Minieux* impatient to be at it, and either fearing to loſe the opportunity of his revenge, or hoping to gain a rich Booty of the Duke's Baggage, could not contain himſelf; but appearing ſooner, than he ſhould have done, he follow'd the Duke ſo cloſe, till he was advanc'd within almoſt Muſquet-ſhot of his Rear, which (the Bodies being ſo near) occaſion'd many light Skirmiſhes betwixt them; until at laſt the Duke nettled to ſee himſelf ſo purſu'd, and trifled withal by his Enemy, commanded *Monteſtruc* his Kinſman to go charge them with forty Horſe, himſelf at the ſame time ſeconded by the *Baron de Chaſteliers* (ſince *Baron d'Ars*) by *Gohas*, and *Miran* the chief Officers of his Party, giving ſo brisk a Charge into the Enemies Body, that they were inſtantly put to rout. The fight was not very obſtinate, by reaſon the Commanders of the other ſide were either wounded, or ſlain in the firſt Encounter, and there was none to Rally, or Command; *Minieux* and his Son, *Conteval* his Lieutenant, and fifteen, or twenty of the chief Commanders were trodden under foot, and the reſt betook themſelves to flight. The Duke, who would not engage himſelf too far into a Country where he had no other buſineſs, than to paſs through it, thought it not convenient to follow the purſuit; but contenting himſelf with thoſe priſoners he had taken upon the place, though they were exceedingly wounded, he went on his way; but one of his Gentlemen (*Bois Rufier* by name) being ſtragled out to diſcover the Country, fell into the Duke of *Aumale*'s Ambuſcado; who, being carried by thoſe had taken him before the Duke, was by him examin'd of his quality, and who he was for? who anſwer'd, That he belong'd to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, ſhewing him at the ſame time the Duke's Vant-Guard, which began to appear upon a little eminence hard by. The Duke then further demanded of him, if he had ſeen *Minieux*? to which he anſwer'd, That *Minieux* was the Duke of *Eſpernon*'s Priſoner, and withal recounted to him the manner of his Defeat; which the Duke of *Aumale* was no ſooner enform'd of

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An attempt upon the Duke of *Eſpernon* by the Duke of *Aumale*.

Minieux routed by by the Duke, and taken priſoner.

Anno 1591.

of, but that conceiving it was not convenient, to engage in an uncertain Fight, where he had promis'd to himself a certain Victory, he retyr'd, without once daring to attempt any thing upon the Duke, highly condemning and complaining of *Minieux*, who by his rashness and impatience, had ruin'd so hopeful a Design.

The Duke, having thus rid his hands of his Enemies, went to put himself into the danger of his Friends; at least those who ought to have been so, being engag'd in the same Service: but I dare not here publish all I know of this business, lest I should revive the memory of an Action, that was then condemn d by the King himself, and that cannot be approved of now. I shall only tell you, that the Duke having carried his Prisoners into *Corbie*, they were there peremptorily demanded of him, and upon his refusal violently taken and detained from him: A dispute that was on both sides carried on with such heat, as brought the Duke's Person, who could not with any thought of patience endure so great an affront, into very great danger: and the odds against him was so great, that nothing could have been expected, but certain death, had not the *Sieur de Humierres* the King's Lieutenant in the place, and the *Sieur de la Boissiere* his Brother-in-law interposing, hinder'd the violence was preparing against him, and mediated an Accommodation; which, though it could not obliterate the memory of the offense, kept matters notwithstanding from proceeding to the last Extreams.

The Duke's ill usage at *Corbie*.

Neither was this the last danger the Duke escap'd in his return: for as he proceeded on his way to *Chartres*, where the Siege still continued, he heard the Marquis *d'O* his old friend was very busie at the Siege of *Pierre Fonds*, which he had undertaken; whom the Duke going to visit, he was by him entreated to stay there a few days, and by his Authority, and those Forces he had then with him, to help him to bring his Enterprize to an honourable issue; which the Duke as franckly consented to, and went immediately into the Trenches, to take a view of the order of the Siege: where presenting himself with his usual bravery to open view of the Enemy, and without other Arms, than his Corslet only, he receiv'd a Harquebus-shot in his mouth, that passing through one of his cheeks, shatter'd his right jaw, and coming out at his chin, flatted upon his Gorget: A shot that every one believ'd had certainly dispatch'd him. But being carried to his Lodging, and his Wound search'd, it was found to be nothing dangerous; and in a few days he was in a condition to mount on horse-back.

The Duke shot into the mouth at *Pierre Fonds*.

After

After all theſe good and evil adventures, the Duke being at laſt arriv'd at *Chartres*, he went preſently to give the King an accompt of his Voyage, not forgetting to make his complaint of the injury done him at *Corbie*, withal humbly entreating his Majeſty would be pleas'd to do him Juſtice; which the King had in part already done, having order'd his priſoners immediately to be reſtor'd: but their Wounds were ſuch, that they all dy'd of them, ſoon after they were left at *Corbie*; ſo that they who had committed the injury not long ſurviving, the Duke's Quarrel was at an end, and all thoughts of revenge were ſoon extinct, and for ever buried in oblivion. *Anno* 1591. The Duke returns to the King.

The Siege of *Chartres* continued yet ſome time after the Duke's return, which *la Bourdaiſiere*, Governour there for the League, had ſo bravely defended, as often made the King to repent that undertaking, having loſt before it the *Sieur de Chaſtillon*, eighteen Camp-Maſters, and, as may well be imagin'd from thence, a great number of common Souldiers: Neither did thoſe Forces the Duke of *Eſpernon* had left with the King ſcape better than the reſt, the King (willing to husband the lives of his own Servants in whom he yet repos'd a greater truſt, than in the Duke) continnally expoſing them to the greateſt danger. Of theſe *Beaujeu*, *Maſcaron*, and *Blumet*, three Colonels were there ſlain, and alſo many other Officers; by whoſe valour, amongſt the reſt (who perhaps had better fortune) the place was at laſt (notwithſtanding their notable reſiſtance) reduc'd to the neceſſity of a ſurrender. From thence his Majeſty paſs'd over into *Picardy*, where he beſieg'd, and took *Noyon*, and ſecur'd many other conſiderable Cities of that Province to his obedience: when having after all made a little digreſſion into *Champagne*, the year, and that *Champagne* ended together; it being neceſſary to diſpoſe the Army into ſeveral Garriſons to refreſh them: So that the Duke, ſeeing the time of the year for further Service was now paſt, ask'd leave of the King to retire into his own Government to recruit his Troops, that they might be in a better condition to ſerve his Majeſty the year to come: to which his Majeſty willingly conſented, diſmiſſing the Duke with great teſtimonies of an entire ſatisfaction in his ſervice, and an abſolute oblivion of all paſt unkindneſs.

Chartres after an obſtinate Siege ſurrendred to the King, and ſoon after *Noyon*.

The Duke of *Eſpernon* retires into his own Government.

The end of the Third Book.

THE

Anno 1592. The Duke returns to the King.

After all these good and evil adventures, the Duke being arrived at Caours, he went presently to give the King an account of his Voyage, not forgetting to make his complaint of the injury done him at Grez, withal humbly entreating his Majesty would be pleas'd to do him Justice; which the King had in part already done, having order'd his prisoners immediately to be released: but their Wounds were such, that they all dy'd of them, soon after they were let at Corbie; so that they who had committed the injury not long surviving, the Duke's Quarrel was at an end, and all thoughts of revenge were soon extinct, and for ever buried in oblivion.

The Siege of Chartres continued yet some time after the Duke's return, which the Mareschal Governour there for the League, had so bravely defended, as often made the King to repent that undertaking, having lost before it the Sieur de Givry, eighteen Captains of Esperons and as many well born Gentlemen, besides great number of common Souldiers: Neither did whole Forces the Duke (willing to husband the lives of his own Servants in whom he reposed a greater trust, than in the Duke) continually exposing them to the greatest dangers. For there remain'd, Malicorne, and Blanzac, three Colonels were there slain, and many other Officers, by whole valour, amongst the rest (who perhaps had better fortune) the place was at last (notwithstanding their notable resistance) reduced to the necessity of a surrender. From thence his Majesty pass'd over into Picardy, where he besieg'd, and took Noyon, and several many other considerable Cities of that Province to his obedience: when having after all made a little digression into Champagne, the year, and that Campaign ended together; it being necessary to disperse the Army into several Garrisons to refresh them: So that the Duke, leaving the time of the year for further Service was now past, ask'd leave of the King to retire into his own Government to recruit his Troops, that they might be in a better condition to serve his Majesty the year to come: to which his Majesty willingly consented, dismissing the Duke with great testimonies of an entire satisfaction in his Service, and an absolute oblivion of all past misunderstandings.

The end of the Third Book.

THE HISTORY Of the LIFE of the Duke of Espernon.

The Fourth Book.

THE Duke solicitous by his Services to dispossess the King of those evil impressions, his Majesty had, through the ill Offices of some, conceiv'd against him, to the prejudice of his Loyalty and affection; did now resolve to raise far greater Forces, than before, for the Summer to come. Neither had his Majesty on his part conceal'd his most secret Designs from the Duke's knowledge; but on the contrary had invited him again into action, and had reserv'd an Employment of great trust, and Reputation for him in his Army. The Duke also was prepar'd to go, and expected with great impatience his Majesties Order, for his setting out; when he receiv'd the sad news of the death of *Mounsieur de la Valette* his Brother. This Lord, after he had beaten the Duke of *Savoy* out of *Provence*, and made him sustain such losses, as had forc'd him to retire into his own Dukedom, after he had settled *Provence* and *Dauphiné* in his Majesties Obedience, and almost rooted out all the seeds of the League in those two Provinces; after having by Treaties car-

Anno 1592.

The Duke prepares to return to the King.

Is hindred by the death of *Mounsieur de la Valette* his Brother.

Mounsieur de la Valette's exploits in *Provence*, and *Dauphiné*.

Anno 1592.

ried on with infinite Conduct, and Prudence, interested the Republick of *Venice*, the Dukes of *Florence*, and *Mantua* in his Majesties Quarrel, and obtain'd from these Princes security for thirty thousand Crowns a month, to transport the War into the Dutchy of *Savoy* it self; of which also he was to have the management (by so powerful a diversion to oblige this Ambitious Prince to defend his own Territories instead of invading his Neighbours:) Being, I say, upon the point to execute a design so honourable in it self, and so important to the Crown, he would yet first absolutely cleanse *Provence* from the contagion of the League, that he might leave no Enemy behind to beget new mischiefs, when he should not be near to suppress them. To this end therefore he drew his Army into the Field in the beginning of *January*, and went to besiege *Roquebrune*, that stood for the League: A place, which though little, was nevertheless so strong, that *Mounsieur de la Valette's* Battery, having plaid upon that side which was best fortified, and not working that speedy effect he desir'd, he would remove it to the other side; and in his impatience to put an end to an enterprize so much inferiour to his greater designs, would himself help to remove the Cannon to a more advantageous place; where being expos'd to the Enemies view, open, and in his Doublet only (a vanity that has lost many of our best Captains) he receiv'd a Musquet shot in the head, the eleventh day of *January*; of which within thirteen hours after he died.

Mounsieur de la Valette.

All the Historians of his time celebrated the Vertues of this great man with the highest Characters of Honour; the King himself appear'd infinitely concern'd at his death; by which he was depriv'd of a valiant Captain, and a faithful Subject: Nay even his Enemies lamented his loss (so great an interest has Vertue in generous minds:) but the Duke his Brother was afflicted to the last degree. He had ever lov'd him to an example of Fraternal Affection, had never made any distinction betwixt the interests of so good a Brother, and his own; he had invested him in a very considerable share of his own fortune, he had bestow'd upon him the Government of *Provence*, with the Office of Admiral of *France*, he had been continually assisting to him with his Purse and Credit, and had ever made him a partaker in all the advantages of his Master's Favour: benefits, of which *Mounsieur de la Valette* had, on his part, made so modest, and so vertuous an use, that he thought himself oblig'd (having no posterity to provide for) to husband them for the Duke his Brother's Service: Which gratitude to his Benefactor was rewarded by a good fortune to himself; for having little frequented the Court, the discontents and

disgraces

diſgraces which ſometimes perplext the Duke could never reach or reflect upon him, who had continually been abroad in action, and that with ſo good ſucceſs, that his merit made him by every one thought worthy of that greatneſs he poſſeſs'd; ſo that he was favour'd, and eſteem'd by all good men, without the leaſt mixrure of hatred, or envy. Neither was he, on his part, wanting to his own Reputation and Intereſt; but ever behav'd himſelf in all his Employments with infinite moderation, ſweetneſs, liberality, and noble Courage: Vertues that eſtabliſh'd him in his Government with ſuch Authority, and that rendred him ſo conſiderable to the Princes bordering upon *Provence*, that their reſpect to him begot in them a ſingular regard towards the Duke his Brother; whom no man was willing (upon a light occaſion) to offend, leſt this (whom all the world knew to be ſo kind a Brother, and ſo good a Friend) by an injury offer'd to ſo dear a Relation, might be tempted into extremities, that uſually are the effects of ſo juſt a reſentment. It appears therefore by this, how great a ſupport he was to his Family: but this unfortunate blow depriv'd the Duke at once of ſo conſiderable a Fortune, of ſo powerful an Aſſiſtant, of ſo honourable Employments, and of the perſon of all others moſt dearly beloved by him. The Office of Admiral of *France* was preſently, and that by the Duke's conſent, conferr'd upon St. *Blancart*, ſince Duke and *Mareſchal de Biron*, his Kinſman, and intimate Friend; who (as we have already obſerv'd) put himſelf into the Duke's Service in the beginning of his Favour: but who afterwards, by his good Services had advanc'd himſelf very high in his Majeſties eſteem. Some have ſaid, that the King (to whom the Duke's greatneſs was become ſuſpected) had a good mind, at the ſame time, to have diſpos'd of the Government of *Provence* alſo: but that having conſider'd moſt of the principal Cities of that Province were in the cuſtody of the Duke's Friends, or their Subſtitutes, who had ſerv'd Volunteers under *Mounſieur de la Valette*; that the Forces, there reſiding, were made up of their Creatures, ſuch as only ſerv'd upon the two Brothers account, it was to be fear'd the Duke's Diſcontents would be humour'd by his Friends, who might intereſt themſelves in his Diſgrace: So that his Majeſty thinking it neither convenient, nor ſafe, as Affairs then ſtood, directly to diſoblige the Duke, was forc'd to comply with the neceſſity of the time, and to conſent, to what he could not well hinder without endangering the Affairs of that Province.

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The Office of Admiral conferr'd upon St. *Blancart*.

Mounſieur de la Valette was no ſooner dead, but that all his Officers aſſembled themſelves together, to adviſe, what, upon this

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accident, they were best to do; where, without much debate, it was concluded, that to express the affection, they had ever born their dead General, and the respect they had for the Duke his Brother, to whom they would that affection should now descend, it was fit to send to the King, humbly to entreat his Majesty, that he would send the Duke of *Espernon*, to command them in the place of *Mounsieur de la Valette*; declaring freely withal, that under the command of any other they should not so chearfully continue those services, they had for the time past so successfully perform'd; and accordingly with this Message they dispatch'd away the *Sieurs d'Esgarrebacques*, and *de Mesplés* (two of the most eminent amongst them both in Valour and Condition) to the Court.

The Duke of *Espernon*, being advertis'd of the deputation of these two Gentlemen to the King, by the *Sieur de Peyroles* (dispatch'd to him at the same time by the Chief Officers of *Provence*) sent himself also to solicite his Majesty, for that they had so favourably pursu'd in his behalf: Representing to him, "That "the Government of *Provence* could not be reputed vacant, "whilst he was living, who had put it into his Brothers hands, "upon no other account, than to preserve it in his Majesties "Obedience; whilst himself, with such as depended upon him, "expos'd his Life, and Fortune elsewhere, for his Service. That "the first, and true title, to that Government remain'd in him, and "that since he was so unfortunate as to survive his Brother, he "had that confidence in his Majesties Justice, that he would not "add to his affliction by depriving him of an Employment, he "had only transferr'd to another, that he might himself be at "more liberty to do him more, and better service: And, as if the Duke had been already assur'd of his Majesties Favour to him, or that he would not seem in the least to suspect it, he publish'd his resolution of going into *Provence*, and made great preparations in order to that expedition. The King foreseeing that the Duke would, of all others, be the most acceptably receiv'd by that people, and knowing also, that in the confusion the Kingdom then was, the Government of *Provence* (wherein the Duke of *Savoy*, and the League had made a dangerous progress since the death of *Mounsieur de la Valette*) could not be maintain'd as it ought, otherwise than by the Duke's Interest there, thought fit not to contradict his claim; and consequently, about the end of *March* the same year, sent him a Commission to go into *Provence*, in quality of Captain General of all his Forces there, without revoking the title of Governour, which had been granted to him

The Duke demands of the King the Government of *Provence*.

by

by *Henry* the III. as alſo without any confirmation of it; but commanding by particular diſpatches all the Cities, and all his Servants in that Province to acknowledge, and obey him, giving the Duke in this ſome ſeeming ſatisfaction, till he might find a time and opportunity gently to withdraw him from thence. *Anno* 1592.

The Duke, having thus obtain'd leave of the King, prepar'd himſelf with all expedition to depart from his Governments of *Xaintonge*, and *Angoumois*; but not before he had firſt ſettled his Domeſtick Affairs; the chief of which was the Inheritance of *Mounſieur de la Valette*, who, ſome days before his Death, had made a Will, wherein, 'tis true, he had made the Duke his Heir; but with ſo little advantage to him, that the very particulars of the Will, exceeded the value of his Eſtate. He had given great Legacies to all his Friends, and to all his Servants, of which he had not omitted one, who was not very liberally rewarded. He had moreover given many pious Legacies for publick Buildings, Foundations of Convents, and Hoſpitals; and with all this liberality, left ſo many Debts behind him, that the Duke was adviſ'd not to meddle with the Inheritance, as a thing that would certainly be a burthen to him: But he, far from embracing an Advice, which, though prudently enough given, he thought would not be honourable for him to follow, could not think his Brothers intention ſufficiently fulfill'd, if he did not add ſomething of his own to his Liberalities: A Reſolution he ſo peremptorily executed, that all thoſe who were mentioned in the Will were ſatisfied, before the Teſtator's perſonal Eſtate could be priz'd, or his Revenue gather'd in.

Having thus ſettled this buſineſs, whilſt his Friends were buſie levying ſuch Forces, as he intended to lead into *Provence*, he had now nothing left to do, but to begin his Journey, except to take a review of his Army: Of which the Cavalry was commanded by the *Sieurs de Chalais, d'Ambleville, d'Ars*, (who is ſtill full of vigour at the writing of this Hiſtory, and I think the only Cavalier remaining of all the Officers of that Army) *de Touverac, de Miran, de Gohas, de Bordes, d' Eſtauſan, de Puygailliart*, young *Maſſes, de Boiſſeau*, and ſome others; each having a hundred Light Horſe in his Troop. The Infantry had for Camp Maſters, the *Baron de Mata, Bonnouvrier, Pernes*, and *la Rodérie*; the names of the reſt I could not learn, time having worn out their Memories: But the Commanders and Souldiers were ſuch, that it was not poſſible to ſee any where a more complete, not a more ſpritely Body. There remain'd in *Provence* of thoſe who had kept themſelves together, ſince the death of *Mounſieur de la Valette*, his own Troop of *Gens-d' Armes*, and that of the *Baron de Montaut* his Couſin,

The Forces the Duke carried with him into *Provence*.

And what he found there.

Anno 1592. Cousin, consisting each of two hundred *Cuirassiers*, with that of the Marquis de *Cadenot*, consisting of one. The Troops of Light Horse under the command of *Belloe*, of *Ramefort*, of *Lyons*, of St. *Andiol*, that of *Buous*, with his Regiment of Foot, commanded by the *Chevalier de Buous* his Brother, with the Regiments of *Merarques*, and *de Valaveyre*. Soon after the Duke's Arrival in those parts, he was yet re-inforc'd with fifteen hundred Foot, which the *Sieur de Gouvernet* brought him out of *Dauphiné*; and the Constable his Uncle, to whom he gave a Visit as he pass'd through *Languedoc*, furnish'd him with three hundred Light Horse, under the Command of the *Sieurs de Poyraux*, *de Montesson*, and *d'Entragues*. So that he no sooner came into *Provence*, but that he had above ten thousand Foot, besides what he was supply'd withal from the Garrisons of the Country, which made up three thousand more, and at least fifteen or sixteen hundred Horse. The *Mareschals de Camp*, to those Forces he had rais'd himself, were the *Sieurs de Megrin*, and *de Bonnouvrier*, and of those in *Provence*, *Montaut*, and *le Passage*, who having serv'd in the same quality under his Brother, he thought, by no means fit to be disoblig'd.

So many, and so vast Leagues, made at the Duke's own charges, could not but very much exhaust his purse, which had before been weakned by the excessive expense he had been at for the Service of the two Kings: For in his Voyage to *Henry* the III. at *Tours*, he had (as has been said) rais'd six thousand Foot, and twelve hundred Horse, and in the last *Campagne*, he had brought to *Henry* IIII. four thousand Foot, and eight hundred Light Horse, which could not be rais'd without infinite expense: So that it is no wonder, if he was now reduc'd to borrowing, as indeed he was, and did borrow a very considerable summe at *Angoulesme*; where one particular man, *Francois Redout* by name, *Sieur de Nevillac*, lent him, at his departure from thence, fifty thousand Crowns; and which more oblig'd the Duke (a thing I have often heard him speak of with great commendation of this Gentlemans proceeding) so generously, that he would not so much as accept a bond for his Security, but only a *Memorandum* of three or four Lines; so great a Confidence he had in the Duke's Integrity: Nor was he deceiv'd, his mony being punctually repaid at the appointed day.

The Duke enforc'd to borrow mony.

Things being thus order'd, the Duke departed from *Angoulesme* the fifth day of *June*, the same year taking his way through *Perigort* towards *Quercy*; but there was no little contest betwixt his Honour and Affection in taking leave of his Dutchess, whom her

The Duke departs from *Angoulesme*.

her Vertue, and Fruitfulneſs, had rendred to him more dear than ever; and who on her part, as if ſhe had foreſeen this parting ſhould be their laſt, as indeed it was, could by no means conſent to this ſeparation, though they were at laſt both of them conſtrain'd, to yield to the neceſſity, his Duty and Honour impos'd upon him. *Anno* 1592.

There accru'd no little advantage to his Majeſties Affairs, by this Armies taking the way of *Quercy*; for the Marquis *de Themines*, ſince *Mareſchal* of *France*, gave the Duke notice as he was upon his March, that the Forces the League had in *Languedoc*, under the command of the Duke *de Joyeuſe*, had beſig'd *Villemur*, which though a little Town, was nevertheleſs very conſiderable for its ſituation upon the River *Tarn*, and for its vicinity to *Tholouſe*, being but four Leagues diſtant from thence. *Reniés* a Gentleman of great Valour, who had the command of that place, upon the firſt Alarm, had put himſelf, with about fifteen, or ſixteen Gentlemen of his Friends, into it: but it had been impoſſible (having no body, but the Inhabitants to aſſiſt him) to have defended it long without relief, and that no body, but the Duke, was able to give him: Which Father *Ange de Joyeuſe* a Capuchin, the Duke's Brother-in-law, and then at *Tholouſe*, fearing he would do, and having intelligence of the Duke's motion that way, he went, and met him upon his March, where he not only endeavour'd to diſſwade him from that Deſign; but alſo by all manner of Arguments to draw him over to the League: conjuring him by all the ties of Friendſhip, and by the moſt inſtant intreaties he could uſe, neither omitting the reſpect due to Religion, nor the obligations of Friendſhip, and Relation, to divert him from his purpoſe; but all in vain: for the Duke ſetting aſide all thoſe intereſts of Friendſhip, and Alliance when they came in competition with the Duty he ought to his Prince, was deaf to all Arguments and Entreaties, and in ſpite of them, and him, advanc'd directly towards the place: But upon his Arrival, the Enemy, not being able to diſpute it with him, immediately retir'd to *Tholoze*, giving the Duke, by that means, free liberty to fortifie the Town; which he did ſo well, as ſoon after gave the King's Party opportunity to gain in that place a very ſignal Victory, by the death of the Duke *de Joyeuſe* himſelf, and the abſolute defeat of his Army. The Duke relieves *Villemur*.

But it was not in this occaſion alone that the Duke's Armies were employ'd in that Country; for the power of the League being as conſiderable there, as in any Province of the Kingdom, their Deſigns were not limited to the reducing of *Villemur* only; they

Anno 1592.

they had moreover almost block'd up *Montauban*, which City (at that time reputed one of the best in *France*) was in great danger, if not speedily reliev'd, to be lost. On one side it was aw'd by *Moissac*, on another by the Castles of *Monbeton*, of *Mauzac*, and *de la Court*, besides many other little places fortified round about, by which the Garrison, and Inhabitants were so straightned, and kept in, that they were reduc'd to great extremity, and scarcity of all things. This, the Duke being advertis'd of, and being also solicited by the Inhabitants, to free them from these troublesome Neighbours, he presently went about it, and to that purpose presented himself first before *Moissac*, which surrendring at the sight of the Cannon, he remov'd from thence before *Mauzac*, which did the same: but the other little places, not being so considerable, as that his presence was necessary to reduce them, he left that part of the work to the *Sieurs de St. Megrin*, and *de Bonnouvrier*, *Mareschals de Camp* to his Army; himself, whilst his Forces were employ'd about those petty Enterprizes, making a step into *Gascony* to Visit *Madam de la Valette*, his Mother, and to invite his Friends in that Country to go, and share with him in the Honour of serving his Majesty in *Provence*.

The Duke relieves *Montauban* by the taking in several Castles from the League.

By this little digression into *Gascony*, the Duke had an opportunity yet further, to re-inforce himself with some particular Servants of his, with whom, having rejoyn'd his Army, he found now nothing left to do, that might impede his March; so that he proceeded without longer stay, on his Journey to *Provence*, where being arriv'd, and appearing with so gallant, and so numerous an Army, it gave no small reputation to his Majesties Affairs; nor strook no small astonishment into the League: and, as he, in his experience very well knew, that this reputation was no ways to be kept up, but by some honourable Exploit, he undertook divers Sieges at his first Arrrival (notwithstanding the season of the year was far spent, it being now *October*) whereof that of *Montauron* was the first. This City, though in its situation and strength incapable of any notable defense, was nevertheless by the Commanders, (who had eighteen foot Companies there, which the Duke of *Savoy* had put in, to entertain the Duke of *Espernon* in his first heat) thought tenable enough, and that the number of their men, which were nine hundred resolute Souldiers, would supply the defects of the place; or that (at the worst) the Duke of *Savoy*, being so near, and in the head of an Army, they might defend themselves, till he should come to their Relief. This Garrison the Duke of *Espernon* at his Arrival presently summon'd to a surrender, at the same time representing to them,

The Siege of *Montauron*.

that

that they were in a place, that could not possibly resist the Force of great Shot, the Houses of the City making up the greatest part of their Wall; and that they would do better not to put him to the trouble of bringing up his Artillery, than by doing it to oblige him to use them otherwise, than like Gentlemen, and Souldiers: To which they (defying him, and despising his Admonitions) return'd this peremptory answer, That they had undertaken to defend that place, and would maintain it, or perish, and make it good with their lives to the last man; An Answer that quickly set the Duke to work, who immediately beleaguer'd the Town; where the Cannon having in a few days made a wider breach than was necessary, the besieg'd desir'd they might Capitulate. To whom the Duke sent word, There was now no Capitulation to be granted to them, that they had lost that priviledge, and that he would not receive them upon other terms, than upon surrender to mercy; that they were best therefore to deliberate, whether they would run the fortune of an Assault, or presently submit to that Condition, it being the only, and final Favour they were to expect. *Anno* 1592.

Whilst these matters were in agitation, the Duke of *Savoy*, who had engag'd these men in this desperate place, and knew, as well as any, the danger they were in, was advancing with three thousand Foot, and five hundred Light Horse to relieve them; which the Duke of *Espernon* was no sooner enform'd of, but that leaving a sufficient Force to maintain the Siege, he went out to meet him, and bravely offer'd him Battel: But the *Savoyard*, not daring to run so great a hazard, retir'd without any further attempt; so that the Besieg'd, being out of all hopes of Relief, were forc'd to surrender to the Duke's discretion, where their Insolence, and Rebellion receiv'd their due reward, and that in as high a degree, and with the greatest rigour, the Law of Arms does permit: whereby they were made miserable examples of the greatest cruelty. All the Captains found in the place, to the number of fourteen, were immediately hang'd up, and five hundred common Souldiers sent to the Gallies at *Taulon*; the rest either escap'd in the time of the Capitulation, or were slain, during the Siege: A severity that ought not to have been practis'd, upon our own Nation. But the Duke would by this give the Duke of *Savoy* to understand, that he, having violated the publick Faith, and his League with the Kings of *France*, as he had done, he would have no fair Quarter with him, nor use him otherwise than as a mortal Enemy to the Crown, and Kingdom. The Duke of *Espernon*'s severity.

Anno 1592.

After this Action, the Duke conceiving himself no less oblig'd to protect his Majesties good Subjects, than to suppress his Enemies; his first care was to secure the Officers of the Parliament of *Provence* (such as had declar'd for the King from the beginning, and had retir'd themselves from *Aix* (the seat of Parliament) from the time the City had revolted to the Duke of *Savoy*) in some place of safety: For this purpose he could find no place so fit for strength, and conveniency as *Manosque*, where he seated them in great security, and honour. And that the time might not pass away without some shew of Action, whilst the season would not give him leave smartly to follow the War; he in this dead time of the year, with a strong party of Horse scour'd the Country all over the whole Province. Neither was this an unnecessary, or an unprofitable diligence, by which he confirm'd those Cities, already declar'd for the King, in their duty; and also fright-ed those inclining to a Revolt into better Resolutions: But the greatest advantage he reap'd by it was, that by this means, he inform'd himself, upon the particular places themselves, of the general estate of the whole Province; and moreover, kept his men in action, like a Captain that very well understood Order and Discipline to be the only things, that establish, and support an Army, and the pest of great Bodies to be sloath and liberty, which debauch Souldiers from their Duty, and have often been observ'd to dissolve, and disperse the greatest Armies, when the Souldier has been suffer'd to enrich himself by idleness, and license, upon the plunder of his Quarters. He therefore provided for the subsistence of his men, by imposing Contributions upon the Province, which nevertheless was not done without the advice and consent of the Officers of Parliament; by whose Authority, as well as his own, he order'd a certain rate of all things in the Markets, and that at so indifferent a price, that the Commons found a greater convenience in the Quartering of Souldiers, than in being without; so quick a return they had for their Corn, and other Provisions, and so certain was their pay. To this the Assessments, design'd to defray these Provisions, were so equally laid upon the whole Country, that no man could complain he was oppress't: nor was there any who did not find his advantage in this necessary evil. In fine, all things were settled so much to the general conveniency, and satisfaction of all, that I have an hundred times heard the Duke wish for such an establishment in *Guienne*: but the contagion was there already spread too far, and had taken too deep root, to admit so happy a reformation. By this prudent disposition of things, the Souldier found himself

provided

provided of his ſhare of all things neceſſary where-ever he came, according to the order preſcrib'd: Neither was he to exact more upon pain of death; a penalty that without mercy follow'd the offenſe: by which ſevere Diſcipline, the King's Party, in thoſe parts, were in a ſhort time obſerv'd to be very much encreas'd. *Anno* 1592.

The Siege of *Arles.*

The Duke, ſolicitous to maintain this Reputation of the Royal Arms, by ſome notable enterprize, reſolv'd to make an attempt upon the City of *Arles*; neither did he herein make an ill choice, it being one of the moſt conſiderable places of *Provence*, ſeated upon the Banks of *Roſne*, and inhabited by above three hundred Families of very good quality, who here made their ordinary reſidence; beſides a vaſt number of Citizens, and inferiour people. This City, like all others which are ſituated upon Navigable Rivers, and daily expect to be ſupply'd with freſh Proviſions, kept very little before-hand in ſtore; which the Duke being well enform'd of, contented himſelf with ſhutting up the River only above, and below, and cutting off the Succours of the adjacent Countrey, by Quartering ſeveral Troops on both ſides the River: by which means, without much trouble, or any conſiderable loſs in a month, or five weeks time, this ſtrong City was reduc'd to a neceſſity of ſurrender, and to ſhake hands with the League, for whom they had hitherto been zealous to the higheſt degree. They came therefore to a Capitulation, in which the Duke was content to accept of thirty Hoſtages for their future good behaviour, and with that caution to eaſe them of the burthen of a Garriſon; which in truth at that time, before he was well ſettled in his Government, he could not well have ſpar'd, nor without manifeſt prejudice to his Majeſties, and his own private Affairs. Neverthleſs what good ſecurity ſoever the Duke thought he had taken to bind them to their Duty, the Inhabitants made no ſcruple afterwards, in the Revolt of the Cities of *Provence*, by their Rebellion to expoſe the lives of ſo many men of Quality, who had generouſly ſtak'd their perſons for the good of their fellow Citizens, to the Duke's juſt indignation; though he by a clemency much more extraordinary, than the ſeverity he had ſhew'd at *Montauron*, diſmiſs'd the Hoſtages to their own houſes, without ſo much as putting them to ranſome; which in an occaſion of this nature is no uſual Favour.

Arles ſurrendred.

The Siege of *Antibe.*

After this ſucceſs, the Duke yet undertook the Siege of *Antibe*, a place wonderfully well fortifi'd, ſeated upon the Sea ſhore, and favour'd with a very good Port; which the Duke of *Savoy*, ſince his laſt taking of it, to aſſure his poſſeſſion, had ſo fortified, and mann'd, that he thought it impoſſible to be taken. The Duke of

Anno 1592.

Espernon notwithstanding presented himself before it, where having summon'd the Governour to a surrender, and his Trumpet being sent back with a scornful answer, he proceeded to a formal Siege, advancing by Trenches, raising of Batteries, and duly observing whatever the Method, and Discipline of War prescribe in the most difficult attempts. The Town was defended for a while, but the Governour in the end retir'd into his Fort, where he thought he should be in a condition to make the Duke spend his time, and consume his Army unprofitably, and to no purpose.

Aubigné. This place had besides its own strength, and advantageous situation, this further convenience, that every night, by the Duke of *Savoy*'s order, a Gally set out from *Nice*, that brought all the refreshments to the besieg'd, they could desire, carried away their Sick, and Wounded, brought them in fresh Souldiers, and provided all things necessary for them; which so continual Succour, and seasonable Supplies, swell'd the Governour with an opinion, that the Duke could never force him: Neither was the Duke displeas'd at his confidence, hoping that this security of his would at one time or another contribute to the success of his Design. He therefore continued his approaches, and try'd all ways imaginable to effect his enterprize; when at last his Cannon having batterd the Curtain in a place not much frequented, he perceiv'd, that those within kept no guard there; by which he believ'd they had not observ'd that breach, and immediately resolv'd to make his advantage of that negligence. To this purpose therefore he sent a Serjeant to discover the breach, who accordingly having gone in, and return'd by a hole big enough for a man to pass at his ease, he made his report to the Duke, that there was so little order in the place, that no one so much as thought of repairing that Breach, and that there was no Guard at all kept there. Upon this intelligence the Duke resolv'd, that an Assault should the next morning be made, on that side the Fortress; which, that it might the better succeed, a general Assault was to be made shew of, that the Defendants, being every where employ'd, whilst they were deluded by false Alarms, fifty good men, chosen for the purpose, seconded by an hundred more, and that hundred by a greater number, might creep up to the Curtain, and slip in at the Breach; a Design that took effect: In the execution of which, the Alarm having surpriz'd the Governour in Bed, and he running out in his Night-Gown, and Slippers, to see what was the matter, was in that posture taken, as the Fort it self was by Assault. And here, though by the Law of Arms all things were at the Conquerours discretion, the Duke nevertheless proceeding

Antibe taken by Assault.

ing in that moderate way he had taken up, after his ſeverity at *Montauron*, abſolutely forbad all unneceſſary ſlaughter, contenting himſelf with detaining the Governour, and ſome of his Officers, priſoners. The Duke of *Savoy*, who had made this place his chiefeſt Arſenal, had furniſh'd it ſo well with Artillery, that the Duke there found thirty braſs Pieces, of which fourteen were Royal Culverines, or Baſtards, with great ſtore of Ammunition, which did him no little ſervice in the proſecution of that War, againſt the Duke of *Savoy* himſelf. *Anno* 1592.

The Gally from *Nice* fail'd not the next night to come according to her cuſtom; and, if it had been thought of, to have anſwer'd her Signal by the uſual counterſign, had infallibly been taken with the place: but in the heat of the Victory, no body having remembred it, ſhe retir'd ſafe to *Nice*, thoſe who were in her, by the omiſſion of the Signal, and by the noiſe and confuſion they heard in the Town, concluding the Fort, and all, to be certainly taken.

From *Antibe* the Duke went to *Cannes*, which had revolted after the Death of *Mounſieur de la Valette*, a very good Port Town, which nevertheleſs ſurrendred at the firſt Summons: So that hunting, and every where unkennelling the *Savoyards*, at this ſucceſsful rate, who had poſſeſs'd themſelves of moſt of the beſt Cities of *Provence*, he gave *Mounſieur de l' Eſdiguieres*, who was newly entred into *Savoy*, and who was deputed for that Service by the Treaty, made a little before betwixt *Mounſieur de la Valette*, and the forementiond Princes of *Italy*, great opportunity to make a notable progreſs into that Dukedom. The Surrender of *Cannes*.

Neither was it by theſe diverſions alone that he favour'd *l'Eſdiguiers* invaſion of *Savoy*, but by a more important aſſiſtance: for when the Duke of *Savoy* (driven out of *Provence* on the one ſide by the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and call'd home on the other to the defenſe of his own Dukedom, by the dangerous progreſs *l'Eſdiguieres* had there already made) return'd upon him with all the Forces he had; doubtleſs *Mounſieur l' Eſdiguieres* had been in apparent danger of ſome notable Defeat, if at his requeſt, and in ſo urgent a neceſſity, the Duke of *Eſpernon* had not aſſiſted him with twelve hundred Foot, and three hundred Horſe; which he ſent him under the command of the *Chavalier de Buous*, and to make the obligation the greater, had not alſo procur'd him from the Conſtable (with whom the Duke had a very great intereſt) almoſt as many more Forces, by which he was not only reſcu'd from the preſent danger, but likewiſe put into a capacity of attempting greater things than he had yet done. A courteſie very ill requited, as we *Mounſieur de Thou.*

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Anno 1592.

shall see in the following Revolutions of *Provence*; the Duke having afterwards no such enemy as he, whom he had so seasonably assisted, in a time of the greatest necessity and danger.

Anno 1593.

The success that hitherto had attended the Duke, gave so great a reputation to the Royal Arms, and had so discountenanc'd the Enemy, that there scarce remain'd a place in the whole Province, that durst shut their Gates against him: So that after the Duke of *Savoy* was retir'd (as you have heard) into his own Country, the Duke had leisure, and without much difficulty, to recover *Frejus*, *Cicutat*, *Cisteron*, St. *Tropes*, with many other important places that had revolted after the death of *Mounsieur de la Valette*, and to make himself Master of all *Provence*; *Aix*, and *Marselles*, only excepted.

The Duke reduces several revolted Towns.

These two were the Capital Cities of the Province, the first considerable for its circuit, and the seat of Parliament establish'd there; and the other, for its greatness also, and for the number of Inhabitants; but principally for the Port, reputed one of the best upon the Mediterranean Sea. These two Cities so far forgot themselves, their Duty, and Allegiance, that after the death of *Henry* the III. (animated by an indiscreet zeal to Religion, which was ever the Leaguers Pretense, to abuse the simplicity of the people) they rather chose to create an Usurper in the person of the Duke of *Savoy*, and to submit themselves to his invasive Government, than to acknowledge, and obey their own lawful, and natural Prince. At the instigation therefore of the Countess *de Saut*, of the *Count de Carces*, and some others of Quality in the Country, who were fierce for the League, they sent a Deputation to this Duke, as far as *Turin*; where, by the mouths of two Commissioners of Parliament, and many other Officers, and in the name of the people, they made him a voluntary tender of the Principality of the County of *Provence*. Whereupon the Duke, in acknowledgment of so free, and unexpected an offer, had not only receiv'd them into, and promis'd them his own protection; but likewise that of the King of *Spain* his Father-in-law, coming himself in person to take possession of his new Province, where he had, almost in all places, been receiv'd with all the honour and applause he could possibly expect, or desire. An act becoming a giddy and rebellious people; who coming afterwards to recollect themselves, to consider what they had done, and how great a fault they had committed against their Faith and Duty, were yet resolv'd to persist in their Rebellion, and by taking measure of their own offense, apprehending no possibility of pardon, determin'd to rely upon their own strength; and creating courage

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out of deſpair, were reſolute to ſuffer the utmoſt extremities, rather than to recede from what they had ſo infamouſly, and immaturely done. All which, although it was very well known to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and likewiſe what reſiſtance was to be expected, from men made deſperate by their own Crimes: yet had he the courage to make an attempt upon theſe two great Cities, if poſſible, to reduce them to their obedience, which, had Fortune contributed any thing to the greatneſs, and bravery of the Deſign, had certainly taken a happy effect. *Anno* 1593.

The Duke makes an attempt firſt upon *Aix*, and after upon *Marſelles*.

The Duke having, upon mature deliberation, reſolv'd upon theſe two Enterprizes, would begin with that of *Aix*, as appearing the eaſier to be accompliſh'd, *Aix* wanting thoſe Succours by Sea, which *Marſelles*, upon occaſion, was certain to have: But his Forces, being too few to form a regular Siege, againſt ſo great a City, he was fain to ſupply that defect by erecting many Forts againſt it; which, ſhutting up the Avenues, were, notwithſtanding his want of men, ſufficient to block up the City. Betwixt theſe Forts, in a place of advantage, he caus'd a Grand to be erected, that is to ſay, a greater Fort, after the form of a new City, oppoſite to, and within a Muſquet-ſhot of the old; where the greateſt part of his Infantry were beſtow'd with great convenience, and from whence the Duke could ſo perfectly diſcover, whatever could be practis'd againſt him by the Enemy, that it was impoſſible ſo to ſurprize him, but that he would be ever ready to relieve any of his Quarters with great facility, ſhould any thing be attempted againſt them. The Cavalry, that could by no means ſubſiſt in the ſame place, were diſpos'd into ſeveral Garriſons, ſome nearer, ſome further off, according as there was convenience of Quarters, of which thoſe under the command of *Chaſtelliers*, *du Paſſage*, *de Buous*, and *de Ramefort* were the neareſt, where they wanted no opportunities of ſignalizing their Vigilancy, and Valour: An order ſo admirably eſtabliſh'd, as in time reduc'd the City of *Aix*, to ſuch extremities, that they muſt certainly have fall'n into the Duke's hands, had not the Inhabitants declar'd a reſolution of ſubmitting themſelves to none, but the King; where notwithſtanding the Duke was the only Author of their ſubmiſſion, as he was of all other advantages the King obtain'd in *Provence*, though ſtill the artifice of his Enemies ſo skreen'd his merits from his Majeſties obſervation, that he receiv'd very little thanks for his labour.

Forts built againſt *Aix*.

The Duke began to build his Fort in *June* 1593. The *Count de Carces* near ally'd to the Duke of *Mayenne* (being Son by a former Husband to the Dutcheſs his Wife) commanded in the City, where

Anno 1593.

The Enemy endeavours by frequent sallies to hinder the Duke's Works.

where the Inhabitants under his command, back'd by some Foot Companies belonging to the Duke of *Savoy*, which yet remain'd in that Country, were so brisk, as, at the Duke's first sitting down, by frequent Sallies to disturb his Building; but were ever beaten back with so great loss, that they were at last content to sit still, and suffer what they found they were not able to oppose. And here I find my self upon a Scene of Honour, where the best Pen might be worthily employ'd: where notwithstanding, should I make particular mention of all the Skirmishes, Combats, and brave actions that hapned upon this occasion, I should fall into the error, which of all others I most pretend to shun, and trouble my Reader with a long, and perhaps a tedious Narrative; though some of them are of so shining a Reputation, as can, by no means, be pass'd over in silence.

A great sally made by the besieged

Whilst the Duke therefore was very busie about raising his Fort, the *Count de Carces*, who would try all possible ways to hinder that work, sallied out of the Town at broad noon-day with 400 Gentlemen, of which number was the *Count de Suze*, *Bezaudun*, Camp-Mareschal, S. *Marcelin*, and *Reglanette*, with many more Gentlemen of Quality, who followed by 2000 men, what of the Inhabitants, and what of the Companies in Garrison, went with a design to overthrow the Works already begun, and if possible to compel the Duke to retire. A Design, that as it was brave in it self, so was the time wherein it should be executed as prudently chosen; for at so unexpected an hour most part of the Duke's Souldiers were either sleeping in their Huts, or gone abroad to Forrage so that the Duke had very few about him: Neither, if the Infantry were in such disorder, were the Horse in a greater readiness, which constrain'd the Duke, who had mounted at the first noise of the Alarm, being able to get but very few together, with those few to expose himself to withstand the first fury of the Enemy. *Chastelier* (whom we have already begun to call the *Baron d' Ars*) hearing in his Quarters a noise, and uproar, such as is usually occasion'd by tumultuous Sallies, with the *Sieur de Buous*, were the first, who with their Troops came in to the Duke's succour, whom, as soon as come, he commanded to charge the Enemy; whilst himself, who had soon rallied all who were in a condition to fight, following them close at the heels, fell so furiously into the Body of the Assailants as made all give way before him. The *Count de Carces*, seeing his men so roughly handled, endeavour'd to recover an Hospital in the mid-way, betwixt the Fort, and the City, with an intent there to rally his men, and to make good the place: but the Duke falling in pell-mell amongst them,

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forc'd him to continue his flight to the very Graffe of the City, where many of his men were ſlain; by which ill ſucceſs the Enemy having loſt above 400 men, they were for the future better advis'd, than to make any more ſuch ſallies, and ſuffer'd the Duke, in great ſecurity, to continue his work under their noſes. *Anno* 1593.

Whilſt every one thought the Duke wholly intent upon this Deſign of *Aix*, and that mens minds were ſuſpended in expectation of the event of that enterprize, he conceiv'd there was an advantage to be made of this general belief, that ſeem'd to falicitate an attempt upon *Marſelles* it ſelf; which, as it was very improbable by open force to take any good effect, ſo was it to be carried on with great prudence, and ſecreſie, to make it ſucceed: He therefore gave private Inſtructions to all ſuch Commanders as he intended to make uſe of in this Enterprize, to make ready 3000 choſen Foot, and 400 Light Horſe, as alſo to prepare three Petards, with which in the beginning of a very dark night, he ſilently roſe from his Quarters, marching his men the direct Road to *Marſelles*. He had not as yet diſcover'd his Deſign to any, when being advanc'd about half a League on his way, and thinking it now high time to put his Friends out of ſuſpenſe, who knew nothing whither they were to go, he call'd all the Chief Officers of his Party about him, and in a ſhort Harangue, told them, "That if he had not ſooner diſcover'd his Deſign unto "them, it was not for any diffidence he had of their fidelity, "which was already ſufficiently known unto him; that after the "many teſtimonies they had, upon all occaſions, given him, of "their Worth, and Valour, he had more reaſon to ſeek opportu- "nities wherein he might manifeſt his gratitude, than to expect "any further proof from them: but that as ſecreſie was the great "promoter of all Enterprizes of the nature of this, wherein he "now intended to employ them, he would not, ſhould any diſa- "ſter happen, that the leaſt colour of blame ſhould reflect upon "any of them; but much rather be wholly imputed to Fortune: "but nevertheleſs all things being ſo well order'd, as he conceiv'd "they were, there was no doubt to be made of a ſucceſsful iſſue: "That he therefore conjur'd them reſolutely to undertake an acti- "on of the greateſt advantage to the King, to his Majeſties Af- "fairs, and to their own particular benefit, and honour, that "could poſſibly be propos'd: That every one there knew *Mar-* "*ſelles* to be one of the moſt important Cities, whether conſi- "der'd in the commodity of its Haven, or in its vicinity to Fo- "reign Countries, in the whole Kingdom: That this City re- "duc'd by the King of *Spain*'s promiſes, and the Duke of *Savoy*'s

An attempt upon *Marſelles*.

Anno 1593.

"together, had already put her self into their protection; and "persisting in her obstinacy, was ready to open her Gates to "Strangers, to receive their Garrisons, and to give away her li- "berty to them, after having violated her Faith, and Duty to her "lawful Sovereign: That should strangers once get entire pos- "session of that City, it would be lost for ever, and that there "would be no hopes ever to drive them from so advantageous a "post, what attempts soever could be made, against a place so "strong, and so easie to be reliev'd: That next to the publick "concern he consider'd the reducing of this City as a certain and "firm establishment of his own interest in *Provence*; and that "they themselves ought to look upon it as a pledge, whereby that "fair, and rich Province would be assur'd unto them, and that "would give them an entire authority over the people, who after "so brave an exploit, would no more be able to vie Merit, or "Valour with them, as they had formerly done: That such as "had undertaken Enterprizes of this nature were wont to ani- "mate their companions with hopes of Booty; but that for his "part he should take a contrary way: That it was not his intent "to ruine *Provence*, nor the City of *Marselles*, but to preserve both "the one, and the other for the King, to establish himself there "in order to his Majesties Service, and to procure for them other "advantages, and by other means suiting to their great merit, "and the service they had perform'd: That this City once taken "there could be no more fear of wanting provisions for the Ar- "my, the conveniency of the Port bringing in all things neces- "sary in great abundance, that the evil-affectedness of the people "would for the future be able to produce nothing to their preju- "dice, they having in their own hands either the Keyes of the "*Province* to let in all necessary Succours, or otherwise the Chains "that would tye them fast to their duty: That above all things "therefore he most earnestly desir'd them to restrain the insolence "of the Souldier, whom notwithstanding he did not thereby "intend to hinder of the benefit they might justly make of the "Inhabitants Estates, which were already forfeited to them by "by their Rebellion, and of which they should soon be possess'd "by the Victory: but that he desir'd they might be fairly divi- "ded amongst them, that they might the longer enjoy what they "got, and not lose, and destroy the spoil, as it often falls out in "the sack, and plunder of great Cities: That he would not upon "this occasion suggest unto them the remembrance of their ac- "customed Valour, that he knew by good experience such exhor- "tations were altogether unnecessary to them in bold, and dange-

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"rous attempts; and that he only conjur'd them to follow his "example now, as hitherto they had follow'd his Perſon, and Fortune. *Anno* 1593.

The Duke, having thus prepar'd his Friends for the Enterprize, continued on his way; when, being come within ſight of the place, he himſelf, with thoſe that had charge of the Petards, advanc'd up to the Gate: Of theſe the firſt Petard play'd to as good effect, as was to be expected, having made a hole in the Gate wide enough for a man eaſily to get through; which, though made wider by the ſecond, yet did not the Gate fall down, being ſupported by a great iron Bar behind: The Duke therefore call'd for the third Petard, but in vain; no Petard being to be heard of, no more than the man to whoſe truſt it was committed; which made them try to break the Bar with Axes, that they might have the paſſage more free to relieve ſome of their men, who were already got in by the hole of the Gate: But the Inhabitants, rouz'd at the firſt noiſe of the Petards, running to their Arms, made a ſtout oppoſition; where, having but few to deal withal, the Aſſailants were with great eaſe beaten back, and the Gate as ſuddenly Barricado'd up. It is not to be imagin'd how infinitely the Duke was afflicted at this ill ſucceſs, and the more, becauſe he thought he had made himſelf, as it were, Maſter of the event by the prudent conduct of his Deſign; though he has ſince thought himſelf happy in failing of his purpoſe (ſo much ſhould men ſuſſpect their own deſires in the choice of things that concern the conduct of their lives) it being to be fear'd, that had the Duke been eſtabliſh'd in the power the winning of this City would have ſeated him in, and receiv'd thoſe affronts, and that ill uſage from Court, he afterwards did in the revolutions of *Provence*, the ſence of thoſe injuries might have prompted him to do things no ways ſuiting with his Duty, as we ſhall ſee he was ſoon after tempted to do. I do much wonder that none of our Hiſtorians have ſo much as mention'd this Enterprize, who have ſome of them been very particular about many others of the Duke's of much leſs importance; whoſe omiſſion of this has engag'd me to inſiſt longer upon it, than otherwiſe I ſhould have done; that ſo brave an Action might not be buried in oblivion: of which the bare Project could not have been meditated by a mean courage, nor the Deſign carried on ſo far by an ordinary prudence.

The Duke, being retir'd to his Fort very much diſcontented at his evil ſucceſs, would revenge himſelf of that diſgrace by new, and briſker attempts upon the City of *Aix*: Wherefore having intelligence that the Inhabitants already began to feel themſelves *The Duke returns to Aix.*

Anno 1593.

ſtraightned for want of Victuals, he, to take from them all future hopes of ſupply, immediately fell to deſtroying all the Fruits, and Corn of the Country round about; and, not content to do them this miſchief without, plai'd ſo many Cannon-ſhot into the Town, that not a man durſt appear in the ſtreets, or abide in the upper rooms of their houſes: But the beſieg'd, ingenious in their Revenge, contriv'd a way to pay him back ſome of his Balls by a Counter-battery from the great Tower of the Church of *Noſtre-dame*; a Pile of great note, and fame, as well for its exceeding height, as for the excellency of its Architecture, and Beauty. To the top therefore of this Tower, they made ſhift to crane up two Culverines, and had a Cannoneer ſo expert, as not only levell'd them right againſt the Fort, but even againſt the Duke's own Tent within it, where he made the ſtrangeſt ſhot, that perhaps ever flew from ſuch an Engine. This Cannoneer, under the protection of ſome little Truce (of which there happen many in ſuch Sieges, either for the carrying off their Dead, or ſome other occaſion) had, unknown, crept into the Fort, and had there diligently obſerv'd every part of the Duke's Quarter: He had alſo diſcover'd that the Duke every afternoon us'd to play at Cards in the Parlour of his Tent, and had obſerv'd ſo much as the place where his Chair was conſtantly ſet. Having thus inform'd himſelf of all theſe circumſtances, he return'd to the City, where, after he had levell'd his two Guns to his own deſire, he was ſo confident of his skill, as to offer odds, that in one of two ſhots he was about to make, he would either kill the Duke of *Eſpernon*, or very much endanger his life; when immediately giving fire, he prov'd in part as good as his word, the ſhot lighting directly into the place, to which it had been by his eye before directed. The Duke was at this time playing at *Primero*, and ſet betwixt two Gentlemen, one called *le Poüy*; the others name I could not learn, who were both of them beaten to pieces, one over, and the other under the Duke; who by an incredible vigilancy of Fortune, being at that inſtant bow'd down upon the Table, to draw the money he had newly won upon a reſt, eſcap'd that fatal blow; yet though he eſcap'd death, it was not without two great wounds, one by a piece of one of the poor Gentlemen's Bones, that pierc'd deep into his Belly; and the other, by another piece of a Bone, in his hip; of both which he carried the marks along with him to his Grave.

The Duke's miraculous eſcape.

Thoſe of the Town who were ſoon aware of the lucky hit their Cannoneer had made, believing the effect of it to be greater, than indeed it was, would not let ſlip an opportunity, wherein they

they conceiv'd ſomething might be executed to their own advantage: wherefore they immediately ſent out St. *Romans*, one of their *Mareſchals de Camp*, with an hundred and fifty Light Horſe at one Gate, and *Bezaudun* with the like number at another, to try, if in the confuſion they heard in the Fort ſomething might not be attempted with ſucceſs, who, had they found a fit advantage, were to have been ſeconded by the entire Forces of the City; but the Duke, notwithſtanding the pain of his Wounds, omitting nothing of his uſual care, was no ſooner taken up from the ground, where the ſhot had beaten him down, than he commanded every one to ſtand to his Arms; by which means the Enemy, whoſe deſign it was to have come upon the Surprize, ſeeing the Duke's Forces ready to receive them, retir'd without fighting, being ſoon undeceiv'd in their falſe hopes, both of the Duke's death, and of the Defeat of his Army.

Anno 1593.

The Inhabitants of *Aix*, imagining the Duke ſlain, make another ſally.

The Duke's Wounds, which every one at firſt judg'd to be mortal, made his Chirurgeons reſolve upon removing him out of the noiſe, and tumult of the Fort, into a Farm hard by; a place which to them ſeem'd to be very ſecure from any practice of the Enemy: But this opinion, inſtead of giving him that quiet, and repoſe they kindly intended, had once more like to have coſt him his life; for the beſieg'd, who watch'd all opportunities of making continual attempts upon the Duke's perſon, having obſerv'd that the place to which he was retir'd, although covered by the Fort, was nevertheleſs at a good diſtance from his Camp, and only guarded by a ſmall party of Horſe, reſolv'd to try, either to take him alive, or at leaſt to kill him in his Quarters. To this purpoſe therefore, ſallying out of the Town with 400 of their beſt Horſe, they furiouſly ſet upon the Duke's Horſe-Guard; who were all preſently cut to pieces, and *Camſeque* who commanded them laid dead upon the place. *D'Ars*, whoſe duty it was to relieve them coming fortunately in upon their Defeat, renew'd the Fight, where he ſo bravely withſtood the Enemies fury, that after his Brother *Ceré*, had been wounded and maim'd with infinite Blows, and himſelf beaten from his Horſe, and remounted by one of his Compagnions, he gave *du Paſſage*, one of the Duke's *Mareſchals de Camp*, time to come in to his ſuccour; by whoſe aſſiſtance the Enemy was at laſt forc'd to retire, leaving many of their men dead upon the place, as the *Baron d'Ars* in this conflict loſt the moſt part of his Troop.

The Duke in a new danger.

This Cannon-ſhot which at the little diſtance of 200 paces had only wounded the Duke, was not ſo favourable to the Dutcheſs his Wife, whom it kill'd out-right at the diſtance of 200 Leagues.

This

Anno 1593.

This Lady had been brought to bed (as has been ſaid before) this ſame year 1593 of *Lewis*, ſince Cardinal *de la Valette*) whom the grief for her Husbands abſence (which was nothing diminiſhed by the courſe of time) had ſtill ſo far kept back from the recovery of her former ſtrength, after her lying in; that what was only a little indiſpoſition at firſt, being much encreas'd by her melancholy, grew to ſuch a diſtemper, as made her Friends at laſt begin to apprehend a mortal conſequence from her diſconſolate life. To divert this ill humour therefore, they often perſwaded her to go abroad, ſometimes to Church, ſometimes on Viſits; when being gone out one day to hear Maſs, at her return ſhe eſpied one of the Duke's Foot-men, who, unknown to him, had been, by ſome of his Officers diſpatch'd away to *Angouleſme*, on purpoſe to prevent any falſe rumors, that might there be ſpread concerning the Duke's accident, and ſo diſcreetly to acquaint the Dutcheſs with what had hapned, that ſhe might not unſeaſonably be ſurpriz'd with the news of his miſchance; an honeſt, and a prudent care in them, though her deſtiny rendred all theſe precautions fruitleſs, and vain: for ſhe had no ſooner caſt her eye on the fellow, who, being but newly arriv'd, had as yet ſpoke to none, but that ſhe call'd him to her, ſuddenly demanding of him her Letters from the Duke: to whom, the poor Lacquy ſurpriz'd, and daunted at her demand, innocently related that the Duke was wounded, and by a Cannon-ſhot: But, as if that word had been the ſhot it ſelf, the Dutcheſs ſunk down in a ſwoon, as one, that, apprehending a Cannon ſhot could be no leſs than mortal, would not ſurvive him ſhe concluded to be dead, and who was far dearer to her, than her own life. In which condition ſhe was preſently taken up by her people, and carried home; where all poſſible means was us'd to bring her to her ſelf, as at laſt ſhe was; though it was only to make her more ſenſible of death, which followed the ninth day after ſhe had heard the unhappy news. Before her Death ſhe made a Will, wherein ſhe bequeath'd whatever was in her gift to the Duke her Husband; to whom, recommending her Children, as the common pledges of their mutual affection, ſhe conjur'd him, for their ſakes, never to marry again. Thus died this young, and excellent Lady, in the ſix and twentieth Year of her Age, after having manifeſted an indifferency for life, becoming her maſculine Courage, and Reſignation unto Death, worthy her great Piety, and Vertue.

The Death of the Dutcheſs of *Eſpernon.*

The *Sieur du-Maſſes*, Lieutenant for the King under the Duke in that Government, diſpatch'd a Courier to the Duke, to acquaint him with his loſs, as alſo with the Dutcheſs her dying requeſt

queſt unto him; who, after having given publick teſtimonies of his affliction, than which nothing could be greater, he vow'd to obſerve what ſhe expected from his fidelity to the laſt hour of his Life: A promiſe that he as faithfully obſerv'd, though in the ſpace of fifty years, that he ſurviv'd this excellent Lady, he was offer'd many and great advantageous matches, which he ſtill refus'd; ever profeſſing that the reſpect he bore to his dead Ladies laſt requeſt, did, and ſhould with-hold him from embracing a new Wife, and from embarquing in a new Fortune. *Anno* 1593.

Fortune had hitherto ſo favour'd the Duke in almoſt all his Enterprizes, that his Affairs had been carried on with great proſperity and ſucceſs, and the Proviſions he had drawn from the Province, or bought with his own mony, had kept his Army in ſo good Diſcipline, and Obedience, that the Provencials had taſted very little of the incommodities of War: Yet wanted there not ſome unquiet Spirits, who, enemies to the peoples peace, as envious of the Duke's good Fortune, endeavour'd by all imaginable ways to debauch from him the reſpect, and good will he had by his noble carriage acquir'd from the greater part of the Country, and from the better ſort of men, perſwading them, that his ſevere and haſty humour proceeded from a purpoſe he had to uſurp an abſolute Authority over them; and, rendring his beſt intentions ſo ſuſpected to the people, as made them at laſt refuſe to pay their accuſtomed Taxes. It was by ſo much the eaſier to corrupt theſe undiſcerning ſpirits, by how much a certain emulation has ever been obſerv'd to be betwixt the *Provencials* and *Gaſcons*, as ſeems to have been hereditary, if not natural, to thoſe two people: So that the *Provencials* not being able to endure the dominion of thoſe with whom they had ever diſputed the prize of Glory, and Valour, were eaſily tempted to ſhake off the yoke that either was, or was pretended to be impos'd upon them: After therefore (as has been ſaid) they had denied the Duke thoſe Contributions, which, until then, they had willingly paid, moſt of the Souldiers of the Country who were in his Army retir'd themſelves, and ſome of the chief Nobility pretended to favour at Court by accuſing him of inordinate Ambition; though all his endeavour to make himſelf conſiderable in *Provence*, was only in order to his Majeſties Service. The Duke ſeeing things in this ill condition, would by force have reduc'd them to their former poſture: but this remedy (which was by no means proper for the conſtitution of that people) ripping up the memory of the ſevere puniſhments he had in ſuch caſes inflicted upon ſeveral men in divers places, ſerv'd only to make them deſperate in their diſobedience, and to incenſe them to the laſt degree. *Anno* 1594.

The *Provencials* Revolt from the Duke.

Thus

Anno 1594.

Thus did all those, who had manifested an animosity against the Duke, begin to apprehend falling into his power, amongst which the Leaguers were in the greatest fear; who, as their obstinate Rebellion had made their fault much greater, than theirs, who like Souldiers had defended *Montauron*, so did they fear a worse punishment, if worse could be, than had been inflicted upon them. They saw their City of *Aix* reduc'd to the last extremity; neither would those within stay till they could come to their Relief. The *Count de Carces*, a particular Enemy to the Duke (besides the hatred that diversity of interest does usually beget) above all things dreaded to fall into his hands: so that Friends, and Enemies, those who pretended to be Royallists, and Leaguers conspiring together to hinder the Duke's further advancement, he saw, almost in a moment, all *Provence* in Mutiny, and Insurrection.

King *Henry* the IIII. turns Roman Catholick.

The King had already publickly embrac'd the Catholick Religion, of which he had made open profession at St. *Dennis*, the five and twentieth day of *July* this same year: whose Conversion having taken away all manner of pretense from such as had declar'd they forsook his Majesties Service upon no other accompt, than the Interest of Religion; the Inhabitants of *Aix* conceiv'd they could now no longer continue in their Rebellion, without manifesting to all the world that they were sway'd by other considerations, than those they had already declar'd; to which the *Count de Carces* (making use of this time, and occasion) adding his perswasions, one while representing to them their Duty to their Prince; and another the severity they were to expect from the Duke of *Espernon*, animated, as he must of necessity be, by the hatred they had in this Siege expres'd against his Person, he at last prevail'd with them to send away speedily to the King, to assure his Majesty of their Fidelity and Obedience. This was the first thing that discover'd a disunion in the League: of which, though the Duke of *Mayenne* highly complain'd to the *Count de Carces*, reproaching him with weakness, and charging him with all the miscarriages that should after happen to their Faction; yet was he deaf to his reproaches, and the fear of falling into the Duke's hands, as he was upon the point to do (the City of *Aix*, not being able longer to hold out) being more prevalent upon him, than the respect of his Alliance, he resolutely persisted in his first Design.

Monnsieur de Thou.

But the *Count de Carces* was not satisfied with hindering the Duke from making himself Master of the City of *Aix* only, the hatred he implacably bore him proceeding yet further, and to contri-

contrivances of more dangerous conſequence againſt him. There was none who did not believe the King had a jealouſie of the Duke's Deſigns; amongſt whom, the *Count de Carces*, who underſtood it better than the reſt, eaſily perſwaded himſelf that his Majeſty would not ſuffer the Duke to encreaſe his Reputation, and Power in *Provence*, by the taking of *Aix*, one of the moſt important places of that Province: And he further knew the Duke would as hardly conſent to have his Conqueſt, ſo near effected, foreſtall'd, and the prey ſnatch'd out of his hands: So that in this diverſity of pretenſions, he doubted not, but that the King's averſion to the Duke, as alſo his miſtruſt of him, would be infinitely encreas'd; which in the end ſucceeded as he had foreſeen, and projected. The Eſtates of the Country, aſſembled at *Aix*, appointed Deputies to go make a tender to the King of the obedience of their City, provided his Majeſty would pleaſe to protect them againſt the Duke of *Eſpernon*, whoſe power, they ſaid, was grown formidable, and his inſolence not to be endur'd. 'Tis true, he had acted vigorouſly againſt them, but they would not ſay, That had he proceeded with greater moderation, they would ever have return'd to their obedience, or departed from the Faction, whoſe intereſt they had ſo precipitouſly, and rebelliouſly embrac'd. *Anno* 1594.

Deſigns of the *Count de Carces* againſt the Duke.

The Deputies found it no hard matter to obtain from the King what they deſir'd, as to the acceptation of their City, which his Majeſty was very glad ſhould return into his obedience: but for what concern'd the Duke of *Eſpernon*, againſt whom their deputation was chiefly directed, they could nothing prevail at this time; not that they fail'd on their parts with their utmoſt endeavour, and eloquence, to render his Actions, and fidelity ſuſpected, to ſet the Kings heart more, and more againſt him: But whether it were that his Majeſty would not give credit to ſo partial, and ſo paſſionate accuſers; or (which is more likely) that in the preſent poſture of his Affairs, not yet well ſettled, he thought it not convenient to diſoblige the Duke to ſuch a degree; he would by no means gratifie them in that part of their deputation, that pointed at the Duke's removal from his Government. He ſaw him powerful in the Country, ſupported with great Relations, and poſſeſs'd of many ſtrong holds; in which condition it had been dangerous to provoke him to the height: wherefore he thought it beſt to chooſe a mean betwixt theſe extremes, and to give the Deputies ſome ſatisfaction, without touching the Duke's Authority in *Provence*, excepting in the City of *Aix* only; which, at the Deputies requeſt his Majeſty would not abſolutely leave at his diſcretion. *Anno* 1595.

Anno 1595.

His Majesties Conversion had as yet produc'd no great advantage to, nor no great alteration in his Affairs, saving that he had thereby assur'd many good Catholicks to his Service, who before were a little distracted in their Duty, and suspended betwixt Loyalty and Religion: But the League still remain'd in the same vigour, and the *Spaniards* hopes were yet as great as ever to carry the Election of their *Infanta* to the Crown, in the approaching Assembly of the counterfeit Estates of the League at *Paris*. All propositions of Accommodation with the Duke of *Mayenne* had prov'd ineffectual, who was the more inflexible to Peace, by how much his Kindred, and Confederates (the *Count de Carces* excepted) continued firm in their union, which also of it self was not very likely soon to dissolve, where there were so many pretenders to the Crown, to which five, or six of the Family at once aspir'd. In this conjuncture of Affairs, the King willing to make much of those few Servants he had, and principally of the Duke, that he might win time to order him at a better advantage, when the State should be settled in a better condition, wholly referr'd all differences depending betwixt the Duke, and the *Provencials*, to the Constable *de Montmorency*'s Arbitration: A man of all others, the most fit to accommodate those Differences, who being a near Ally, and a passionate Friend to the Duke, and his Interests, could no ways stand suspected to him; and who his Majesty knew would be well lik'd of by the *Provencials*: a people the Constable by bordering upon them had had many opportunities several ways to oblige. Neither did his Majesty altogether so trust to the Referree he had in publick honoured with that Office, but that he at the same time sent private instructions to *Mounsieur l' Esdiguieres*, and to Colonel *Alphonso d' Ornano*, to have an eye to the Duke's Actions; and in case they saw him obstinate to the taking the City of *Aix*, or that the Constable should in his Arbitration be partial to him, that then they should openly undertake the protection of that people, and by all means assure to his Majesty the possession of that City.

The King sends secret Orders to *l' Esdiguieres*, and Colonel *Alphonso d' Ornano*.

Yet were not these orders, how secretly soever deliver'd, so closely carried, but that the Duke had immediate knowledge thereof; at which unexpected unkindness being infinitely surpriz'd, and wounded to the quick, to see his Services, and good Intentions rewarded by so apparent a mistrust, he took up Resolutions, which though I shall by no means pretend to justifie, yet that the condition, and misfortune of the time may something serve to excuse: There was scarce a great man of that Age that was not of opinion a man might lawfully defend his own Fortune, even against his Prince;

Prince, an error with which the Duke alſo, having been pre-poſſeſs'd, and therein, by a number of ill examples, confirm'd, he was reſolv'd not to refer the Controverſie about *Aix*, nor the intereſt he had in *Provence* to arbitration; but to maintain himſelf in that Intereſt, and Authority, with all the Force, and Power he had: which made *l' Eſdiguieres*, who was ſoon enform'd how little the Duke was diſpos'd to ſubmit to the King's order, after having conferr'd with *Seignior Alphonſo*, and concluded about the courſe they were to take, to retire into *Daupbiné*, there to prepare himſelf to paſs over with all expedition, and with all the Force he could make into *Provence*. *Anno* 1595.

Whilſt theſe little conteſts in *Provence* had been thus carried on, which had taken up ſome time, the King's Affairs about his own Perſon were advanc'd into a much better condition: The Deputies of *Provence* had been diſpatch'd to Court in *January*, at which time the League being at their height, his Majeſty thought it not convenient to give the Duke any publick diſcontent: but from that time three months were now elaps'd (for this hapned at the end of *April*) in which time the King had found a way to poſſeſs himſelf of the City of *Paris*. The poſſeſſion of this great and populous City had drawn many others along with it into his Majeſties Obedience, and divers perſons of great quality had follow'd the examples of thoſe Cities: the *Spaniard* now was poſſeſs'd of few, or no Towns in the Kingdom, and the League was ſo ſtrangely declin'd, as to be only now almoſt ſupported by the ſingle Family of *Lorain*, which was it ſelf alſo upon the point to diſunite; ſo that the King being no longer neceſſitated to diſſemble, began now to require of the Duke a more abſolute obedience, than hitherto he had done; when having rais'd him many enemies in the Country, and appointed *l' Eſdiguieres*, and *Ornano* with great Forces to make head againſt him, he did not now ſo much fear his revolt, as formerly; nor conſequently ſo much care to diſoblige him.

The Duke, who by the commotions of the people, by his Majeſties poſitive command, and by the preparations that were made againſt him, very well ſaw what he was to expect, would, notwithſtanding how great ſoever his danger ſeem'd to be, rather chooſe to periſh in *Provence* in the defenſe of his Honour, and Command, than to go to Court, there to expoſe himſelf to the malicious Offices of his Enemies. He very well ſaw the beſt he was there to expect, was to be ſtript of his Government; to which he conceiv'd he had a better Title, than to any other member of his Fortune. He had, in the time of his Favour, purg'd

The Duke is reſolute to maintain himſelf in his Government.

Anno 1595.

that Province of the Factions of the League, and the Reform'd Religion; he had ſince maintain'd it againſt the Duke of *Savoy*, and the League combin'd together: It had coſt him his Brother's Life, much of his own Blood, and many of his Friends, and Servants: ſo that what propoſitions ſoever could be made unto him, he intended never to quit claim to his title there, and ſtood reſolute to bury himſelf in *Provence*, rather than by leaving it, to ſatisfie his Enemies longing, who were hourly importunate with his Majeſty to remove him thence. In which reſolution being every day more and more confirm'd, he gave the Conſtable (who as I have ſaid was to mediate the differences betwixt the *Provencials*, and him) plainly to underſtand his determination; entreating him at the ſame time not to take it ill, if he did not ſubmit a thing to Arbitration, which he could by no means ever conſent to part withal. Neither was it any hard matter for him to ſatisfie the Conſtable who was infinitely affectionate to his perſon, and who had much rather have had him for his Neighbour in *Provence*, than any other; a conſideration that perhaps eſpecially mov'd the King to call the Duke from that Government; his Majeſty not conceiving it convenient, that two perſons ſo intimate, and of ſo great Reputation as they both were, ſhould poſſeſs two ſo conſiderable, and ſo near neighbouring Provinces.

The King reſolves to remove the Duke from the Government of *Provence*.

Mounſieur de l' Eſdiguieres obſerving how little the Duke was enclin'd to an Accommodation, and ſuſpecting that the Conſtable forbore to preſs him to it, only to give the Duke more time to make himſelf Maſter of *Aix*, began to march with three thouſand five hundred Foot, and eight or nine hundred Horſe towards *Provence*, and by the way was reinforc'd with ſome Troops that had ſerv'd the League under the command of the *Count de Carces*, and who were exceeding glad to be employ'd againſt the Duke. *Lafin* (ſince famous for having been the Inſtrument of the *Mareſchal de Birons* Ruine) hapned to be at this time in *Provence*, who, having ſome command in the Country, and having frequently convers'd with the Duke about the management of Affairs, had a great Ambition to have the honour of compoſing theſe Differences: wherefore knowing *Mounſieur de l'Eſdiguieres* to be upon his March, he went out to meet him; to whom he undertook, provided he would advance no further, to perſwade the Duke abſolutely to ſubmit to the Conſtables determination: But *Mounſieur de l'Eſdiguieres*, ſuppoſing that to ſhew himſelf with his Forces upon the Frontiers of his Government, would ſooner encline the Duke to that reſolution, advanc'd as far as the Banks of the River *Durance*, which ſeparates *Provence* from *Dauphiné*; where what he deſign'd

Mounſieur de l' Eſdiguieres enters with an Army into *Provence*, againſt the Duke.

to

to haſten an Accommodation, he ſoon ſaw ſerv'd only to put things into a worſe condition, and to make the Rupture wider than before. *Anno 1595.*

There had been of old a certain emulation betwixt theſe two great men, and their Vertue having begot in each of them a great eſteem for the other, they had long, and equally deſir'd an occaſion, wherein they might make a deciſive trial of themſelves, to ſee which by his merit could get the ſtart in the race of Honour, and ſtand faireſt in the worlds Opinion: A noble, and vertuous jealouſie of one anothers Reputation; yet was there at this time ſomething of feud in the caſe, the Duke complaining that he had not receiv'd from *Mounſieur de l' Eſdiguieres* the return, nor acknowledgement he expected, for the good Offices he had done him in the buſineſs of *Savoy*; to which were alſo added the Difference in Religion, and the Diverſity of Intereſt, things that were never obſerv'd to promote Accommodations, nor to unite the wills, and inclinations of men: by all which, the Duke being animated againſt *Mounſieur de l'Eſdiguieres*, perhaps more than he ſhould have been againſt any other, he had no ſooner notice of his motion, than taking his approach for a defiance, he would let him ſee, that he was neither aſtoniſh'd at his Reputation, nor daunted with the Forces he brought along with him; and therefore immediately aroſe from his Fort of *Aix*; where nor daring, as it was not fit, to leave his Quarters weakly guarded, he took the Field with only 3000 Foot, though in Horſe he was equal to *Mounſieur de l' Eſdiguieres*, and with theſe ſmall Forces bravely fac'd him; who having already paſs'd the River, there was ſo little to part them, as reduc'd them both to almoſt a neceſſity of fighting. In this little Battel therefore the Duke advanc'd to begin the charge, which though it was of no great continuance, ended nevertheleſs with the loſs of many men on both ſides, and wherein the Duke ſhew'd himſelf no ways inferiour to his Adverſary either in Courage, or Conduct, which is all I ſhall ſay, that I may not appear intereſted, and partial.

The Duke goes out to meet *Mounſieur de l' Eſdiguieres.*

All the Hiſtorians who make mention of this Action do ſay, that the two Armies retreated without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide, that in truth the Duke of *Eſpernon* carried away many priſoners of eminent Quality; but that *Mounſieur de l'Eſdiguieres* remain'd Maſter of the Field; by which report they ſeem to give him the advantage of the day. *Mounſieur de Thou* writes to that purpoſe, and ſo does *d'Avila*; though it be nothing ſtrange in the laſt, who, excepting in things, that meerly concern the Affairs at Court, does, as to the reſt, only tranſlate the other, and wholly follows

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follows his relation in what concerns the busines of the Provinces of the Kingdom. As to *Mounsieur de Videl* who has writ the life of the Constable *l'Esdiguieres* exceedingly well, and paid to the memory of a good Master the gratitude of a passionately affectionate and faithful Servant; I must commend him for writing to his Benefactors advantage in an occasion wherein he might with great truth do his memory honour: but to make a right judgment of this action, it will be convenient to relate the circumstances of it, after which it will be easier to conclude, to which side the Victory enclin'd.

A true accompt of the Action.

Mounsieur de l' Esdiguieres, having pass'd the River *Durance*, took up his Quarters at *Ourgon*, and the circumjacent Villages, where the fertility of the Country abundantly provided for him: but the Duke on the contrary, who came to meet him, being constrain'd to Quarter in a very ill Country, as at *Eguiere*, *Sennas*, *Lambescq*, and other places thereabouts, his men suffer'd great want, and inconvenience; A consideration that besides the promptness of his nature, made him eager to come to the trial of Arms: In which resolution advancing still towards the Enemy, he at last discover'd him, standing in a place of singular advantage behind a great Ditch, which the torrent of Land floods had worn, and hollow'd into the form of a regular entrenchment. *L'Esdiguieres* at the Duke's first appearance immediately drew up into Battalia behind the Ditch, sending out his Vant-guard only to fight, wherein he had indeed dispos'd his best men, under the command of his Nephew *Morges*, in whose company (to his own misfortune) was *Bezaudun*, who had formerly been *Mareschal de Camp* for the League in *Provence*. The Duke, seeing this Vant-guard come up with a countenance to fight, made his also advance to meet them; which he would himself in person lead up, as he did, and made so gallant, and so fortunate a charge, that after a short, but brisk dispute, himself bravely fighting at the head of his men, they totally routed the party, and drove *Morges* wounded into the very Ditch, that parted the two main Bodies, kill'd a great many men (as he also lost some) and carried away very many Prisoners, without leaving so much as one of his own men in the Enemies hands: Yet had *Mounsieur l' Esdiguieres* the patience all this while to see his men beaten, and trodden under foot, without once offering to come out of his Trench; or, though he made some light skirmishes about the skirts of the Ditch, without expressing any inclination to a total engagement; A coldness that the Duke very well observing, and satisfied with his own success, which he had infinitely hazarded, should he have made any further

ther attempt upon the Enemy in a place of so great advantage, contented himself with only facing some hours in the Field, to try if *l' Esdiguieres* had any mind to repair his loss; but to no purpose, he still keeping the same station, and being by no provocation to be tempted out of the advantage of his Post. And this is the truth of what pass'd at this occasion, as I received it from honourable, and not to be suspected, testimony, who were present at the engagement, and who impartially related the story: though the sequel it self makes it plain enough; for had *Mounsieur l' Esdiguieres* had the least imaginable advantage, is it to be suppos'd that he would have suffer'd the Duke to have carried away so many, and so considerable Pris'ners before his face, as the Historians themselves confess to be taken in this Battel? No doubtless! neither was it such a triumph for him to remain Master of the Field, the Duke never intending to stay upon the place of Battel; the ill Quarters he had been enforc'd to take up withal, upon his March, in a very unfruitful Country, not permitting him to stay long there without he intended to destroy his men: to which consideration was also added, that he was in danger of losing his Fort at *Aix*, left but slenderly guarded, by drawing so many men from thence upon this occasion; and therefore it especially concern'd him not longer to expose a place of that importance, which was indeed the main cause that made him to return, but not retreat. *Anno* 1595.

Amongst the Prisoners taken at this Battel was the *Mareschal de Camp Bezaudun*, whom I nam'd but now; a Gentleman for his Parts and Courage of high repute amongst those of his own Faction: but he would yet make himself more remarkable, by professing, and that in publick, an implacable hatred to the Duke's Person; neither were words sufficient to express his Malice, nor did he think it enough that he had by divers calumnies bespatter'd the Duke's Honour, unless he made his injuries more publick, by printing several Libels, of which he declar'd himself to be the Author, which indeed, was one thing that had cherish'd in the Duke an animosity against him: but there was yet another by which he was more justly provok'd, and of which, those who have condemn'd the Duke, for causing him to be, as they say, unhandsomely slain, have made no mention. I think it therefore very fit to insert it here, to vindicate the Duke from the aspersion has been unjustly cast upon him, about this Gentleman's death. The Duke's Victory fatal to *Bezaudun*.

Bezaudun, formerly in some engagement had the fortune to take a Gentleman Prisoner, whose name was *D' Estampes*, a man for whom the Duke had an exceeding kindness, and whom in the beginning of his restraint *Bezaudun* had us'd with great civility; but

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but suspecting soon after, and perhaps upon too light grounds, that his Prisoner had not observ'd a due regard to the honour of his house, he forthwith resolv'd to take a severe revenge: To which purpose causing himself to be carried in a Chair into the Market-place of *Aix*, being unable to walk by reason of some Wounds he had receiv'd, he there caus'd his Prisoner to be brought before him; where having demanded of him, in the presence of a great many people, whom the novelty of the action had assembled together, if he complain'd of his usage, *D' Estampes* made answer, that he was so far from complaining, that he had highly commended it, and should do so as long as he had life. You should not then have given me cause to complain of you, says *Bezaudun*, and withal cry'd, kill him; which inhumane Sentence was scarce pronounc'd, but that the poor Gentleman was, by some *Bezaudun* had brought along for that purpose, immediately run through, and through, and laid dead upon the place. This barbarous act, that possess'd with horror all such as beheld it, being soon brought to the Duke's ear, he then made a vow, that if ever the Murtherer fell into his hands he should receive the same measure: And such was *Bezaudun's* ill fortune, to be presented to the Duke in a time when the murther of his Friend was yet fresh in his memory; for the Prisoners taken in the Battel, being immediately, and upon the place brought before him, and amongst the rest *Bezaudun*, completely arm'd, with his Bever down; and the Duke asking (as he had of the rest) who he was, the Prisoner himself made answer, that he was *Bezaudun*; at which the Duke turning aside his head, as loathing the sight of a man so odious to him, and against whom he had so often publish'd an implacable hatred, could not forbear to express some dissatisfaction with those who had receiv'd him to Quarter: whereupon one of them, without more express order, discharg'd a Pistol in his head, by which he was laid upon the ground; the second was discharg'd by a Brother-in-law of his own, and both mortal. Thus have you the truth of this business; which, had it been carried with less cruelty, had doubtless been more to be commended, though the many offences and injuries the Duke had receiv'd being duly consider'd, it may in some sort pretend to an excuse; especially the fact having been committed by no order from the Duke, but by Servants of his, who conceiv'd it would be an acceptable service to him: Neither is it to be denied, but that the War has produc'd many other actions of this nature, wherein as great severity has been practis'd upon far less provocation,

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The Duke after this Battel perceiving *l' Eſdiguieres* to be palpably favour'd by almoſt all who had formerly ſtood for the League in *Provence*, (many of them having liſted themſelves under this *Hugonot* Captain) as alſo by thoſe who were affectionate to the King, ſeeing an Army likewiſe on foot againſt him twice as numerous as his own, and not knowing in whom he might confide, even his own Friends, and Servants being ſtartled, to ſee the King's Authority, and name made uſe of againſt them; began now to ſee that, to keep thoſe few friends, and places he had left, from revolting from him, it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſubmit to an Accommodation: and to this he was the rather induc'd by the neceſſity he ſaw of abandoning his Fort of *Aix*, it being impoſſible for him to keep that, without putting the other places he held in the Province to manifeſt hazard, his Forces being too few to defend them all againſt ſo many enemies, as were conſpir'd to his ruine. He therefore at laſt hearkened to *Lafin*, who from the beginning had made himſelf an importunate Mediator for an Accommodation, and in concluſion wholly referr'd himſelf to the Conſtables award; by whoſe determination, which was deliver'd in *June*, the Duke was oblig'd to give up the Fort of *Aix* (the main thing in conteſt) into the hands of *Lafin* himſelf, by whom it was to be kept with 400 men, to be ſent out of *Languedoc*, until it ſhould pleaſe his Majeſty further to ſignifie his Royal Pleaſure, as to the maintaining or ſlighting of that Fort, that in the mean time there ſhould be a general ſuſpenſion of Arms in *Provence*, during which all things ſhould continue in the ſame poſture they then were.

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The Duke at laſt is neceſſitated to an Accommodation.

The Duke ſubmitting abſolutely, and without reſerve, to this Decree, accordingly deliver'd up the Fort of *Aix* unto *Lafin*, who enter'd into it with the appointed number of men: but whether it were through the Officers foul play in their Muſters, or that the treachery of *Lafin* himſelf (of both which the Duke complain'd) made him neglect to keep his Garriſon in its full appointment, ſo it was that in a few days they were reduc'd to half their number; neither does *Mounſieur l'Eſdiguieres* ſtick to confeſs, that he himſelf had a hand in the buſineſs, that he had privately ſupply'd the Fort with Souldiers of his own, who ſtill were to run away by his private order.

In the mean time the Duke of *Eſpernon*, under the aſſurance of this Truce, liv'd in great ſecurity, and believing that nothing was to be ſuſpected to the prejudice of a Treaty, argu'd, and concluded as it were in the preſence of all men, took this opportunity, a little to divert, and repoſe himſelf, after the continual action he had

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The Duke goes over to *Languedoc*.

been turmoil'd in ſince his firſt arrival in *Provence*, and to that purpoſe took a Journey into *Languedoc*, either as he himſelf pretended to make a viſit to the Conſtable; or, as it was ſaid by others, upon an amorous accompt to viſit a Lady he had an acquaintance withal in that Country: but whatever was the occaſion, the abſence of their Leader, together with his example, made moſt of his Souldiers to take the ſame liberty, rambling every one a ſeveral way: an advantage that *Mounſieur l' Eſdiguieres* very well knew how to manage; neither did he neglect it, though what he did would have been interpreted breach of faith, had leſs than the King's command ſtept in to excuſe it.

A remarkable Duel betwixt two of the Duke's Captains.

In this Journey to *Languedoc*, there hapned a very remarkable quarrel betwixt two Officers of the Duke's Army, who went along to attend him; the one was *Lioux*, a *Gaſcon*, the other St. *Andiol* a *Provencial*, both of them Captains of Horſe, and equal in quality, and eſteem; though in this occaſion the chance of Arms ſhewed it ſelf partial to St. *Andiol*'s ſide. Theſe two Gentlemen upon ſome ſlight diſpute, having agreed to fight, went out of the Town together, to end their difference; where St. *Andiol* being the ſtronger man, after ſome wounds given, and receiv'd on both ſides, cloſing with his Enemy, trip'd up his heels, diſarm'd him, and made him ask his life; which being done, he was ſo far from the inſolence of a conquerour, that, deſiring no other triumph than his own private ſatisfaction, he reſtor'd *Lioux* his Sword upon the place, with all the complement, and civility uſual amongſt men of honour upon ſuch occaſions. But how modeſt ſoever St. *Andiol* was in his Victory, the buſineſs could not be ſo ſecretly carried (they returning both bloody from the Field) that their friends took not notice of what they had been about, who as ſoon enform'd the Duke thereof; deſiring withal, that he would interpoſe his Authority to make them friends: But the Duke, out of reſpect to the Conſtable would transfer that good office to him, who as readily undertook it, and who having his two Sons in Law the *Count de Auvergne* (ſince Duke of *Angouleſme*, and the Duke *de Vantadour* in the houſe with him, ſent for them, and the Duke of *Eſpernon*, to be preſent at the reconciliation. *Saint Andiol* was the firſt call'd in, who, being examin'd what had paſs'd betwixt *Lioux* and him, made anſwer, "That it was true, ſome "little diſpute had hapned betwixt them, which had oblig'd him "to ſeek the ſatisfaction of a Cavalier; but that it was already "determin'd, without any advantage on the one ſide, or the "other, that he was ſatisfied that he muſt ever declare *Lioux* to be "a very brave Gentleman, and that he was his Friend, and hum-

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" ble Servant. After this Declaration, every one concluded it would be a matter of no great difficulty to reconcile them, and expected *Lioux* would as readily embrace his adverſaries friendſhip, as he had franckly offer'd his, *Saint Andiol* being reputed one of the braveſt Gentlemen in the Army. He therefore was next call'd in, and that rather to hear himſelf commended upon *Saint Andiol's* teſtimony of his Valour, than to be queſtion'd about a thing, of the truth whereof they thought themſelves already ſufficiently enform'd. They therefore, upon his coming in, told him, that *Saint Andiol* had given an account of what had paſs'd betwixt them, that he had aſſur'd them, they parted upon equal terms, that he was his Friend and Servant, and that therefore nothing now remain'd, but that they ſhould embrace, and be good friends. To which *Lioux* made anſwer, " That before they pro-" ceeded ſo far, there muſt be a truer relation given of the iſſue of " their diſpute, than, for as much as he yet heard, he could conſent " unto. An anſwer that ſurpriz'd the whole company, who fear'd it might beget a new quarrel; when *Lioux* continuing his diſcourſe, declar'd how every thing had truly paſs'd; acknowledging that he ow'd his life to his enemies courteſie; but complaining withal, that *Saint Andiol* ſhould make ſo light of his Victory, as to deprive himſelf of the due honour of it; yet magnifying his noble behaviour towards him after ſo ingenuous a manner, that having by his franck, and generous confeſſion wip'd off all diſeſteem, that uſually (how brave ſoever) cleaves to the loſing ſide, he won himſelf, by his handſome carriage, as great a reputation, as if he had been more fortunate, and ſhar'd in the glory of a victory had been obtain'd in ſingle diſpute over his own perſon. *Anno* 1595.

From the time that the Fort of *Aix* had been deliver'd into *Lafin's* hands, *Mounſieur de l' Eſdiguieres* had retir'd himſelf into the City, where he had been receiv'd with all the reputation, and reſpect due to the Deliverer of a people, as they look'd upon him to be, and where, whilſt he lay watching all occaſions wherein he might weaken the Duke's power, or leſſen his repute (which he call'd executing his Majeſties Orders, and advancing his Service) he had intelligence of the ſlender, and careleſs Guard was kept by *Lafin* in the Fort of *Aix*, as alſo in many other places, which as yet were in the Duke's poſſeſſion: wherefore making uſe of this negligence, and pretending ſome of the Duke's people had broken the Truce (in having (as he ſaid) taken ſome of his priſoners) he took the Field upon the ſixth of *July*, and without reſiſtance took the Fort of *Aix*, and favouring the revolt of *Frejus*, *St. Paul*, *Troye*, *Mirabel*, The Fort of *Aix* ſurpriz'd by *Mounſieur l' Eſdiguieres.*

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Mirabel, and *Cannes*, gave the Inhabitants of all those Cities opportunity, to drive out the Duke's Garrisons, and to withdraw themselves wholly from his Party, and Obedience. As for the Fort of *Aix*, it was no sooner in *Mounsieur de l' Esdiguieres* hands, but that he deliver'd it up to the discretion of the Inhabitants, who were so diligent in the demolishing of it, that in two days time there scarce remain'd any footsteps of a work the Duke's whole Army had for three months together, with great, and continual labour, been industrious to raise.

The Fort of *Aix* demolish'd.

Many other places revolt from the Duke.

Toulon soon after follow'd the revolt of the other forenamed places, which was, of all others, a loss of the greatest importance to the Duke. *Esgarrebaques* was Governour of the place, a man that had long serv'd in that employment, both under *Mounsieur de la Valette*, and under the Duke himself in great esteem of Courage, and Fidelity: but at last the alliance he had contracted with the House of *Souliés*, a Family that were nothing kind to the Duke's Interests, having given his Adversaries, or rather his Envyers a pretense to render him suspected to the Duke, he, to secure the place, and to keep *Esgarrebaques* within the bounds of his duty, caus'd a Cittadel to be drawn out, and to be begun in his own presence, wherein he plac'd *Signac*, the Governours Capital, and Mortal Enemy, with a sufficient Garrison both to secure the Cittadel, and to awe the City: But *Esgarrebaques*, either really provok'd by this ill usage, or else in this declining condition of the Duke's Affairs, willing to disingage himself from his Service, making that his pretense, so soon as the Duke's back was turn'd, assaulted *Signac* in his new Cittadel; where, the Fortifications being imperfect, and the access open, and easie on all sides, he without much opposition took the Governour prisoner, and made himself master of the place; putting himself immediately after into *Mounsieur l' Esdiguieres* protection, which, in the Language of the Country, was to submit himself to the King.

The Duke having intelligence of these disorders, of which his own absence had chiefly been the cause, upon the first report thereof left *Languedoc*, and made all the haste he could into *Provence*, to apply, if possible, some remedy in this untoward posture of Affairs; though all he could do at his return, was only to stop the Gangreen from going further, and to keep the Province from a general revolt: yet either not believing, or not seeming to believe, that his Majesties Order was in any of these transactions, he began to prepare himself to recover by force of Arms, what by treachery and surprize had been taken from him, when finding his Friends and Followers startled, and wavering at the very sound

The Duke returns into *Provence*.

of

of the Royal Name, which his Enemies had made uſe of in all their deſigns, he thought it neceſſary, before he fell to action firſt to undeceive them, and to clear that error. In an eloquent Speech therefore he briefly laid before them, "The ſignal Services both "his Brother and himſelf had done for the King in the conſerva- "tion of that Province, and that in the greateſt confuſion of the "Kingdom, and at the loweſt ebb of his Majeſties Affairs; the "Obedience he had manifeſted to all his Majeſties Orders, and "Commands, how ſevere ſoever they had been, and how preju- "dicial ſoever to his own private Fortune. That as an evidence "of his Duty, and ſubmiſſion to his Majeſties Royal Pleaſure, he "had but lately ſurrendred the Fort of *Aix*, that is to ſay, had di- "veſted himſelf of the poſſeſſion of that fair City; the Conqueſt "of which, was, by their Valours made certain to him. That not- "withſtanding ſo many, and ſo recent teſtimonies of his Loyalty "and Obedience, with which he knew his Majeſty to be very "well ſatisfied, his Enemies ſtill ſhrowding their malice under "the ſhadow of the Royal Name, the better to effect their own "deſigns, had debauch'd, and reduc'd from him moſt of the pla- "ces he had lately been poſſeſs'd of. That this affront reflected up- "on them, indifferently with himſelf, ſince it had been with their "Blood, together with his Brothers, and his own, that thoſe con- "queſts had been dearly bought. That therefore the injury being "equal both to him, and them, he hop'd they would aſſiſt to re- "venge them, and to maintain his Fortune; which, as he ow'd it "in part to their Valour, ſo did he not ſo paſſionately deſire its "ſupport for any intereſt of his own, as to have means thereby to "ſhew himſelf grateful to thoſe who had been conſtant, and faith- "ful to him, in all the diſgraces he had fall'n into, and in all the "attempts had been practis'd againſt him.

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His Friends being by this ſhort ſpeech reaſſur'd and confirm'd in their Fidelity and Obedience, and having thereupon expreſs'd as great a Devotion to his Service, as he could expect from men who had long been affectionate to him; he forthwith took the Field to go ſeek out *l' Eſdiguieres*: but he, after he had deliver'd *Aix* from the Fort, that had ſo long kept them in ſubjection, and clear'd the neighbouring Campagne by the revolt he had procur'd of the forementiond places, retir'd into his Government of *Dauphiné*, without engaging himſelf further at this time in the Affairs of *Provence*; by whoſe retreat, the Duke, having none left to oppoſe his deſigns, ſeem'd to be now in a condition not only to redeem his late loſſes, but alſo to make a new, and a further progreſs into the Country, than he yet had done; and doubtleſs he had

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had done so, had things continued in this posture: but something new, and unforeseen fell out, which gave the last blow to the ruine of his Affairs.

The Duke of *Guise* at last undeceiv'd, and better read in the *Spanish* artifice, which had so long abus'd him with vain propositions of Marriage with their *Infanta* so soon as they could procure his Election to the Crown, and perceiving also the declining condition of the League, which every day went less in reputation, was in the end, with his Brothers return'd into the King's Obedience: to whom his Majesty (hoping the revolt of a man of his Authority, and Condition from his Enemies Party, would draw the greatest part of those who had set up their rest upon the Fortune of the Duke his Father, over to his own) had granted very advantageous conditions; and besides the Cities of *Rheims*, *Chalons*, *Rocroy*, *St. Disier*, *Guise*, and other places, which had formerly been settled upon his Father, and his Uncles, conferr'd particularly the Government of *Provence* upon him. The Government of *Champagne* had formerly been in the possession of the late Duke; but his Majesty, having since his advancement to the Crown, gratified the Duke of *Nevers* with that Office, he rather chose to dispossess the Duke of *Espernon*, who by a thousand calumnies had been rendred suspected to him, than to disoblige the Duke of *Nevers*, whom himself had settled in that trust. Neither was the Duke of *Guise* unsatisfied with the exchange, who (besides that it was in it self at least equal with the other) had, by this mutation a great opportunity, under the shadow of the Royal Authority, to depress one of the most powerful, and profess'd enemies of his House, and Name: so that well pleas'd with his new Employment, he only waited his Majesties order to begin his Journey into *Provence*, and by assistance of the Royal Arms to put himself into possession of his new, and well lik'd of charge: But his Majesty who had much rather by little and little to have withdrawn the Duke of *Espernon* from thence, than to kindle a new War in that Country, and so soon again to put a Sword into the Duke of *Guise*'s hand, who was so lately return'd into his obedience, had first try'd the way of negotiation (as you have heard) and after made use of Arms under the conduct of *Mounsieur l' Esdignieres*; by which various ways having found he could neither reduce the Duke by reason, nor so depress him by force, but that he was still in a condition there long to subsist, he at last took a resolution to put an end to the work, and to effect that by fine force, which he saw was neither by Treaty, nor by indifferent Forces to be brought about.

The Duke of *Guise* made Governour of *Provence*.

His

His Majeſty had in the beginning of this year proclaim'd a War with the King of *Spain*, which notwithſtanding, before he would begin, or advance into the Enemies Country, he would firſt ſettle his own Affairs at home, and viſit ſome parts of his Kingdom, which as yet he had never ſeen ſince they were reduc'd to his Obedience, by his preſence to encourage and confirm them in their duty to him; of which the City of *Lyons* was one, and thither it was, that his Majeſty, after having chas'd the Duke of *Mayenne* out of *Burgundy*, repair'd, and where he arriv'd in *September*, 1595. To this place *Mounſieur de l' Eſdiguieres* being alſo come to kiſs his Majeſties Hand, and to give him an accompt of the Affairs of *Provence*, he was thither follow'd by the Deputies of that Parliament, and of ſome other Cities of that Province, in hopes that under his countenance, and Intereſt at Court, their complaints againſt the Duke of *Eſpernon* would be the better heard, by which his Majeſty being tyr'd, vext at the continuations of theſe troubles, and animated againſt the Duke by the reiterated ill Offices of his enemies, fearing alſo that the ill uſage the Duke had receiv'd from them, might during his rupture with *Spain*, provoke him to joyn with the *Spaniard*, ſo as to receive them into thoſe Garriſons he held in *Provence*, he then took up that final reſolution to ſuppreſs him by Force, and by Arms to reduce him to his Duty. Of this War the Duke of *Guiſe*, as Governour of *Provence*, was to have the conduct, whom nevertheleſs his Majeſty judging too young to manage, without the aſſiſtance of ſome more experienc'd Captain (eſpecially having to do with the Duke of *Eſpernon*) he made choice of *Mounſieur l' Eſdiguieres* for that purpoſe, by the title of Lieutenant General in *Provence*, under the Duke of *Guiſe*. Neither could his Majeſty have made choice of two Captains more animated againſt the Enemy they were to undertake, the firſt being prompted on, beſides the intereſt of his eſtabliſhment in that Province, by the antiquated and irreconcilable hatred of his Family, the other by his jealouſie already mention'd, and by the conſcience of thoſe recent injuries the Duke had receiv'd at his hands.

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The Duke of *Guiſe*, and *Mounſieur l' Eſdiguieres* go againſt the Duke of *Eſpernon*.

And here, though every one might reaſonably conclude that this torrent of Arms was likely to overwhelm the Duke beyond all poſſible evaſion, or recovery, yet was his courage, and aſſurance no leſs eminent in this, than it had been in other occaſions of this nature. 'Tis true that he had diſcreetly endeavour'd to divert it, by going to preſent himſelf before the King at *Lyons*; where he doubted not to clear thoſe Accuſations his Enemies had ſo falſly contriv'd, and ſo maliciouſly preferr'd againſt him: But ſuch was his ill

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ill fortune, that he met intelligence upon the way, which assur'd him his Majesty was suddenly, and unexpectedly call'd thence into *Picardy*, by the inroads the *Condé de Fuentes* had made into that Province, and by the danger the City of *Cambray* was in, which at this time was closely besieg'd by the *Spanish* Forces: So that he was constrain'd to return back into *Provence*, not without extreme affliction to see his Majesty so positively bent to his ruine, with this hope nevertheless, that time would at last justifie his intentions, especially if he could in the interim maintain his Affairs in any tolerable condition: a consideration that made him resolute to defend his declining fortune more vigorously than ever; yet not with any design to do any thing contrary to his Majesties Service, but with an intent, if things came to the last push, rather to make a voluntary surrender of his Government into his Majesties own hands (as he afterwards did) than to suffer himself tamely to be stript of it, by his mortal, and implacable Enemies.

The Duke resolute to stand upon his defence.

The Army design'd against him entred into *Provence* in *November* 1595. where the Duke had Friends, and strong Holds enough to have held them long in play, had they, to whose fidelity he had entrusted the chiefest of his Castles and Towns observ'd the Faith they had sworn unto him: but their revolt soon made him understand, the influence of the Royal Name, and how unhappy a thing it is, to have that appear against a man, how innocent soever his intentions may be, and how well soever dispos'd to his Princes Service: for the Duke of *Guise*, and *Mounsieur de l' Esdiguieres* no sooner appear'd in *Provence*, but that there was a contest amongst the Duke's greatest Confidents, who should first go over to them. Amongst these the *Sieurs de Buous* Brothers, the men of all others in that Country to whom the Duke had given the highest testimonies of Honour, and Friendship, were the first who forsook him, and who, besides the prejudice they did him by their ill example, carried over with them the two Regiments they commanded in his Army, which was no little blow to his Affairs in a time when it was no easie matter for him to raise new Forces.

The Duke abandoned by most of his friends.

The next in order that follow'd this vertuous example was *Ramefort*, one who had been of longest acquaintance, and intimacy with the Duke, and whom he in his time of favour had oblig'd by many benefits, and had since in *Provence* committed *Sisteron*, one of the chiefest places he held there to his trust. This man nevertheless no sooner knew the Duke of *Guise* to be come into the Country, but that he sent to treat with him about the surrender of the place, upon condition that he should still continue,

tinue Governour there for the King. *Peyroles* did the ſame for his Garriſon of *Riez*, he continuing ſtill Governour of the place, to be held, and maintain'd for the time to come, in his Majeſties name, as *Ciſteron* was by *Ramefort*. *Anno* 1595.

The loſs of theſe two places having infinitely ſurpriz'd the Duke of *Eſpernon*, who by this carriage plainly ſaw how little aſſurance he could promiſe to himſelf from the reſt of his Friends, he began to apprehend an univerſal Revolt; and in this apprehenſion, ſcarce knowing any more in whom he might confide, or whom he might reaſonably ſuſpect, he chiefly began to miſtruſt the fidelity of *Meſplés* the Governour of *Tropés*, one of the principal places that remain'd in his power, and in which upon the worſt of accidents he thought to find his chiefeſt refuge, and ſafety. This Gentleman a *Bearnois* by Birth, and a man of ſingular Valour, had, by his gallant behaviour in ſeveral occaſions, wrought himſelf much into the Kings opinion, and eſteem; from whence the Duke apprehending (perhaps too lightly) that poſſibly he might quit his Intereſts, to be allur'd over to his Enemies ſide by the ſound of the Royal Name, he reſolv'd to remove him from that command, as he preſently did; and that, as he conceiv'd, without any injury, or offenſe, having done it without noiſe, or giving the leaſt evidence that his Faith was any way ſuſpected to him: but *Meſplés* (perhaps glad of ſo good a pretenſe to abandon the Duke, whoſe Affairs he ſaw daily declining) taking his unjuſt ſuſpicion for the higheſt injury, and the removing him from his Government for the greateſt Affront and Indignity he could poſſibly receive, reſented both at ſo high a rate, that from that time forwards he became one of his moſt violent and implacable enemies. He went upon the very inſtant to ſeek out the Duke of *Guiſe*, where being arriv'd, he immediately put himſelf into his Service, and having long commanded in St. *Tropés*, and at leiſure conſider'd all the weakneſſes of the place, adviſ'd the Duke preſently to beſiege it, aſſuring him that it would infallibly be taken; which the Duke giving credit to, immediately order'd him Men, and Cannon, to force the place, whilſt he himſelf went upon the enterprize of *Marſelles*, which he likewiſe brought to a fortunate iſſue. This Deſign upon St. *Tropés* had like to have occaſioned betwixt theſe two Dukes a memorable engagement; for the Duke of *Eſpernon* not being able to ſuffer ſuch a place to be loſt, without endeavouring at leaſt to relieve it, had ſuddenly gather'd together all the Forces he could make thereabouts to that purpoſe; but all thoſe amounting to no more, than about ſome 300. Light Horſe, 60. of his Guards, and betwixt four or five

The Duke of *Eſpernon* enters into a general miſtruſt of all his followers.

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of

of *Eſpernon* was ſo near, made all the haſte he could to overtake him; which notwithſtanding he could not ſo ſuddenly do, but that the Duke had already paſs'd the River without difficulty, or danger, which the Duke of *Guiſe* perceiving, and attempting to follow after, that he might engage him before he could put his men into order, was receiv'd on the Duke's part by a counterfeit charge, which was put ſo briskly home, that the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Forces, who were not half got over the Bridge, aſtoniſh'd at ſo unexpected a reſiſtance, fell foul upon one another, in which confuſion above thirty Troopers threw themſelves headlong for fear into the River, and were there drown'd, ſome alſo were ſlain; and certainly had the Duke engag'd with all his Forces, he had put *Mounſieur de Guiſe* into a very great diſorder: but he conceiving he had nothing more to do, than to make good his own retreat, thought it ſufficient by charging, and amuſing the Enemies Van, to win time for thoſe few Foot he had to get the ſtart; wherein if the Duke committed an overſight, *Mounſieur de Guiſe* committed afterwards a greater; when after this little skirmiſh, having without oppoſition march'd over the reſt of his Army, it had been no hard matter for him, had he made any haſte, to have overtaken the Duke, who march'd no faſter than a trot; whilſt following leiſurely after, without preſſing him to fight, he gave him leave to make his retreat in great ſecurity without the loſs of any, ſave ſome few of his worſt mounted men. Thus the Duke of *Eſpernon* loſt at once both the Town of *St. Tropés*, which was a very good one, and the Governour, who was a Gentleman of great worth and merit; the one by the prevailing Arms of his Enemies, and the other perhaps by his own fault: he was at leaſt condemn'd by his Friends, and Servants, for entring upon too light grounds into a jealouſie of this Gentleman's faith: And certainly if ever we ſhould make head againſt our diffidences, and miſtruſts, it ought chiefly to be, when we moſt labour under affliction and diſgrace; every thing at thoſe times being ſuſpected to us, and our judgments, weakned by grief and diſaſter, being then moſt apt to be impos'd upon by the lighteſt impreſſions.

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A Skirmiſh betwixt the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Duke of *Eſpernon*.

After the taking in of theſe places, the Duke of *Guiſe*, *l'Eſdiguieres*, the *Count de Carces*, and the other Chiefs of the Enemies Army retir'd themſelves to *Aix*, there to deliberate about the Affairs of *Provence*, and of the means by which they were to work the Duke of *Eſpernon's* abſolute, and final ruine. He had at this time upon his hands at once the Duke of *Savoy*, the Duke of *Guiſe*, the *League*, *l' Eſdiguieres*, *Ornano*, the *Provencials*; and (which was of more dangerous conſequence than

All things averſe to the Duke in *Provence*.

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than all these known, and declared Enemies) his own Friends and Followers were wavering and uncertain to him: yet, as if all these, who were all men of great quality, and many of them of great interest, and reputation in the Country, had been too few to do his business, a wretched Fellow, bred from the Lees of the common people, obscure, and of no name till then, would likewise put his helping hand to the work; who alone, and contemptible, as he was, put the Duke into more manifest danger of his life, than so many, and so powerful enemies arm'd, and confederated to his ruine, as yet had ever done. His name was *Bartholomew Bigne*. a native of the fore-mentioned Village *du Val*, and a near neighbour to *Brignoles*; whither the Duke having retir'd himself after the loss of the before-mention'd places, and having there assembled all his Forces together, to make head against whatever new attempts might be preparing against him; this cursed Villain, who had never received any particular injury from the Duke, but meerly prompted on by the malignity of his own nature, and a national hatred against him, having long deliberated by what way he might infallibly destroy the Duke, bethought himself at last of this impious, and abominable mischief. He shut up in two Chests three Quintals of Powder, to purchase which he had laid out all the mony he had, or could procure; and having observ'd the place where the Duke usually kneeled at Mass in the Church of *Brignoles*, he entreated the Curate thereof to give him leave to bring the two Chests into his Church, wherein he pretended he had lock'd up the best of his Goods, to preserve them from the hands of the Souldier: which the Curate readily promis'd him he should, provided he might first search them, to see what they contain'd: but *Bigne* finding that to be a condition, that by no means suited with his Design, left off the Curate, and seeing some other way was to be found out to bring his purpose to pass, fell to hammering out new projects; which were the less hard for him to contrive, by how much the same evil spirit, who had suggested to him the heart, and boldness to meditate so great a wickedness, was now also ready to prompt his invention, and to instruct him how to execute his execrable purpose by a new way, where his first design had fail'd. Out of hopes then of effecting his business in the Church, he by the means of the Mistriss of the House where the Duke lay, and with whom *Bigne* had been formerly acquainted, wriggles himself into the company of the Duke's Baker, and in discourse offers him three Sacks of Corn to sell, where betwixt them the Bargain was soon strook up, and that being done, the Traytor losing no time, the next day brings his

A Plot against the Duke of *Espernon's* life.

A Quintal is an hundred weight.

his three Sacks to the Duke's Lodgings, about the time he was to come from Maſs, and to go to dinner, and ſets them in a little place under the Chamber where the Duke us'd to eat. Where after he had diſpos'd them as he thought moſt conveniently for the execution they were to do, he goes to ſeek out the Baker to come look upon his Bargain. In every one of theſe Sacks he had put an hundred pound of powder, with only a little Corn at the mouth to ſerve for ſhew, that if by chance the firſt Sack that was open'd ſhould fail of its effect, no diſcovery might be made of the Treaſon; but that they might go to the next. Amongſt the powder in every Sack he had convey'd the wheel-lock of a Piſtol, ready wound up, and tyed to the ſtring of the Sack, after ſuch a manner, that it was impoſſible to open any one without pulling down the ſpring that was faſtned to the Cord, and giving fire to the powder; the three Sacks alſo were ſet ſo near to one another, that any one of them taking fire, the others would alſo blow up, and ſo the three Quintals of Powder muſt infallibly play at once. Things being thus order'd, *Bigne* waits near to the Duke's Lodging, untill he was come in, and had the patience to ſtay till he ſaw him ſet down to dinner; when having him now in the Trap, and that the Duke, as he thought, could not poſſibly eſcape, he then went to ſeek out the Baker, to make him at once the Traitor, and the betrayed, and the innocent inſtrument of his own, and his Maſter's ruine. The poor Baker was not hard to be found, at a time of the day when uſually all the Duke's domeſticks met together; ſo that having preſently met him, *Bigne* goes along with him to the Miſtriſs of the houſe, deſiring her to open the door where the Corn ſtood; which ſhe accordingly doing, and he ſeeing things now brought to that paſs, that the effect was, as it were inevitable, himſelf inſenſibly, and unobſerv'd ſlips out of the Houſe, and got into the Fields, making with all diligence for *Aix*. The Baker in the mean time, with two young fellows that belong'd to him in his Office, went to viſit the Sacks, where going to untye the firſt, he had ſcarce toucht the ſtring, but he was immediately conſum'd by the devouring flame: Neither did his men eſcape any better; and the violence of the powder was ſo great, that it blew up the floor where the Duke ſate at dinner, with the ſtory above it, the roof of the houſe only remaining firm. All thoſe who were above with the Duke, were blown up to the roof, and thence tumbling headlong to the foundation, were many of them cruſh'd to pieces under the ruines, the Duke only by a miracle of Fortune remaining ſtill ſitting, and upright in the midſt of this ſubverſion; for his Chair being plac'd upon a great Beam that

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The Duke's wonderful escape.

that butted upon the Chimney of the Chamber, and the fire not having force enough to blow up that, which at both ends was strongly fastned into the Wall, the flame only burnt his hair, and his beard, without any further harm to his person. That which hindred the powder from doing greater execution, and from blowing up the whole house, as in all probability it was like to do, was, that the Windows being all open, the flame found a passage that way, and by that lost much of its force within; otherwise the house, and all within, had certainly been tost into the Aire, and consum'd in a moment.

Bigne, who from without the Town had seen his mine play, believing the effect to be infallibly such, as he had propos'd to himself, ran in all hast to *Aix* to carry the news of the Duke of *Espernon*'s certain death to the Duke of *Guise*; to whom withal he declared at large the whole circumstance of his design, not without the amazement and horror of all that heard him, that any man could be guilty of so barbarous and inhumane a fact. As for the Duke of *Espernon*, he was a man so well prepar'd beforehand against all the accidents of fortune, that he soon recover'd the astonishment this surprize had put him into; and doubting it might be a stratagem of the Enemy in the disorder, and confusion, that must necessarily attend so sudden a mischief, to make himself Master of the place, made all the Souldiers he had in the Town immediately to repair to their Arms; whilst himself mounted on Horseback, and attended by some Gentlemen his friends, went to visit the several Posts of the City, to see that all was quiet there: where having found all things right within, and that nothing of suspicion appear'd from without, it must of necessity be concluded that the mischief arose, and that the Conspiracy must have been made within the Walls of his own Lodgings. Diligent search was there therefore presently made, and the woman of the house examin'd, who ingenuously confess'd the bargain about the Corn betwixt *Bigne* and the Baker by her means: whereupon they desir'd to see the place where the Sacks had been set, but there was neither Sacks, nor the men who had open'd them to be seen, the fire having so consum'd them, that scarcely their bones could be found. They then sent to *Bigne*'s house, who was fled, and his house left void, his Goods and Family being remov'd to *Aix* the night before: So that no further doubt being to be made of the Author of the Fact, the Duke's heart began to be at rest; which before was a little unquiet with the suspicion, that some of his own people might have had a hand in the Plot.

Some who have made reflections upon the Duke's life, and the many

many Accidents by which it had often been brought into extreme danger (which were at leaſt as many as any other great mans of his time) have ſometimes drawn the ſeveral hazards he has run, into compariſon with one another, as he himſelf amongſt his private friends (ſo pleaſant is the memory of dangers paſt) upon occaſion delighted to do; though he ever declar'd the conſpiracy of *Angouleſme*, to be the greateſt peril he had ever been in; next to which he plac'd that of *Corbie*, where he confeſt his fear to have been much greater, than in the former, though the buſineſs never arriv'd at that degree of danger, that was manifeſt in the other accidents of his life. As for the precipice of *Lyons*, the Cannon-ſhot before *Aix*, and the Mine of *Brignoles* but now mention'd, though he acknowledg'd his danger in all thoſe to have been extreme, and that in all apperance, it was hardly poſſible he could eſcape; yet the ſuddenneſs of them took away the ſenſe, and his good fortune, opportunely interpoſing betwixt him and thoſe mortal accidents, prevented his apprehenſion, and gave him no time to fear, whereas in the other two, he had had leiſure to ſee his approaching ruine, and death coming upon him in all his ugly ſhapes, eſpecially in the buſineſs of *Angouleſme*, which he could not conſider as one, but a concatenation of many, and thoſe mortal dangers, that ſucceeded one another for above forty hours together.

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Reflections upon the ſeveral dangers of the Duke of *Eſpernon*'s life.

At this very time, and in the height of theſe untoward occurrences, *Mounſieur d' Oſſat*, ſince Cardinal (a perſon equally to be commended for the integrity of his life, and the excellency of his learning) writ very bitter things to the prejudice of the Duke's Loyalty and Honour; which, though by the care of ſome of the Duke's Friends, they were ſuppreſt in the firſt impreſſion of his Book; yet having ſince been added in a particular ſheet, I think my ſelf oblig'd not to ſuffer the publick to be impos'd upon by ſo groſs calumnies, and that it is my duty to interpoſe the truth in the Duke's defenſe. This Prelate then, after having writ favourably enough to the King concerning the Duke, in his Letter of the 22. of *December*, 1594. that having given Pope *Clement* the VIII. an account of all things his Majeſty had given him in charge concerning *Mounſieur de Guiſe*, and the Government of *Provence*, his Holineſs ſighing, replyed, *And what will they do with the Duke of* Eſpernon? In another Letter notwithſtanding to Secretary *Villeroy*, bearing date the 17. of *January*, 1596, writes thus, "*Mar-*"*ſelles* puts me in mind of the Duke of *Eſpernon*, concerning "whom they write from *Lyons*, that after the taking of *Ciſteron*, "he has ſent to the King to make a tender of his ſubmiſſion, and obedience;

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The Duke of *Eſpernon* traduc'd by the Cardinal *d' Oſſat*.

Anno 1596.

"obedience: but they do not know that at the same time he "he sent to *Turin* to the Duke of *Savoy*, and to *Milan* to the Con- "stable of *Castile*, of whom he has obtain'd 6000. Crowns, "; that is to say, 5000. down, with which his Agents buy Hor- "ses, and Arms at *Milan*, and 55000 more by Bill of Exchange "to be return'd at *Genoa*; which is said to be two months ad- "vance of 30000. Crowns a month, given him by the Crown "of *Spain*, for being a good *Frenchman*, as he writes into these "parts, he will be so long as he has life, causing it to be reported "that the mony he receives at *Milan* is mony of his own, that he "has there in Bank; as if even to have a Bank of mony in a "Town belonging to the King of *Spain*, and to think it there se- "cure, were not a sign of no very good *Frenchman*. There has "been a rumor in these parts for some days that he has promis'd "*Boulogne* to the *Spaniard*, &c. Thus writes the Cardinal *d' Os- sat*, with many other things of the like injurious nature.

The Duke of *Espernon* saw all these invectives as soon almost as they appear'd in Print, and though in his own nature he was a man not much enclin'd to Books; yet the quality of the Author having given a great reputation to this, he had a great desire to see it, when, having it brought before him, and the place being turn'd unto wherein he himself was concern'd, it could not be perceiv'd that he was at all mov'd at the many reproaches he there found against him: but on the contrary was so moderate and calm as to say, "That he could by no means blame the Cardinal *d' Os- "sat* for what he had written; and that being employ'd, as he "was, by the King in the most weighty Affairs of the Court of "*Rome*, he had done no more, than his duty in giving his Majesty "a faithful accompt of what ever was reported to him: That "he knew very well many others at the same time talk'd of him "at the same rate, some out of spleen, and others perhaps out "of a belief the common bruit his Enemies had spread amongst "the people had begot in them: but that neither the one nor "the other said true. That indeed the King of *Spain*, the Duke "of *Savoy*, and the Duke of *Mayenne* (measuring his discontents "by the provocations he had received) had all of them often sent "to him, the first to offer him his protection, and the two last "their friendship and alliance. That he had been solicited by a "Religious of the Order of St. *Francis* on the behalf of the King "of *Spain*, by a woman of quality, the world believ'd had a "great interest in him, from the Duke of *Savoy*, and by the "Abbot of *Cornac*, since Abbot of *Ville-Loin*, a man of great dex- "terity, and prudence, from the Duke of *Mayenne*: but he de- "clar'd

"declar'd, and bound it with an Oath, that he had never hear- *Anno*
"ken'd to any ſuch practice; That in truth, ſeeing himſelf preſs'd 1596.
"by his own particular enemies under the King's Authority, and
"in his name, and that alone he could not long be able to make
"head againſt them, he had ſometimes been in ſuſpenſe what he
"ſhould do; and a little tempted by the advantageous conditions
"theſe Princes had offer'd to him: but that notwithſtanding
"his Fidelity, and Duty, had ever ſo ſtoutly oppos'd his Intereſt,
"and Paſſion, that he rather choſe to ſurrender his Right to the
"Government of *Provence*, and (which was far more inſup-
"portable unto him) to quit the Field to his Enemies, than to
"make a longer reſiſtance, by joyning himſelf with Parties, and
"Factions, contrary to his Majeſties Service, and Intereſt. All which in the end he made ſo evident, that I cannot but admire, after ſo manifeſt a juſtification by his Actions, any body could be ſo unjuſt, as to tax him with any intelligence with *Spain*. To fortifie which ſo odious a Calumny, they ought at leaſt to have prov'd, that he had receiv'd from thence, or by their means, ſome kind of Aſſiſtance in his Affairs; by whom, had he been ſecretly favour'd, would they have husbanded their favour ſo ill, as not to have drawn from him ſome effectual acknowledgement, and return, by the giving up ſome one at leaſt of thoſe places in his cuſtody into their hands? The ſame Cardinal ſays that he had promis'd them *Boulogne*, though it was plain enough afterwards, how far he was from any ſuch purpoſe; that he had receiv'd mony from *Spain*, and that he pretended for his excuſe, it came out of his own Bank at *Milan*, where himſelf had before laid it up; and that the one, and the other were almoſt equally criminal: which were it true, no one could deny it to be a Crime. But to anſwer to this point, I would fain know what he did contrary to his Majeſties Service, after he receiv'd this mony; and whether he was afterwards obſerv'd to favour that Faction more than before? No, it was ſo much otherwiſe, that almoſt at the very ſame time the Cardinal ſent this intelligence againſt him, he went in perſon to the King, where he put himſelf into his Majeſties hands, without Article, or Reſervation, to be abſolutely at his diſpoſal. Would the *Spaniard* have been thus tamely cheated of his mony, without ſpeaking, had he parted with ſuch a Sum? would he not have publiſh'd to all the world the Duke's infidelity, and unhandſome carriage? and would he not at leaſt have ſeiz'd upon that Bank, the Cardinal *d'Oſſat* writes of at *Milan*, for his reimburſement?

Others have further added, that the Duke had a deſign to take this opportunity of the Kingdoms diſtraction, to make himſelf a Sovereign Prince in *Provence*: but let any one conſider, whether

Anno 1596.

Other Calumnies against the Duke.

after having conceiv'd so unjust, and so unruly an ambition, he would not betimes, and before he had proceeded to matter of Fact, have fortified himself by a correspondency, and intelligence with Foreign Princes, to have justified his usurpation? or whether, in common discretion, he would not have confederated himself with those Factions at home that already brav'd the lawful Authority? Yet is it most true, and it was evident to all the world, that instead of doing the one, or the other, he fought with all the power he had, and maintain'd the sharpest War he could possibly maintain, both against the Duke of *Savoy*, though back'd with the *Spanish* Forces, and also against the League, of it self sufficient to have amaz'd a man of less conduct and resolution. It is very true, that he would fain have kept, and maintain'd his Government of *Provence* against all pretenders, had it stood with the Kings good liking; and that he was the longer before he could perswade himself to give it up, hoping at some time or other, that his Majesty reflecting upon his Services, might think him as worthy as any of that Command: but at last, finding his expectation vain, and all he could do, or say, ineffectual to the procuring of his Royal Consent, he rather chose to quit claim to a Title his Majesty would not be prevail'd with to approve, than by a longer obstinacy to oppose his Masters pleasure to the prejudice of his own duty.

Some who can endure no truths, but such as are couch'd in the worst Characters, and that call all things flattery, which are not offence, may perhaps think me too zealous in the Duke's justification: but let such, before they too liberally determine, examine the Arguments I have us'd in his behalf, whether there be in them any thing forc'd, or uneasie to an unbyas'd judgment, or whether any thing can be contradicted in all I have said. It has been an observation (almost to a rule) that the lives of great Favourites have ever been the objects of the hatred, and envy of their own times; an injustice that descending upon the Duke, not only in the usual forms of Calumny, but in an extraordinary stile, and with greater demonstrations of malice to him, and his reputation, than to any other of this, or of almost any other time before him, I thought it a duty to truth, to him, and to posterity (now that time has laid open the falsity of those slanders, that have been publish'd against him) to discover the true causes, and reasons why he so long persisted in the defence of his Government; and as far as I am able, at least to rescue those actions from obloquy, which all disinterested, and worthy men will, upon mature deliberation, think worthy of all commendation and honour. A design, which as I have impartially undertaken, so have I not herein made use of my own Arguments, but only made a faithful report of what I have

have learn'd from the moſt unſuſpected teſtimony, gather'd out of the beſt Hiſtorians, or receiv'd from the Duke's own mouth, who muſt of neceſſity know the truth as well as any, and much better than thoſe who writ at random of affairs: Neither do I apprehend why, what he himſelf reported for the juſtification of thoſe actions which were ſo unhappily interpreted ſhould not be of as good authority for him, as what was publiſh'd to his prejudice by men who were profeſtly haters of his Perſon, and apparently emulous of his Name, and Fortune. *Anno* 1596.

The Duke of *Eſpernon*, having (as has been ſaid) rejected all propoſitions made him by thoſe who were enemies to the King, would accept of no other protection, than what he expected from his Majeſties Juſtice, and Bounty, however incens'd againſt him. In which reſolution having ſet up his reſt, he diſpatch'd away *Guez* his principal Secretary to the King, to carry him an aſſurance of his Fidelity, and Obedience; who being arriv'd at Court, was preſented to his Majeſty by the Marquiſs *de Roquelaure*; a man who in the Duke's ſevereſt perſecution, and when the tongue of calumny was moſt bitter againſt him, had ever preſerv'd for him a moſt entire, and conſtant Friendſhip, and who had made no difficulty in his Majeſties greateſt Paſſions (a time of all other the moſt dangerous to diſpute with Princes) to juſtifie, and undertake for his Friends integrity, and to uphold his intereſt with an admirable, and never enough to be commended conſtancy. *Guez* then was by him no ſooner brought into the Kings preſence, than his Majeſty with a ſtern look preſently told him, that if himſelf to whom he was ſent had no greater a kindneſs for him, than his Maſter had, who had ſent him, he ſhould that hour cauſe his head to be ſtruck from his ſhoulders, and that he much wonder'd a man of ſenſe, as he was, durſt come to him from the Duke of *Eſpernon*, whom he himſelf knew very well to hold intelligence with his Enemies: To which *Guez*, who was very well aſſur'd of the contrary, reply'd, that he would willingly ſubmit to the puniſhment his Majeſty was pleas'd to threaten, if the Duke was guilty of thoſe things whereof he ſtood accus'd: and that he came to his Majeſty on the behalf of a Loyal Subject, his moſt humble, and faithful Servant, who had rather choſen to depend upon his Majeſties Grace, and Favour, and to throw himſelf at his feet without condition, than to accept of the moſt advantageous offers, could by his Majeſties Enemies be propos'd unto him. After which the King having ask'd him if he might rely upon his word, and *Guez* having by many proteſtations confirm'd, what he before had ſaid, his Majeſty reſolv'd to receive

The Duke of *Eſpernon*, rejecting all offers from *Savoy*, *Spain*, and the Duke of *Mayenne* ſubmits himſelf to the King.

Anno 1596. the Duke into his favour, and a few days after dispatch'd away *Mounsieur de Roquelaure* himself, the Duke's most intimate Friend, to give him assurance, that he might with all freedom come to Court, where from his Majesty he should receive all the satisfaction he could expect, or desire,

The Duke, without insisting upon greater precaution, or other security, than what he found in his own Conscience, took his journey to Court, and that with so absolute a confidence in his Majesties Royal Word, that he would not so much as open the Letters *Mounsieur de Roquelaure* brought him from the King; but at his arrival restor'd them to his Majesty, seal'd up as they were sent: by which generous behaviour, excuses, and reasons having given his Majesty full satisfaction in all things, he receiv'd him into an honourable degree of Favour, and soon after gave him the Government of the higher, and lower *Limousin*, in recompense of that of *Provence*: A charge in truth that held no proportion with the other; but that nevertheless bordering upon *Xaintonge*, *Angoumois*, and the Country of *Aulins*, which the Duke already had, lay very convenient for him; and besides, by being newly confer'd upon him, gave the world to see, that his Majesty did not look upon him as a Rebel. The King gave him moreover 100000 Crowns to defray part of the expense he had been at in *Provence*; by which his Majesty seem'd to acknowledge it had been there well employ'd, and it was assign'd him upon the Convoy of *Bourdeaux*. Thus did the Duke quit all his pretenses in *Provence*, and remain'd at Court with the King.

The Duke of *Espernon* receiv'd into Favour.

I could here speak of the enterprize of *Marselles* without danger of digression, it having been executed by the Duke of *Guise*, whilst the Duke of *Espernon* was yet in *Provence*, and the rather because the Sieges of *St. Tropés*, and *Oriol*, which were then in his possession, serv'd much to palliate the Duke of *Guise*'s Design: but having no need to seek elsewhere, than in the particular actions of the Duke of *Espernon* himself, to swell the bulk of my History, I shall, how great and shining soever that action was, forbear to make a further mention of it; the Historians of that time having given accompts of it at large. And yet, whilst I omit the main thing so pertinent to my Story, I cannot forbear to mention a remarkable circumstance, which I have from a very good hand, and that I doubt not will be acceptable to my Reader, though it be utterly from the matter of my Subject.

A digression upon a remarkable passage.

After the Duke of *Guise* had put an end to his enterprize, a success of the greatest glory to himself, and importance to the State, that could possibly have hapned at that time; he thought it but

but reaſonable to enjoy the fruits of his Victory, by giving himſelf a vacation from the hardſhips of War, to the ſofter delights of Liberty and Eaſe; which made him ſeek out all the Diverſions the Town could afford, that any way ſuited with the appetite of his youth and pleaſure. The chiefeſt of which was the frequentation of a Gentlewoman in the City, of but moderate beauty, but of ſo admirable a wit, as gave her, for a diſtinction of excellency above the other women of the City, the name of the *Marſelles*. This Lady had formerly been a Miſtriſs of the Duke of *Eſpernon's*, and was at this time highly courted by the Duke of *Guiſe*, with whom the Duke being one night very pleaſant in her Lodging, they there contriv'd a piece of mirth, which in the iſſue very much fail'd their expectation. *Grillon* Camp-Maſter to the Regiment of Guards, a Gentleman of *Provence*, was reputed one of the braveſt men of his time, and with good reaſon, the ſignal teſtimonies he had in a thouſand occaſions given of his Valour approaching nearer to the vanity of a Romance, than to the truth of ſerious Hiſtory. This Gentleman, after the recovery of *Marſelles*, was diſmiſs'd from the King to the Duke of *Guiſe* to be aſſiſting to him in his reputation, advice, and valour, for the conſervation of that place: for his Majeſty well knowing what a longing, and watchful eye his Enemies had upon that City, and himſelf alſo being very tender of ſo important a place, would ſpare no coſt, nor omit no care to preſerve it ſafe, from any deſigns without, or within by violence, or practice. The Duke of *Guiſe* then in the height of his mirth calling to mind that *Grillon* was ordinarily call'd * *l'homme ſans peur*, thinking it not impoſſible to ſhew the world he was capable of the Paſſion of fear as well as other men, and to make him loſe that name, with ſome other young men of his own gay humour about him, contriv'd to have an Alarm ſuddenly given under *Grillon's* window, as if the Enemy had entred the Town, and at the ſame time cauſing two Horſes to be brought to the door of his Lodging, runs himſelf up ſtairs into his Chamber, where with a counterfeited diſtraction he haſtily told him that all was loſt, that the Enemy had made himſelf Maſter of the Port, and of the City, that they had forc'd the Guards, diſpers'd and beaten all that could make head againſt him; and that no more reſiſtance being to be made, he thought it better to retire, than to add to their Enemies Victory by their own Ruine: that therefore he was come to call him out, that they might make their retreat together; to which purpoſe two Horſes waited ready at the door of his Lodging, and that he deſir'd him to make haſt, leſt they ſhould be ſurpriz'd by the Enemy before they could find means

Anno 1596.

* The man without fear.

Anno 1596.

means to escape. *Grillon*, though he had been fast asleep at the beginning of this false Alarm, and was yet scarce awake when the Duke of *Guise* told him this story; yet, without being at all surpriz'd, he call'd for his cloaths, and his Arms, saying withal, that too easie credit was not to be given to reports in the tumult, and confusion of Alarms; but, that should the intelligence prove true, it were far more honourable to die with their Swords in their hands, than to survive the loss of such a City: which being all the Duke of *Guise* could get from him, he not being to be perswaded out of that resolution, they went together out of the Chamber; when being in the middle of the stairs, the Duke being able to hold no longer, burst out into laughter: by which *Grillon* understanding the Raillery, with a furious countenance grasping the Duke by the Arm, and rapping out a terrible Oath, the usual preface to all his discourses, he said, *Young man, never make it your sport to try the Courage of a man of Honour; for by the Death, hadst thou made in me a discovery of fear, or surprize, I would have Stabb'd my Dagger into thy heart*; and so return'd back into his Chamber, without more words. This Story which I have from a very good hand, a person of Quality, who had it from the Duke of *Guise* s own mouth, I thought too remarkable to be overslipt: Neither do I think *Grillon* to be less esteem'd for this sally of fury, which appears however to be wrap'd up in very good sense, than in the constancy of his courage, that would not consent he should retire from, or out-live the loss of so important a City. And since I have spoken of the blasphemies that were so frequent in his mouth, I shall tell you what I have heard the Duke of *Espernon* say, who had him long under his command; which is, that many years before his death, though he had a perfect strength and vigour in all his other parts, he had nevertheless so great a weakness in his tongue, that he could not articulate, or bring out one word that any body could understand. God being doubtless pleas'd by a manifest judgment to punish him in that part, which by so many Oaths and Blasphemies had so often offended against his Divine Honour, and most Holy Name.

The end of the First Part.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF THE Duke of ESPERNON, THE GREAT FAVOURITE OF FRANCE.

ENGLISHED BY

CHARLES COTTON, Esq;

The Second Part.

Nihil est aptius ad delectationem Lectoris, quàm temporum varietates, fortunæque vicissitudines: quæ etsi nobis optabiles in experiendo non fuerunt, in legendo tamen erunt jucundæ. Cic. Epist. 12. l. 5.

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HISTORY

OF THE

LIFE

OF THE

Duke of ESPERNON,

THE

GREAT FAVOURITE

OF

FRANCE.

THE HISTORY Of the LIFE of the Duke of Eſpernon.

THE SECOND PART.

The Fifth Book.

THE Duke of *Eſpernon*, having (as before is ſaid) taken his leave of *Provence*, in the company of the Marquiſs of *Roquelaure*, ſoon after preſented himſelf before his Majeſty at *Paris*, who was then but newly return'd from his Voyage of *Picardy*; an expedition wherein he had met with very various ſucceſs, Fortune having plaid with both hands in the diſtribution of Honour and Diſgrace. She had indeed ſhew'd her ſelf favourable to him in the Enterprize of *la Fere*, a place, that being one of the moſt important upon the Frontier, and having by the League been put into the *Spaniards* hands, had been ſo Fortified and Victualled by the new Poſſeſſors, that the King judging it not to be recover'd by fine force, without the manifeſt loſs of an infinite number of good men, thought it better to ſtreighten it at a diſtance, by blocking up, and building Forts upon all the Avenues, by which it could any way be ſupply'd, or reliev'd,

Anno 1596.

The poſture of Affairs at the Duke of *Eſpernon's* arrival at Court.

Anno 1596. reliev'd, than to hazard his men by a nearer and more regular Siege; a way, that doubtless was the safest, and most likely in the end to succeed: but as no Counsels are so perfect, as to point out the certain event of things, this way of proceeding prov'd so slow, as gave the Enemy in the interim time and opportunity to bring about other designs of such importance, as made the King sick of the success of his own enterprize, even before it took effect.

Albert Arch-Duke, and also Cardinal of *Austria*, was now newly enter'd upon the Government of the hereditary Countries of *Flanders*, from whence the King of *Spain* had lately call'd home the *Condé de Fuentes*; a Prince, that stirr'd up by the emulation of his Predecessor's exploits (who the year before had won from *France le Catelet*, *Dourlens*, and *Cambray*) had put on a resolution to do things, that should as far out-shine the *Conde*'s less atchievements, as he himself, in Birth, and Quality was superior to him in Name, and Person: wherefore at his entring upon his command, having found the King set down before *la Fere*, he thought he could not give a more glorious beginning to his administration, than by force or policy to defeat that his Majesties design. An undertaking which for the difficulty and danger thereof, was every way worthy the greatness of his mind; for the King having foreseen the *Spaniard* would infallibly attempt a relief, had forgot nothing that might serve to frustrate their endeavours. His Forces were great, his works about the place compleat, and perfect, and almost all the most experienc'd Captains of his Kingdom were come in from all parts, to attend his Majesties Person, and to signalize themselves in so brave an occasion: all which being very well known to the Cardinal of *Austria*, he durst not (notwithstanding his earnest desire to relieve that place) engage his Army in so dangerous an attempt, but rather hearken'd to the Counsels of such as more warily advis'd to raise that Siege, by an attempt upon some other place of a greater, or no less importance.

Amongst the many opinions that were deliver'd in the Cardinals Council about this Affair, the ill Fortune of *France* would have the counsel of a *Frenchman* to prevail; that by the procurement of one of her own Sons, this Kingdom might receive the greatest dishonour it could possibly sustain. And this was the advice of *Rhosne* a Gentleman born in *Champagne* upon the Frontiers of *Lorain*, one, who having in the infancy of the League devoted himself to the Duke of *Guise*, and done him many signal services in his life; after his death persevering in the evil cause he

he had before embrac'd, had put himſelf under the Duke of *Mayenne*, and ſo far his too violent zeal to Religion; or the error of his judgment (which might be deluded amongſt the reſt) were rather to be excus'd, and pittied, than his carriage abſolutely to be condemn'd: but after the Duke of *Mayenne* was reduc'd to reaſon, and had given up his cauſe, his yet engaging himſelf with the King's moſt implacable enemies made it manifeſt to all, that his turbulent ſpirit would ſtick at no miſchief he could any ways effect againſt his Prince and Country. This man then diſcrediting in the Cardinals Council all the diverſions had been there propos'd, as by making an attempt upon *St. Quintin*, *Montreuille*, *Boulogne*, or *Guiſe*, gave advice to fall upon *Calice*, at the ſame time offering himſelf to be the man that would undertake, and accompliſh the deſign. A propoſition of ſo high, and generous a nature, that the Cardinals ambition, which was bent npon ſome noble atchievement, being fir'd thereby, he was afterwards deaf to all other Counſels, and ſo wholly bent upon an enterprize ſo ſuitable to the greatneſs of his mind, that without further delay he gave immediate order to diſpoſe all things for the execution of that deſign. To which end his Army was forthwith drawn into the Field, and there divided into three ſeveral bodies, to amuſe the King, and to keep him in doubt of the courſe he intended to ſteer: a policy not very neceſſary to the concealment of his deſign, it being impoſſible any one could imagine he durſt ſo much as meditate the thoughts of an enterprize, which, to all mens aſtoniſhment, he ſo ſuddenly effected, that the King had no ſooner intelligence of his motion, but that withal news was brought him of the loſs of the place.

Anno 1596.

A deſign upon *Calice*.

Bidoſſan Governour of *Calice*, ſurpriz'd with ſo unexpected a Siege, was in a few days reduc'd to ſo great an extremity, that he was forc'd to diſpatch a Poſt to the King, to acquaint his Majeſty with the Articles of his capitulation, which was to make a poſitive ſurrender, if within ſix days he was not reliev'd: at which unhappy, and unexpected news, his Majeſty being beyond all expreſſion afflicted, he advanc'd with all diligence as far as *Boulogne*, in hope that the convenient vicinity of that place would give him ſome opportunity or other to ſend in ſome relief to the beſieged before the time of limitation ſhould expire: neither did he fail to try all poſſible ways by which he conceiv'd it might be done; but all in vain, the contrary winds by Sea, and the Enemies vigilancy by Land ſtill fruſtrating what ever endeavour he could uſe: when one ſole Servant of the Duke of *Eſpernon's* had the good hap beyond all humane expectation to put himſelf

Anno 1596.

A remarkable action of *Campagnol*.

into the place, Fortune being (it ſhould ſeem) reſolv'd by the performance of one of his Servants to confer upon the Maſter, though abſent, the honour of the braveſt exploit that paſs'd upon this occaſion. The man whoſe reſolution was ſo eminent in this affair, was commonly call'd the black * Cadet, a Gentleman of the houſe of *Campagnol*, who bravely undertook, and as bravely perform'd the Action. His elder Brother by the Duke's Favour, was preferr'd to be Captain of a Company in the Regiment of Guards, and his own Lieutenant in the Government of *Boulogne*, as this alſo had a Company in the Regiment of *Picardy*, with which he had likewiſe been gratified by the Dukes Bounty. This Gentleman no ſooner receiv'd intelligence of the Enemies motion towards *Calice*, but that he immediately repair'd to his Brother at *Boulogne*, where he was at his Majeſties arrival there, and where his courage not permitting him to ſit ſtill in ſo general a conſternation, as appear'd in all perſons about the King, he made a voluntary offer of himſelf to paſs through the Enemies Guards into the Town of *Calice*, with any number of men his Majeſty would pleaſe to commit to his charge, or to periſh in the attempt. The valour of the man was ſo well try'd, and known, that the King doubted not in the leaſt of his performance to the utmoſt of what could by man be done: but the danger was ſuch, * that his Majeſty was very unwilling to expoſe ſo brave a Gentleman to ſo manifeſt a ruine; yet ſuch was his importunity, and the occaſion of ſuch importance, that at laſt three hundred men only were aſſign'd him, with which, by the favour of the night, and his own good conduct, he arriv'd ſafe at *Calice*, without the loſs of ſo much as any one man; ſo that certainly had he carried a more conſiderable number of men, the Town had been ſav'd: but as the caſe then ſtood he muſt content himſelf with the honour of his own bravery, without reaping any other benefit from the ſucceſs of his attempt. The term of ſix days being expir'd, the Enemy ſent to ſummon the Town to a ſurrender, according to the Articles of Capitulation betwixt them; to which ſummons they had no other return than this, that the beſieg'd were now acquit of their promiſe, and that they had receiv'd a relief; an anſwer at which *Rhoſne* being more enrag'd than the Arch-Duke himſelf, he preſently caus'd the Cannon to play with greater fury, than at any time before during the Siege; when a ſufficient breach being made, he prepar'd the Army for a general aſſault. The aſſault was accordingly given, in the beginning of which *Bedoſſan* being ſlain, *Campagnol* took upon him his Authority, and Command, giving the Enemy after two hours ſharp fight a brave, and notable repulſe

* Or younger Brother.

* Cardinal *Bentivoglio De Thou.*

pulſe, which notwithſtanding the breach was ſo wide as was impoſſible long to be defended, by ſo few men as he had left; which made the Enemy by frequent Meſſages often put him in mind of what he himſelf knew as well as they, by repreſenting to him the deſperate condition the place was in, and his own inevitable ruine ſhould he longer perſiſt in his defenſe; offering him at the ſame time conditions of Honour, and Advantage if he would deliver up the Town: but all to no purpoſe, he had not put himſelf into that place with ſo much hazard of his life to depart thence in ſo great ſecurity: the aſſault therefore was again renew'd, and the Enemy again beaten back: but coming up the third time with greater fury than ever before, and bringing up ſtill freſh Companies to ſucceed thoſe who were beaten off, *Campagnol's* men were in fine overcome by numbers, and conſtrain'd to retire; a thing their Captain ſcorn'd to do, who, though alone and abandon'd by all, ſtill fought with the ſame courage, and vigour, when his reſiſtance, how brave ſoever, being too weak to ſtop the torrent of a victorious crowd, he was at laſt rather overwhelm'd than overcome, and by a multitude taken priſoner: with this reſemblance nevertheleſs betwixt his honour and diſgrace, that, as he had appear'd ſingle in the defenſe of the Town, ſo was he alſo alone in his impriſonment, the Enemy killing all that fled before them without humanity, or reſpect of perſons, excepting of his, who had ſo undauntedly ſtood alone in his defenſe, wherein his Vertue was his refuge. *D'Avila* attributes this Action to the *Sieur de Matelet*, whom he qualifies Governour of *Foix*, although Cardinal *Bentivoglio* in his deſcription of this Siege, *Mounſieur de Thou*, and *D'Aubigné* make no mention of any ſuch man. Yet it is true that *Matelet* had ſo great a ſhare in the buſineſs, as ought not to be paſs'd over without its due report of honour; for the King having commanded him with an hundred Gentlemen of his Court to cut his way through the Enemies Army during the heat of the Aſſault, and to put himſelf into the Town, it was no fault of his that his Majeſty fail'd of his deſire: he did what was by valour to be done, though he was not ſo fortunate as to perform his Majeſties command; neither was the Enemies Army ſo thin, but that they had men enough to maintain the Aſſault, and at the ſame time to intercept ſuch petty ſuccours as thoſe: ſo that thoſe hundred Gentlemen were almoſt all cut to pieces with very little reſiſtance; a panick fear having made them blind to their own ſafety, and honour, excepting *Matelet*, who bravely fighting as fortunately eſcap'd.

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Thus was *Calice* loſt, the King himſelf in a manner looking

Anno 1596. on; after which *Guines* and *Ham* were carried without reſiſtance: ſucceſſes with which *Rhoſne* being yet unſatisfied, he had moreover the confidence to undertake the Siege of *Ardres*, which the ſame day that *la Fere* was ſurrendred to the King, ſurrendred alſo to him; as if he had been in fee with Fortune, and that ſhe had been oblig'd to give him all the reſpite was neceſſary for the execution of his Deſigns: for in effect, the ſame day that concluded the Cardinals Conqueſts, had in all probability determin'd of his honour, and put a ruinous period to all his Affairs, had his ſucceſſes gone on with never ſo little a ſlower pace.

Anno 1597. The King in the whole courſe of his life, was never perhaps more aſtoniſh'd, and afflicted, than at theſe diſgraces; and his great ſpirit was prone enough to prompt him on to an immediate revenge, by obſtinately ſettling himſelf to the recovery of the Places he had lately loſt, ſince the Cardinal's ſudden retreat had put him out of all poſſibility of fighting: but his prudence laying before him the difficulty of the enterprize, he rather choſe to give his Army ſome refreſhment, which had been tir'd out with the tedious Siege of *la Fere*, than anew to expoſe them to other dangers, and ſuch as were like enough to be the ruine of them all. Wherefore having diſtributed them into the moſt commodious quarters upon the Frontier, to be in readineſs againſt the next fair ſeaſon, he left the *Mareſchal de Biron* to command them, with order upon the firſt opportunity, to enter into the Enemies Country, and to make them feel his Majeſties Arms, whilſt himſelf retir'd to *Paris*, to conſult with his Subjects, about the means he was to purſue in the vindication of his own, and the Nations honour, for the Attempts the Enemy had made upon his Crown, and Kingdom.

The King being come to *Paris*, and either not expecting, or not finding that readineſs, or ability he expected in his own people; who having been harraſs'd, and impoveriſh'd with paſt miſchiefs, were now very unfit to ſupply him with mony, proportionable to the greatneſs of his deſigns: he ſaw he muſt of neneceſſity have recourſe to Strangers, his ancient Confederates, and Allies: to which purpoſe he diſpatch'd away Ambaſſadors to *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, to the States of *Holland*, and to ſome Princes of *Germany*; during which Negotiations, the Pope, who from the month of *September*, 1595. had given the King Abſolution in the perſons of *Meſſieurs du Perron*, and *d'Oſſat*, his Majeſties Agents at *Rome*, deſiring now to ſee an effectual re-eſtabliſhment of the Catholick Religion in *France*, and a reformation of ſuch abuſes as were crept into the Church, during the

the diſorders of the Kingdom, reſolv'd upon ſending a Legat at this time, to appoint what was neceſſary to be done for his entire ſatisfaction. Neither was this the only, though the principal end of this diſpatch, this good, and holy Pope having further a deſign to ſet on foot a Treaty of Accommodation betwixt the two Crowns; conceiving he did not fully diſcharge the Duty of the Common Father of Chriſtians, if, after having given repoſe to the King's Conſcience, he did not alſo procure a good, and laſting Peace, betwixt two the greateſt Princes of the Holy Church. *Anno* 1597. The Pope ſends his Legat into *France*.

To this good end Cardinal *de Medicis* the Pope's Legat fail'd not, according to his Inſtructions, ſo ſoon as he arriv'd in *France*, to offer ſome propoſitions of Reconciliation betwixt the two Crowns; which, though well receiv'd by the King, yet did they not hinder him from making his preparations for a ſmart, and vindictive War: he had (as has been ſaid) renew'd his Alliances with his Confederates, and had further call'd an Aſſembly of ſeveral the moſt intelligent perſons of his Kingdom, by their joynt advice to find out the moſt eaſie, and indifferent ways of raiſing mony upon his people for the proſecution of the War; which Aſſembly, by reaſon of the Plague which was that year exceeding riſe in *Paris*, being not conveniently there to be Aſſembled, his Majeſty transferr'd it to *Roan*, where they opened their Seſſion in *October*, and continued it to the beginning of the enſuing year. The Duke of *Eſpernon* had the honour to attend his Majeſty in this Voyage, and was alſo made privy to whatſoever paſs'd in the Aſſembly, where many grave directions were propos'd for the Reformation of ſeveral Abuſes that were practis'd in all parts of the Kingdom; but very little ſatisfaction to the King concerning mony, which was the main deſign in calling that Aſſembly, rather than reformation of abuſes: which notwithſtanding his Majeſty wounded with the grief of his loſſes, what by husbanding his Revenue, what by leſſening his Expenſe, by augmentations upon his Farms, and other extraordinary ways made ſhift to get up ſuch a ſtock, as was enough to ſet a powerful Army on foot, and ſuch a one as ſhould be ſufficient to repair all his former diſgraces. An Aſſembly at *Roan*.

After the diſſolution of this Aſſembly, his Majeſty retiring himſelf for ſome indiſpoſition into the Air of the Country, the Duke of *Eſpernon* conceiv'd he could not take a fitter opportunity than this, to ask leave to go look after his own particular Affairs, and to ſettle his Governments in a poſture of Security, and Obedience; a requeſt no ſooner made to the King, but that he gave his free conſent, diſmiſſing the Duke with all demonſtration of reſpect

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respect and kindness; and then it was that his Patent was seal'd for the Government of *Limousin*, instead of *Provence*, and dated at *Folembray*, a house of Pleasure, to which his Majesty had retir'd himself to provide for his health at greater liberty and ease. With this new Commission the Duke then departed from Court towards *Angoulesme*, where his Children were bred, which he had scarce seen since their Birth, especially the youngest whom he had never seen; a motive of it self sufficient for a longer Journey: but neither the repose the Duke intended to take, nor the vacation his Majesty intended to give, were of any long continuance; for he was scarce arriv'd at *Angoulesme*, when he receiv'd a Dispatch under the Kings own hand (his Majesty not at all thinking it below his Greatness, that his Nobility should receive the Honour of his Commands immediately from himself) wherein he acquainted him with the surprizal of *Amiens*, as also of his resolution suddenly to sit down before it, for the recovery of so important a place: at the same time conjuring him to make all possible haste to come, and serve him in so glorious an occasion.

I shall not here enlarge my self in a relation of this surprize, it being an action that made so much noise at that time, and that gave so great a reputation to * *Hernando-Telles Portocarrero*, who was the contriver and executor of it, that there is scarce any Historian of our own, or any other Nation, who has not particularly insisted upon this, above any other enterprize of the like nature; wherein they all agree that it was a design the best contriv'd, the bravelieſt carried on, and the most fortunately perform'd of any whatever of that kind.

*He is call'd by *Jean de Serres*, *Hernand Teillo*.

The nearness of this place to *Paris*, it being but three little days journey from thence, having alarm'd the *Parisians* to such a degree, that they thought the *Spaniard* already at their Gates, begat such clamours, and publick complaints amongst the people, that every one made very bold with the Royal Name, accusing the King, as if he had held intelligence with the Enemy, and as if he alone were the Author of this mischance: so that as if his Majesty had not been sufficiently afflicted with the loss of this City (which more concern'd him, than them all) he must also endure the unjust reproaches of his Subjects; the little respite he had taken for the recovery of his health, passing, in minds prepossess'd with fear, for supineness, and sloth; and his love to the Dutchess of *Beaufort* giving every one occasion to censure, and condemn his Passions, by which, they said, he lay buried in negligence, and pleasure, whilst the Enemy was in action, taking, and surprizing his best Towns, and Cities.

It

It was therefore neceſſary for the King without further delay to betake himſelf again to Arms, and that (equally ſtirr'd up by his own immediate danger, and the clamours of his people) he ſhould abandon the care of his health, to go expoſe his life to the hazards of War and Sickneſs. It was upon the tenth day of *March*, that *Amiens* had been ſurpriz'd, upon notice whereof, his Majeſty without loſs of time, had writ to the *Mareſchal de Biron*, (who (as has been ſaid) he had left upon the Frontier) that he ſhould with all expedition, gather the Army together, and to ſit down before *Amiens* to begin the Siege. A command that could not have been ſent to a more diligent, a braver, or more able Souldier; and one, who ſo well knew how to manage ſuch Engines, and proviſions of War, as the King (who himſelf was advanc'd as far as *Corbie*) had taken care to ſend him; that his Majeſty at his arrival before the place found nothing wanting, or undone, he could at a diſtance have deſir'd; or have order'd himſelf, had he been there in perſon. A diligence his Majeſty did highly, and publickly commend, giving the *Mareſchal* a very noble Character for the progreſs he had made in his works, and approaches, which could not have been perform'd by any with greater care, courage, and conduct, according to all the Rules and Diſcipline of War. Neither is it to be denied, but that *Biron* ſerv'd the King as bravely, as is to be imagin'd upon this occaſion: wherein he alſo knew well enough, if not too well, his own merit; his brave Service in this, and other occaſions having rais'd him to that degree of preſumption, and inſolence, that he afterwards, by his ſaucy reproaches to the King his Maſter, depriv'd himſelf of thoſe Honours, and Rewards, his Valour might otherwiſe, with great juſtice have expected; and his vanity converting thoſe actions, which modeſtly carried would have been his immortal glory, into the inſtruments of his diſgrace, and ruine: of which in its due place I ſhall give a more full accompt, as alſo of every circumſtance that helpt to precipitate him into thoſe misfortunes whereinto he afterwards fell: and that becauſe his Intereſts went, for many years hand in hand, with thoſe of the Duke of *Eſpernon*, they two being link'd together in an extraordinary ſtrict League of Affection, and Friendſhip.

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The King during his abode at *Corbie*, having taken care to ſend ſuch numbers of men, as the *Mareſchal de Biron* ſtood in need of for carrying on the Siege, return'd back to *Paris*, there to take order about Artillery for the Leaguer, and mony for the ſupport of his Army; when all things being ready in *June*, his Majeſty accompanied with the Duke of *Montpenſier*, the *Count de Soiſſons*, the

Anno 1597. the Conſtable *de Montmorency*, the Duke of *Mayenne*, the Prince of *Joinville*, and many other Lords of great quality, advanc'd himſelf to the Siege. Cardinal *Bentivoglio*, who is very exact in the deſcription of this Leaguer, has, amongſt the reſt, nam'd the Duke of *Eſpernon* for one of thoſe who attended his Majeſty in this expedition: a miſtake I do not ſo much wonder at in him, who of neceſſity muſt take many things upon truſt, as I do at *d'Avila*, who ſays the ſame thing, and yet pretends to have been preſent, and wounded at this Siege; when it is moſt certain the Duke was not there. I would not willingly deprive him of any honour is his due; neither would I attribute to him contrary to the known truth, things wherein he had no ſhare: but the truth is, the Duke was ſo long in making his preparation, and would come in ſo handſome an equipage to the Army, that it was two days after the ſurrender of the place, before he came up to the King: perhaps one of the worſt occurrences, and that did him the greateſt prejudice of any that befel him in his whole life; it being certain, that if, in this expedition, he had by greater diligence expreſs'd to his Majeſty the real Paſſion he had for his Service, he had ſo blotted out of his memory, all former jealouſies, and diſcontents, that no ill office could ever after have done him harm: whereas his Enemies took now occaſion to poſſeſs the King, that he had either ſtaid to expect the iſſue of this Siege, to make his own uſe of ſuch diſorders in the State, as muſt neceſſarily attend any ill ſucceſs; or that (at the beſt) he had a mind the Royal Affairs ſhould fall into the laſt neceſſity, by that means to put a greater value upon his own Service: So that although he arriv'd very ſeaſonably for the recruit of the Royal Army, very much tir'd, and worn out with the length of the Siege, and that he brought along with him 300. Horſe, an hundred and fifty Harquebuſiers on horſeback, and four Regiments of Foot, as well equipt as men could be: yet was not his reception ſuch, as he had good reaſon to expect, his zeal to the Service having made him loſe the honour of the Service it ſelf. It was nevertheleſs but two days after the King's entry into *Amiens*, that the Duke came up to the Army; by which it appears he did not in his Government lie expecting the event of the Siege, having been a month upon his March; neither did he long lie idle after he was come, for ambitious by ſome notable Action to make amends for his former default, he meditated a ſurprize upon *Arras*; an enterprize that having been communicated to *Mareſchal Biron*, the manner of it was ſoon concluded on betwixt them, and as ſoon conſented to by the King, who by his own preſence would favour the ſucceſs.

The Duke of *Eſpernon* comes to the King at *Amiens*.

A ſurprize deſign'd upon *Arras*.

His

His Majeſty after the ſurrender of *Amiens* ſtaid no longer there than was requiſite for the ceremony of his entry, but put himſelf immediately in purſuit of the Enemy; to let them ſee, that notwithſtanding he had been ſo drain'd of men, he was yet ſtrong enough to remove the Scene of War to their own doors; when, being advanc'd with his Army as far as *Arras*, the Duke of *Eſpernon* took thoſe Forces he had brought, and advanc'd to give a Scalado to a Fort, that was a little ſeparated from the main wall of the City; which he aſſaulted with ſuch vigour and bravery in his own perſon, that his men encourag'd by his example ſoon made themſelves maſters of the place. A ſucceſs that gave the Inhabitants, and Garriſon of *Arras* ſo great an Alarm, that they all ran to that ſide to beat the Duke back, and to ſecure that part of their Walls; where betwixt them the conflict grew ſo hot, that the *Mareſchal de Biron*, who was at the ſame time to Petarre one of the Gates of the City, had all leiſure to perform it, without any danger from the Curtain. And accordingly his firſt Petard play'd, and to ſo good effect, that it laid all flat, which ſhut up the Raveline: The ſecond beat down the Draw-Bridge, and carried away the bottom of the Portcullice it ſelf, though by the Petard's being fixt too low, the perpendicular Bars remain'd yet long enough to defend the paſſage, when the third Petard being brought up (which doubtleſs had it play'd, had put an end to the Diſpute) and the Engineer juſt ready to give fire, he was from the top of the Gate taken upon the head with a ſtone; by which blow Man and Engine were both beaten headlong into the Ditch: an accident by which they were put to look out for another, but in vain. there being never another to be found. In the mean time the Duke of *Eſpernon*, who was ſtill fighting with the Enemy, had no little to do to make head againſt the Forces of ſo great, and populous a City; which nevertheleſs he bravely did until the *Mareſchal de Biron* ſending him word of his misfortune, deſir'd him to retire, as himſelf was conſtrain'd to do for want of a fourth Petard.

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Aubigné is the man, of all our Hiſtorians that makes mention of this Enterprize, where he adds one thing that is very remarkable, and very true, and that is, that the Mareſchal enrag'd to the laſt degree, at the miſcarriage of ſo brave a deſign, went up and down curſing, and ſwearing, and railing at the King before all the Army, and almoſt to his own face, that he had made him fail in the conqueſt of ſo important a place for want of a Petard, accuſing him of Avarice, where his Honour and Safety were concern'd; whilſt he was prodigiouſly Profuſe in the entertainment

Aubigné.

Anno 1597. of his Mistrisses, and in the procurements of his own desires: Language, that, how indiscreetly soever spoken, was maliciously enough soon convey'd to the King's ear, and which I have heard the Duke say, perhaps sowed the first seeds of hatred in his Majesties heart against him: Neither did the Duke fail, like a true friend, to conjure him into a better government of his passion, lest his wild tongue might at some time or other, be the instrument of his own ruine; although whatever power he might have with him in other things, (as with a man that still mindful of the Duke's past obligations, when his favour had given him many opportunities to express his affection to him, was much at his devotion) yet could he never so govern the unbridled fierceness of his nature, but that he would break often out into extravagancies of that kind.

Anno 1598. As the surprizal of *Amiens* had suspended all propositions of Peace, that had before been preferr'd by the Pope's Legat, so did the retaking of it (almost of course) set them again on foot; for the *Spaniard* seeing he had not been able to keep a place of that importance when he had it in his hands, and apprehending by that, the King's Power (which had been sufficiently manifested at this Siege) would now extend it self into their own Territories, to the danger of their strongest, and best Towns, of themselves renew'd the interrupted Treaty of Peace; in order whereunto, the Deputies of both Crowns being met at *Vervins*, it was there, to their common satisfaction happily concluded.

That which I observe to be most remarkable in this Peace, is, that the King, what necessity soever there was upon him of regulating the disorders of his own Kingdom, which were many (a thing never to be well done in the confusions of War) would notwithstanding never consent his Deputies should meet to Treat, till first the King of *Spain* had given him assurance, that all the places had been taken from him in this last War should be restor'd: His Majesty choosing rather to expose his Person, and Kingdom to the uncertain event of another War, than that his Crown should suffer the least prejudice by a Treaty of Peace; and although he had hitherto been the loser, yet did his courage make him hope so well of his Fortune, as to believe he should in the end bring her over to his own side. So brisk an Article as this at first dash, and before the King would proceed to any further Treaty, it is to be suppos'd would startle the *Spanish* Gravity, and must reasonably meet with great difficulty, as it did in the Councils of War, and Privy Council of *Spain*, it being evident that, in this demand, the King would impose upon them who were the

the Conquerors the ſame conditions he ſhould have done, had they been already overcome, which made it ſuffer a long Debate, though at laſt it was condeſcended to; and that being granted, no other difficulties were likely to ariſe: ſo that this happy Peace was Concluded, and Sign'd by the Commiſſioners on both ſides, the ſecond of *May* 1598. By the Articles of this Treaty the King was to reſtore the County of *Charolois*, to the King of *Spain*, to be by him held of the Crown of *France*; who in exchange reſtor'd the Towns of *Calice*, *Ardres*, *Monthulin*, *Dourlens*, *la Capelle*, and *le Catelet* in *Picardy*, and *Blavet* in *Britanny*: which Articles were Ratifi'd, and Sign'd by his Majeſty the eleventh of *June*; who in gayety of humour, at ſo happy a concluſion, told the Duke of *Eſpernon*, *That with one daſh of his Pen he had done greater things, than he could of a long time have perform'd with the beſt Swords of his Kingdom.*

Anno 1598.

The peace concluded at *Vervins*.

This Peace was no ſooner concluded, but that the Court put on a Face far different from that wherewith it had appear'd when ſhaded, and overcaſt, with the tumult and trouble of War and Buſineſs: nothing now was to be ſeen, but State, and Luſtre; nor was any thing now thought on, but Feaſting, and Mirth, which alſo was much added to, by the celebration of ſeveral Marriages, which were at this time conſummate betwixt ſome perſons of the greateſt quality of the Kingdom: For *Katharine* the King's only Siſter was Married to the Duke of *Bar*, Son to the Duke of *Lorain*; and *Henry* of *Bourbon* Duke of *Montpenſier* Married *Katharine de Joyeuſe*, with many other Marriages betwixt Perſons of great Quality, that were alſo ſolemniz'd at the ſame time: but it not being my deſign to meddle with thoſe wherein the Duke of *Eſpernon* was not immediately concern'd, I ſhall only inſiſt upon that of the Duke of *Montpenſier* who contracting himſelf to ſo near a Relation of the Duke's, that he, in a manner ſupply'd the place of a Father to her, it will be neceſſary I ſhould ſay ſomething of the reaſons, and concluſion of this particular Match.

The Marriage of the Duke of *Montpenſier* with *Katharine de Joyeuſe*, now Dutcheſs of *Guiſe*, and Niece to the Duke of *Eſpernon*.

The King ſince the Duke's return from *Provence*, had never exceeded to him the favour of meer juſtice; he had, it is true, left him free in the enjoyment of his Offices, his Eſtate, and Degree, without doing him any the leaſt injury in any thing that was his juſt, and immediate right: But as to the reſt, his Majeſty not being able to forget his foremention'd diſcontents againſt him, he thought he did him a ſignal favour, in that he forbore to do him any publick diſgrace. In this condition, the Duke, who ſaw himſelf ſeated at Court in a ſtation far inferiour to that wherein

Anno 1598.

he had formerly been, ſuffer'd not a little in his own boſom from the King's coldneſs, and indifferency to him: yet concealing his diſcontent with the true reſpect he ought to pay his Prince, and Maſter, he avoided, at leaſt, all occaſions (the only refuge of a ſuſpected Miniſter) that might any way bring him into a greater diſgrace: Yet even in this condition his fortune would not forſake him, who, when all other means ſeem'd to be loſt, that could probably reſtore him to any degree of his former proſperity, ſprung him a new tide to his ſtranded greatneſs, and ſuch an one, as not only lifted him off thoſe ſands wherein he was like to ſink, and periſh; but rais'd him again to ſuch a reputation, as was no little ſupport to his declining name, and power.

Katharine de Joyeuſe (whom I have already nam'd) was only Daughter and Heir to the *Count de Bouchage*, and *Katharine de Nogaret*, and *de la Valette*, the Duke of *Eſpernon*'s Siſter; a young Lady, that beſides the advantages of her Birth, and Beauty, was alſo Miſtriſs of very great poſſeſſions, having to her paternal Eſtate added that of the great Favourite the Duke of *Joyeuſe*, as ſhe alſo was in expectation of that of the Cardinal *de Joyeuſe* her Uncle; which reckon'd altogether muſt needs make up ſo vaſt an eſtate, as muſt without diſpute, entitle her the greateſt Fortune of *France*. The Duke of *Montpenſier* likewiſe, as born a Prince of the Blood, was alſo in high conſideration, wherein the advantage of his Fortune concurr'd with the eminency of his Birth, he having alone a greater Revenue, than all the other Princes of the Blood: to which his Valour, Liberality, and Courteſie, with other good qualities he was Maſter of, had rais'd him to a very great eſteem with the King, and made him no leſs a Favourite to the People: ſo that he was not only the Aim and Ambition of the beſt Matches of *France*; but ſtood alſo in the proſpect of ſome Forein Princes: Amongſt theſe the Duke of *Lorain* proceeded ſo far, as to offer him his Daughter (who was afterwards Married to the Duke of *Cleve*'s) with eight hundred thouſand Crowns to her Dowry: a propoſition that, being debated in the Duke of *Montpenſier*'s Council, was very much lik'd of by ſome of his Servants, who adviſ'd him to prefer this Match to the other Inheretrix of the Houſe of *Joyeuſe*; the fortune of the laſt, being part of it yet depending; whereas the offers of the Duke of *Lorain* being preſent, and effectual, would very much advance his Affairs, and eſtabliſh his greatneſs at great liberty and eaſe. I have been inform'd, and that by a perſon of Quality, who was conſulted about this buſineſs, that one main reaſon which induc'd this Prince to prefer *Madamoiſelle de Joyeuſe* before the other, was the conſideration of the

the Duke of *Eſpernon*, becauſe in marrying her, he conceiv'd he ſhould at the ſame time eſpouſe her Uncles Intereſts; from whoſe Authority he promis'd to himſelf greater aſſiſtance, and ſupport, than from any other Peer of the Kingdom. A conſideration that, prevailing above all other with the Duke of *Montpenſier*, diſpos'd him determinately to reſolve upon this Match, to which, by a particular liking, he was before enclin'd. Wherefore having without further deliberation caus'd it, by ſome Friends of his, to be propos'd to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, the motion was by him, who took it for a great honour, receiv'd with all imaginable reſpect, and as readily conſented to; by which the Duke being encourag'd, proceeded further to move it to the King himſelf; not without ſome apprehenſion nevertheleſs, that the averſion his Majeſty daily diſcover'd to the Duke might raiſe ſome difficulties at the firſt overture of his deſign, though his fear prov'd vain: for his Majeſty ſeeing it would be a Match of conſiderable advantage to his Kinſman, and in his heart acknowledging the Duke of *Eſpernon* to be a Subject of great merit, though, for ſome private diſcontents, not very acceptable to himſelf, was not unwilling to oblige both the one, and the other, by giving his free conſent. *Anno* 1598.

By this Marriage the Duke of *Eſpernon*'s Affairs were not a little improv'd, and if, on the one ſide, he (by the conſideration of his deſert) had preferr'd his Niece before the Daughter of a Sovereign Prince; ſhe on the other ſide, by a very good return was acquit of that obligation, by introducing her Uncle into the relation and ſupport of a great Prince of the Blood, by whoſe means he was ſoon after honour'd with a very near alliance to the Royal Family.

The Feaſtings, and other entertainments of the Court, did not ſo wholly take up the King, that his Majeſty was not nevertheleſs very intent upon his Affairs, he had a mind to ſee an end of the Treaty with *Savoy*, which was not yet diſpatch'd, though it had been compriz'd in the Peace concluded betwixt the two Crowns at *Vervins*: The Duke of *Savoy* had deſir'd ſome reſpite to conſider before he would Seal; which having been granted to him, and he not being able to perſwade himſelf to the reſtitution of thoſe places he had, contrary to the publick Faith, ſurpriz'd during the diſorders of the State, as by the Articles of the Treaty he had been oblig'd to do: he had no mind, to put a thing to Arbitration he was certain that way never to obtain, and that he was likewiſe reſolv'd never to part withal. The Pope whom himſelf had nam'd Arbiter of all differences betwixt the *Anno* 1599.

King

Anno 1599. King, and him, was so far disoblig'd by the diffidence he had manifested of his equal judgment (which the Duke had cunningly publish'd to that end) that his Holiness had excus'd himself from intermedling any more betwixt them; a thing that having fall'n out according to the Duke of *Savoy*'s hearts desire, he resolv'd now upon a Journey into *France*, to try if by his submissions to the King, his dexterity with his Ministers, or his liberalities in his Court, he could not procure, or purchase that, to which he could with no shew of equity otherwise pretend: but all his policy prov'd vain, and his hopes were deluded, as they were like to be in a Court where the King himself was alone the greatest, and wisest part of the Council; he must first corrupt him, or at least very much deceive him, before he could perswade him to consent to any thing prejudicial to his Crown, and Honour. The Duke of *Savoy* then, being able to effect nothing by artifice, resolv'd at last upon returning into his own Dukedom: yet, that his Journey might not be altogether without fruit, he first caus'd the *Mareschal de Biron* to be dealt withal, a man whom he conceiv'd his many discontents had laid open to his temptation; and him he first tasted by *Lasin*, the same who had made himself a Mediator betwixt the Duke of *Espernon* and *l'Esdiguieres* in *Provence*, and who therein had abus'd them both. This fellow of a turbulent unquiet Spirit, and one of those who had rather be doing mischief, than not to be doing at all, was of late wrigled into the Duke of *Savoy*'s Favour, and had tasted of his bounty; by which he was qualified to offer from the Duke one of his Daughters to the *Mareschal de Biron* in Marriage, and with her several Seigniories to be held in Sovereignty, with the assistance of the Forces both of *Spain*, and *Savoy*, to maintain him in *Burgundy*: A Province contiguous to their own Territories. Allurements so fitted to *Birons* ambitious and mutinous nature, that he lent a willing ear to those dangerous propositions, and, as some have believ'd, engag'd himself without much Ceremony in the Treason, which prov'd at last his dishonour and ruine.

The Duke of *Savoy* begins to practice with the *Mareschal de Biron*.

This practice with *Biron* was the only thing the Duke of *Savoy*, with all his policy, effected in *France*: which nevertheless he thought to be of such moment, as made him afterwards refuse to give the King that satisfaction he had promis'd, and so to build upon the confidence of *Biron*'s revolt, that having, before his departure from *Paris*, engag'd either to surrender to his Majesty the Marquisate of *Saluzzo*, or *la Bresse*, with other Dominions at his own choice in lieu thereof, and within three months time to perform it; he had now no more regard to his word: neither would do

do the one nor the other, which oblig'd the King to ſeek that ſatisfaction by force of Arms, he could by no other means obtain, as he evidently ſaw by the delays and equivocations of this ſubtle Prince. *Anno* 1599.

His Majeſty had before he reſolv'd upon this expedition been ſufficiently enform'd of what means had been us'd to corrupt the *Mareſchal de Biron*: but whether it were that he really believ'd the *Mareſchal* had been deaf to all ſuch propoſitions; or that by the teſtimony of an entire confidence in his Loyalty this generous Prince would oblige a Subject to continue firm in his duty, who by his brave Service had deſerv'd ſo well of the Crown, and to look back into his error, before he was gone too far; he gave him the Command of an Army againſt the Duke of *Savoy* himſelf, with orders to enter by the way of his own Government of *Burgundy* into *Breſs*; in which employment *Biron* ſo well conceal'd his practice, and ſo ſmartly purſu'd the War, that no action of his confeſs'd, the leaſt intelligence with the Enemy. *L'Eſdiguieres* alſo, who at the ſame time enter'd by the way of *Dauphiné* into *Savoy*, by his Valour, and conduct made ſo conſiderable advances into that Dutchy, that betwixt them in few days all the Territories the *Savoyard* poſſeſs'd on this ſide the *Alpes*, were over-run by the Royal Arms, except *Montmelian*, which was not but by Siege to be reduc'd.

It was in this occaſion of *Montmelian* that the Duke of *Eſpernon* did the King a very ſignal ſervice: A place reputed ſo ſtrong, and that had been ſo fortified, and furniſh'd, with all proviſions of War by the Duke of *Savoy*, that he was nothing ſtartled at his other loſſes, as ſuppoſing this City to be an inexpugnable Bulwark againſt whatever could be attempted againſt him. A confidence wherein he found himſelf very much miſtaken; for the Duke of *Eſpernon* having the command of one quarter at this Siege, as *Biron* and *L'Eſdiguieres* had of the other two, whilſt they were on all hands buſie in their approaches, found opportunity ſometimes to confer with the *Count de Brandis* Governour of the place, interviews, that being frequent, and allow'd by the King, wrought at laſt ſo good an effect, that the Governour promis'd to ſurrender the City to the King, if within a month the Duke of *Savoy* did not raiſe the Siege. A Capitulation of that dangerous importance to the Duke that he labour'd by all poſſible ways, during the limited term to perſwade the Governour into a better reſolution, and had ſo wrought upon him, what by entreaty, promiſes, and threats, that he was grown infinitely wavering, and uncertain what to do; which notwithſtanding the

Duke

Anno 1599. Duke of *Espernon* who had drawn the first plot of this great design, happily brought it to perfection in the end; he absolutely confirm'd by his perswasion the anxious Count in the terms of his first Treaty, and thereupon receiv'd new Hostages from him: by which dexterity he rendred himself the principal, and most effectual instrument of his Majesties victories in that Country, as also of the Peace which immediately follow'd the Surrender of this important City.

Whilst the King's Designs succeeded at this fortunate rate in this little Dukedom, the Princes of *Italy* apprehending, that after the ruine of the Duke of *Savoy*, the sweetness, and facility of that Conquest would tempt the King to advance further into the Country to seek new Victories, were instant with the Pope to interpose his Authority with the King, to dispose his Majesty to accept of satisfaction from the Duke of *Savoy* for what had past, that an Accommodation might ensue: to which his Holiness being enclin'd, both by his own interests (which could by no means admit of a War in Italy) and by the importunity of the Princes of the Country, he dispatch'd away Cardinal *Aldobrandino* his own Nephew to the King, to be in his name the Mediator of this Peace, as the Cardinal *de Medicis* had been before of that which had been concluded with *Spain*.

The Cardinal *Aldobrandino* sent by the Pope into *France*.

Never Prince came from that Country in a prouder Equipage, nor with a more honourable train, than did this Cardinal; a Magnificence to which his Majesty being willing to hold proportion, both in regard to his own greatness, as also to express thereby a greater respect to the Pope (to whom he was highly oblig'd) in the person of a Kinsman so near, and dear unto him, he made choice of the Duke of *Espernon*, amongst all the other Grandees of his Court, to be the man should receive him; and that because he both knew him to be a person very acceptable to the Holy Sea, as also one who knew as well how to behave himself for his Masters honour, as any whoever, that was about his person. Neither did the Duke deceive his Majesty in his choice; he receiv'd the Cardinal at the head of the Army, which before had been drawn up into Battalia for that purpose, accompanied with the most sprightly and gay Nobility, and Gentry of the Court, conducting him with infinite demonstrations of Honour, and Respect through the several divisions, until he brought him into the presence of the King himself; and though I must tell you by the way, that the Duke's imperious, and haughty humour was naturally very averse to the humility of Complement, and the submission of excessive Civilities; yet when such an occasion as this oblig'd him

to

to it; no man of his time could perform ſuch a Ceremony with a better grace: and doubtleſs, if at ordinary times he would have been more liberal of his courteſie, and have added that to thoſe other excellent qualities, which made him admir'd by all, he might have acquir'd thereby what Friends and Servants he had pleas'd. *Anno* 1589.

The Peace with *Savoy* concluded.

Soon after the Legat's arrival the Peace of *Savoy* was concluded, wherein a Prince, whoſe intereſt it was to recover his own Dominions almoſt entirely over-run by the King's Victorious Arms, was now to redeem his own with what he had ſurreptitiouſly, and contrary to the publick Faith ſnatch'd from the King, during the diſorders of his Kingdom, and which his Majeſty was now alſo ready to force from him, as he had already done the greateſt part of his own hereditary Territories in purſuit of that Quarrel: So that the Duke of *Savoy* bought his Peace at a cheap rate through the Pope's timely mediation, and all things were accommodated that were in diſpute betwixt the King, and him: although his Majeſty, who very well knew what little truſt was to be repos'd in the Faith of this Prince (a man that would never keep his word when it was for his advantage to break it) would by no means be perſwaded to withdraw his Army out of his Dukedom, till firſt the Articles of the Treaty were perform'd. But it neither ſuiting with decency, nor the dignity of his Majeſties Royal Perſon himſelf, to attend the execution of a thing already concluded, he return'd into *France*, leaving the command of his Army to the *Count de Soiſſons*, offering at the ſame time the command of Lieutenant General to the Duke of *Eſpernon* who excus'd himſelf; having taken up a reſolution never to ſerve under leſs than the Perſon of a King; as hitherto he had never done, nor ever after did in the whole courſe of his life. He therefore went back with the King, whom he attended as far as *Grenoble*; from whence when his Majeſty departed for *Lyons* to conſummate his Marriage, he at the ſame time took his leave to return again into his Governments of *Xaintonge* and *Angoumois*.

The Duke of *Eſpernon* leaves the Court to go into *Angoumois*, and goes into *Guienne*.

The Duke's journey into that Country gave him opportunity to paſs over into *Gaſcony* to view the Progreſs of his Building there, of which he had laid the foundation at *Cadillac* in the year 1598. For the King, after he had concluded the Peace with *Spain*, from that time forwards, not only wholly bent his own thoughts to the Embelliſhment of his Kingdom (in which his principal deſign was firſt to Build his Houſes, and to Beautifie *Paris* with many great and noble Structures; for at this time the Buildings of *Anno* 1600.

Anno 1600. the *Louvre*, *Fountain-bleau*, and other Royal Palaces were begun; as also the designs of the *Pont-neuf*, the Place Royal, with other proud and stately Ædifices were continued) but would likewise that other men should fall in love with the same humour; and whether it were that his Majesty had a mind his greatest Subjects should by his example employ themselves in the same designs, or that he intended (as some have suppos'd) insensibly to drein their purses by this chargeable employment; fearing perhaps that too great abundance of wealth might make them more apt to entertain thoughts, and practices, that might discompose the calm of Peace his Kingdom was now settled in: but so it was, that for one or both these reasons, he engag'd the greatest part of his Nobility, whom he knew to be monied men, in vast designs of this kind: amongst whom his Majesty conceiving the Duke of *Espernon* to be one the most at his ease, he was so importunate with him, as to cause a plot for *Cadillac* to be design'd in his own Presence, order'd the charge of the whole to be cast up, and made one of his own Architects to undertake for an hundred thousand Crowns to begin, and perfect the work; upon which assurance the Duke (as has been said) in the year 1598 began the foundation; conceiving that such a summe, as that, he might without inconvenience spare to gratifie his Masters humour; though time afterwards gave him to understand how hard a thing it is to contain a man's self within a determinate charge, after he has once set his hand to so tempting a work as Building: this Pile, before it was finish'd, having cost him above two millions of Livres. 'Tis very true, (and which seldom happens to undertakers of such vast designs) that with this infinite expense, he brought the greatest, and most stately pile of Building (the Royal Houses excepted) in *France*, very near to perfection, the whole body of the Building being perfected before his death, and nothing, save some few Ornaments left to finish; neither had he left those to his Successors, had not the disgrace of being withdrawn from his Government, which still afflicted him, diverted his thoughts from the sole care of that design.

A dispute betwixt the the Duke; and the *Mareschal d' Ornano.*

The Duke (as has been said) being come into *Guienne* to take a view of his Building, arriv'd at the City of *Bourdeaux* in the beginning of *August*, where he found the *Mareschal d' Ornano*, but newly there establish'd Lieutenant for the King by the decease of the *Mareschal de Matignon*, who died of an Apoplexy, and where their old Animosities, though great, were nevertheless on both sides so well dissembled, as not to hinder a mutual Civility betwixt them, no more than these civilities could hinder past jealousies

louſies from breaking out upon the firſt occaſion into a new and open rupture. This *Mareſchal* though an Alien born, had yet by his Valour and Fidelity acquir'd ſo great a reputation in *France*, as in the Reign of *Henry* the III. to be a great confident to that Prince; to whom the Duke of *Eſpernon* having been a principal Favourite, it is nothing ſtrange, that a man of inferiour credit ſhould envy another in a higher degree of Favour: neither if the *Mareſchal* were prepoſſeſs'd with this antiquated jealouſie, was the Duke on his part inſenſible of the recent traverſes he had in *Provence* receiv'd from him; the greateſt part of the diſgraces he had met with in that Country having been laid in his way by the oppoſition of *l'Eſdiguieres*, and him: all which put together, it may eaſily be imagin'd were likely to beget no very good blood between them. To this the *Mareſchal*, a man of an imperious, and haughty temper, and who only under a forc'd ſmoothneſs conceal'd a natural arrogance, could with no patience endure a Superiour; an humour that made him with great anxiety look upon the Honours, which at the Duke's arrival at *Burdeaux*, he receiv'd from the Parliament, with the other Orders of the City, and which were alſo continued to him by the Nobility at *Cadillac*, who from all parts came in to do him Honour: But if his impatience were great before, it was rais'd up to the height, when he knew the Duke (who well enform'd of his diſſatisfaction, to make it yet more) had invited all the Nobility, and Gentry of the Country to *Bordeaux* to a publick running at the Ring; a ſolemnity that being there to be kept where he was in Supreme Command, the Duke knew would much more nettle, and afflict him. *Anno* 1600.

It is very true, that the Duke might have forborn this Bravado to a man, whom he knew to be ſo tender of his Honour, as the *Mareſchal d' Ornano* was; and perhaps it was not well done to offer that to another, he himſelf would never have endur'd from any man living in a place where he had commanded in Chief: but having once engag'd in the buſineſs, his great ſpirit (whatever might ſucceed) would by no means give him leave to deſiſt, eſpecially when he knew the *Mareſchal* was reſolv'd by open force to oppoſe him. This was that, which made what was before only a private diſcontent, to break out into open quarrel, which grew ſo high that the *Mareſchal* addreſs'd himſelf to the Parliament; where, in the preſence of them all, he complain'd what a commotion the Duke went about to ſtir up amongſt the people, to the prejudice, as he pretended, of his Majeſties Affairs; acquainting them at the ſame time with his reſolution to

Anno 1600. make his Garriſon ſtand to their Arms, to play his Cannon, and in fine to do what in him lay, with all the power, and authority he had to break that appointment, and to drive the Duke from the City. This declaration from a man of his furious ſpirit, as it very much troubled the whole Aſſembly, ſo it gave the firſt Preſident *D' Affis* (one of the greateſt men that Society ever had ſince its firſt inſtitution, and a particular friend of the Duke's, having by him in his times of favour been rais'd to that dignity) occaſion to make uſe of his Eloquence in the beſt Arguments he could contrive to diſſwade the *Mareſchal* from that determination; but all in vain, he had already given out his orders, and ſummon'd the Gentry to come in to his aſſiſtance, though not a man, ſave only one call'd *Ruat*, would appear: a thing, which though perfectly true, appears almoſt incredible, that a Governour of ſo great Authority and Repute ſhould be able to procure no more than one ſingle man, to ſerve him againſt the Duke of *Eſpernon* in his own Government. Neither were the people better diſpos'd, than the Nobility and Gentry, to take Arms againſt the Duke; all men on the contrary, of any note, both within, and without the City, ſo manifeſtly appearing for him, that the Governour was forc'd to arm his Garriſon of *Corſes*, and to call his Company of *Gens-d'Armes* out of their Country Quarters into the Town, which were yet apparently too weak to execute the *Mareſchal*'s deſign. And this was in effect the main cauſe that hindred things from proceeding into a greater diſorder, the Duke, ſatisfied with the advantage every one plainly ſaw he had over his Enemy, being the more eaſily enclin'd to the Parliaments ſolicitations; who had ſent their ſecond Preſident *Neſmond* to him, to entreat he would not perſiſt in his firſt reſolution: at whoſe inſtance, and being loath to diſturb the Peace of his Country, as alſo to expoſe the great number of Gentlemen of Quality, who were about him againſt a Garriſon in his own particular quarrel, and having a greater inclination to decide it in his own perſon (when it might be done with leſs noiſe and tumult) with the *Mareſchal* man to man, he was content to let things reſt, till a fitter opportunity, and quietly departed the City to his own houſe.

In this Journey to *Cadillac* he was accompanied with Preſident *Neſmond*, a Gentleman of great merit, and his particular friend (for whom after the death of Preſident *D'Affis* he obtained the Dignity of firſt Preſident during the Regency of the Queen Mother) with many other Principal Members of that Parliament and City; whither he was no ſooner come, but that the Gentry of the Higher *Gaſcony*, at the report of this Quarrel, flock'd to him

him in ſo great a number, that ſcarce any occaſion could have hapned, wherein his intereſt in that Country could have been more manifeſtly ſeen. And here the Duke, environ'd with ſo many of his Friends, paſs'd his time in that jollity and mirth, and appear'd ſo little concern'd at any thing that had paſs'd betwixt the *Mareſchal d' Ornano* and him, as made every one certainly believe all had been abſolutely forgot: where, after having ſpent ſome days, and his company being retir'd to their own houſes, he himſelf alſo departed to go viſit his paternal eſtate, and from thence to *Tholouſe*. From hence it was, that whilſt every one thought him more intent upon his recreations, than mindful of his quarrel, he diſpatch'd away a Page of his call'd *Talanges*, who continued long after in his Service, to the *Mareſchal d' Ornano* with a Challenge, which I will here preſent my Reader word for word, as I tranſcrib'd it from the original draught under the Duke's own hand; wherein, though there be no ſtudied ſtile, there is nevertheleſs ſomething of a natural, and eaſie bluntneſs, that methinks ſounds better, than if it had been couch'd with greater care and art: the words are theſe. *Anno 1600.*

"*Sir, I make no doubt, but that, when the toy took you to commit* "*the action, and to make the buſtle you did againſt me at* Bordeaux, "*the laſt of* Auguſt, *you did then believe, knowing me for ſuch, as* "*the men of Honour of this Kingdom know me to be, that that Carri-* "*age of yours muſt needs give me a juſt deſire to talk with you, as indeed* "*I paſſionately do, and that after the manner commonly practis'd by* "*men of honour of my Profeſſion; which is the reaſon I have ſent this* "*Page on purpoſe to let you know, that I am going to Court, where I* "*ſhall wait four months in expectation, either by return of this Bearer, or* "*by what other honourable way you ſhall think fit, of an aſſignment from* "*you, of a day, and place where I may have the happineſs to embrace you* "*in your Shirt, with the Arms of a Cavalier, which are a Sword, and* "*Poignard: that I may there let you ſee it is not in the power of a Corſe* "*to affront a Gentleman of* France, *who remains yours to ſerve you as* "*much as by the courteſie you have ſhew'd to him he ſtands oblig'd.*

From *Tholouſe* the 7th. of *September*. Sign'd, I. Lewis de la Valette.

And in a Poſtſcript,

"*I do aſſure you upon my Faith, that no one living knows a ſyllable of* "*what I have written to you, not the Page himſelf; and I do believe you* "*to be ſo much a man of Honour, as to carry it with the ſame ſecreſie.*

The

Anno 1600. The Page arriv'd in a disguise at *Bordeaux*, where he found opportunity to deliver his Letter, and, without being discover'd by any, return'd to seek out his Master at *Paris*: but the *Mareschals* action had made such a noise, that (what secresie soever could be us'd) it was hardly possible, but it must come to the King's knowledge; and accordingly at the Duke's arrival at Court, his Majesty question'd him about it, when, although the Duke made a shew of being wholly unconcern'd, yet his Majesty having had intelligence, by other hands, than either by the Duke, or any of his people of the Challenge that had pass'd, positively commanded him to engage his word that things should proceed no further; promising him withal, that he should have all satisfaction he could himself in Honour desire: a thing the Duke in obedience to his Masters absolute pleasure could by no means refuse; though by some Libels that came out after in the *Mareschals* name, he was infinitely exasperated, and desir'd nothing more, than to come to the decision of Arms.

Anno 1601. The *Mareschal* was soon after summon'd to Court, where being arriv'd, and his Majesty having heard both parties concerning the occasion of their Quarrel, order'd for the Duke this satisfaction: which Writing I found in the same bundle with the Challenge.

That which was said by the *Mareschal d' Ornano* in the presence of the King, to the Duke of *Espernon*.

My Lord,

The King reconciles the Duke and the Mareschal.

"To explain my self, and to satisfie you concerning what lately pass'd at *Bordeaux*, I shall in the first place assure you, that I "never knew, or esteem'd you for other, than his Majesties most "faithful Subject, and Servant; that such I ever have, and ever "shall declare you to be. It is very true that a jealousie, some "flying rumours, which I too easily believ'd, possess'd me withall, made me do things, which having found those reports altogether false, I have since been very much afflicted at, I never "having any intention to offend you; and I could wish I had given a great deal I had never done them: I do therefore entreat "you to excuse me, and to believe me to be your Friend, and "one that has a desire to do you Service. As for the *Manifesto*, I "am so far from approving any such thing, that I never so much "as saw it, never caus'd it to be writ; and ever have, and do now "disown the man that did it.

This

This was that which was ſaid in the preſence of the King by the Duke of *Eſpernon* to the *Mareſchal d' Ornano*. *Anno 1601.*

Sir,

"Since the King is pleas'd to think what you have ſaid to be a "ſufficient ſatisfaction, that you entreat me to forget what is "paſt, and deſire my friendſhip, I reſt ſatisfied; and ſhall be, as "I have been heretofore your friend to ſerve you. At *St. Germans en Laye* the 25. of *March*, 1601.

Sign'd *Henry*, and below *Potier*.

It was not without many difficulties that matters were thus compos'd betwixt them, the Duke deſiring ſomething more for his ſatisfaction, and the *Mareſchal* on his part ill digeſting the diſtinction the King had made betwixt *to ſerve you*, and *to do you ſervice*: but that which touch'd him moſt to the quick was, that his Majeſty by one of the conditions of Accommodation, gave the Duke, liberty when ever he thought fit, to call together the ſame Aſſembly in *Bordeaux*, which had begot the former diſpute; commanding the *Mareſchal* not to oppoſe it: A Licence without which the Duke conceiv'd his affront could not be wip'd off. And accordingly he ſome time after return'd to *Bordeaux*, to have made uſe of his Priviledge, though it was then alſo interrupted by an accident, of which in its due place we ſhall give a further accompt.

This ſatisfaction the King order'd for the Duke, though very ſufficient of it ſelf, was not however the only teſtimony his Majeſty gave him of his Royal Bounty and Juſtice in this occaſion; for the offence having been publick, his Majeſty thought fit that beſide the ſatisfaction had been given in private, the *Mareſchal* ſhould moreover pay the Duke ſome publick civilities, to evidence an abſolute diſowning of the Act: it was therefore order'd, that the Duke going to *Loches*, as it was determined he ſhould do, (I believe for that purpoſe) the *Mareſchal*, who at the ſame time was upon his Journey into his Government, ſhould give him a viſit by the way, as he did; by whom the King writ a very obliging Letter to the Duke, wherein he commanded him to entertain the *Mareſchal* as His Friend; a command that was alſo on the Duke's part ſo punctually obey'd, that the viſit was paſs'd over with great civility on both ſides: wherein the juſtice of this generous, and excellent Prince was eminently manifeſt, who would uſe a man at this obliging rate, that had no ſhare in his Royal Favour.

Not long after this Accommodation, the 11th. of *September* the ſame year, the Court was wholly poſſeſs'd with the joy all good

French-

Anno 1601. The birth of the *Dolphin*, afterwards *Lewis* the XIII.

Frenchmen were full of, for the Birth of the young *Dolphin*, whom we have ſince ſeen live a long and a glorious Reign, under the name of *Lewis* the XIII, of all other, a bleſſing of the greateſt importance that could at that time poſſibly have hapned to the King, and Kingdom: in him all pretenſe of paſt diſturbances being determined, as the publick Peace ſeem'd to be for ever ſecur'd. There was now no mutinous Subject, nor no ambitious Neighbour, who ſeeing themſelves fall'n from their unjuſt, and imaginary pretenſions to the Crown, did not covet the favour, and friendſhip of a Prince ſo apparently favour'd by the care of Heaven: but if on that ſide the Duke with other vertuous Subjects of his condition, was in a high rapture of joy, there hapned to him ſoon after great occaſions of affliction, that involv'd him in no few, nor no little inconveniencies, which befel him by the diſcovery of the Conſpiracy of the *Mareſchal Biron*, that came to light in the beginning of the enſuing year; wherein we ſhall notwithſtanding ſee, that although this buſineſs begat him trouble, and diſgrace in the beginning, yet it brought him honour and ſatisfaction in the end: having given him opportunity at once to expreſs his conſtant affection to his friend, and his inviolate Fidelity to the King his Maſter.

Anno 1602. The Conſpiracy of *Mareſchal Biron*, and the Duke's carriage in that buſineſs.

I have already made mention of the great friendſhip that was contracted betwixt the Duke, and the *Mareſchal Biron*, one of the moſt conſtant, and ſincere I have known, their intereſts ever being one, and the ſame, and their affections ſo united in all things, that nothing was a ſecret betwixt them, if not in what concern'd the intereſt of the King and Kingdom: but as to concerns of that nature, what confidence ſoever the *Mareſchal* had in the Duke's friendſhip it is certain, he had ever ſo great a reſpect to his fidelity, and did believe him ſo impoſſible to be debauch'd from his duty, that he never communicated to him the leaſt ſyllable of any thought he had conceiv'd to the prejudice of the one, or the other: though it is to be wiſh'd, for the preſervation of ſo brave a man he had done it, becauſe then the Duke would doubtleſs have perſwaded him into better reſolutions. The King, who was very well acquainted with all his deſigns, would himſelf ſometimes talk to him in terms eaſie enough to be underſtood, on purpoſe to make him come to himſelf, to ſee his error, and to reconcile himſelf ſincerely to a Prince, who proceeded with that tenderneſs towards him, and who was pleas'd in his behalf to moderate the abſolute Authority, the knowledge of his Crime, and his own Royal Power gave him over his Life, and Fortune; but that would not reclaim him: That way then failing, and his Majeſtie's

Majeſties obliging language to him wanting force to make that impreſſion upon his obſtinate ſpirit, he could have deſir'd, his Majeſty try'd yet further to overcome him hy teſtimonies of confidence in his Loyalty, and to divert him from criminal thoughts by conferring upon him his employments of Truſt, and Honour; amongſt which that of Ambaſſador into *England* was one. *Anno* 1602.

The King being in *Picardy*, receiv'd a Complement from *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, wherein ſhe earneſtly ſolicited the King for an enterview betwixt them, at any place he himſelf would appoint; a requeſt that his Majeſty not thinking it convenient to gratifie her in, he diſpatch'd away to her the *Mareſchal Biron*, as it were his ſecond ſelf, to make his excuſe, and to Treat with her with all freedom of their moſt private Affairs. An employment wherein *Biron* receiv'd extraordinary Honours, as alſo ſeveral cautions from this prudent Princeſs, enough to have diverted him from his evil deſigns, had not his deſtiny already blinded his judgment, and rendred him incapable of counſel. She often laid before him the recent, and ſad example of the late Earl of *Eſſex*; ſhe repreſented unto him what a Subject ought to apprehend even from the greatneſs of his own Service, and Merit, if his Ambition was not moderated by prudence; and whether it were that ſhe had had ſome inckling (as many have believ'd) of *Biron*'s deſigns, or that ſhe only intended by ſuch diſcourſes to juſtifie the execution of that unfortunate Earl, ſhe laid before him a perfect image of his own unhappy deſtiny; though all was loſt to a man obſtinately bent to his own ruine.

This Queen alſo having heard of the ſtrict friendſhip betwixt the *Mareſchal*, and the Duke of *Eſpernon*, deſir'd him at parting to tell the Duke from her, that if, of his three Sons (which ſhe own'd for her Kinſmen, and Princes of her Kingdom) he would ſend her one, ſhe ſhould gladly receive him upon his accompt; and that the world might ſee the eſteem ſhe had of the Fathers Merit, would not deprive his Poſterity of that place in her Kingdom, which was due to the Houſe of *Candale*; wherein ſhe had only one condition to make, which was, that the Duke ſhould give way, that a Son of his ſo ſent, ſhould be bred up in her Religion; the only one ſhe could by any means ſuffer in her Kingdom: A Complement that the Duke thinking himſelf oblig'd to take notice of, he preſented her Majeſty with his moſt humble thanks for the Honour ſhe was pleas'd to do him, and his Family in ſo gracious an offer; but that he ſhould ever prefer any Fortune or Condition his Children could attain unto in *France*, making profeſſion of the Catholick Religion, before any advantages could derive to them in a belief contrary to his own.

Anno 1602.

The *Mareſchal*, at his return from *England* puff'd up more than ever with the vanity of his Ambition, and big with the Idea of thoſe imaginary Principalities, the *Spaniard*, and the Duke of *Savoy* had baited their practices withal to catch him, could now no longer contain himſelf within the ſimple meditation of his Treaſon, but began to deal with ſome perſons of Quality in the Kingdom, and endeavour'd to raiſe a commotion in *Perigort*, where the beſt part of his Eſtate, his Relations, and chiefeſt Friendſhips lay: amongſt whom the Duke *de Boüillon* is ſaid to be invited into his party to introduce thoſe of the Reformed Religion into that Country: Intelligence whereof being brought to the King, his Majeſty concern'd at the importance of the thing, and juſtly provok'd at the *Mareſchals* ingratitude, immediately took the Field, with a reſolution to ſtifle theſe diſorders in their birth; when conſidering with himſelf, that if he ſhould fail of ſecuring the Head of the Faction, whatever he could do beſides, would ſignifie nothing to the remedy of the diſeaſe, and that whilſt he ſhould be upon his March, his own promptitude and vigilancy would but ſerve to alarm Subjects already made jealous by the conſcience of their own Crimes; he broke off his intended expedition, and return'd back again to *Fountain-bleau*, from whence he had before departed: and where being ſettled, he wholly bent his thoughts how to get the *Mareſchal* into his power; who being in *Burgundy* (the neighbourhood of that Province to *Savoy* favouring his deſigns) did at great eaſe maintain his Correſpondence with the Confederate Princes. Neither was this a thing to be effected without great conduct, that a perſon of his merit and reputation might not be driven to the laſt extremities of deſpair. His Majeſty therefore, that he might effect his deſign without noiſe, ſpake upon all occaſions in publick, very much to the *Mareſchals* advantage; nor was that all, he gave him moreover a very honourable, and a very important Commiſſion, to go renew an Alliance with the *Swiſſe*: an Affair wherein, though many difficulties aroſe, yet the King who would by no means have *Biron* baffled in his Negotiation, by ſending a million of Livers along with him, put him into a condition of making all things ſucceed according to his Majeſties own deſire. This was the laſt Service this *Mareſchal* perform'd for the Crown, wherein he acquitted himſelf very much to his Honour, and wherein the reputation of his Valour prevail'd much upon that warlike People; it has been ſaid his dexterity did no leſs. And here I ſhall inſert by the way, that thoſe who have believ'd the *Mareſchal* to have no more in his conduct, than the meer brutality of a rough humourous

Biron in this Journey betwixt *Dijon* and *Montbelliard*, was for four hours together in private Conference with *Wattevile* the Duke of *Savoy*'s Agent. *De Serres*, page 978.

humourous Souldier, were not at all acquainted with him: he was read to a ſufficient knowledge of Latin, and Greek Letters; and when ever he would make uſe of his Judgment and Eloquence, whether in Negotiations, or Councils, in War or Affairs of State, he ever expreſs'd himſelf to be a man of no common qualities. *Anno* 1602.

His Majeſty had thought by theſe teſtimonies of his truſt, the *Mareſchal* would have been allur'd to Court, to have given an accompt of the good ſucceſs of his Negotiation; where he hop'd, without further trouble, he might eaſily ſecure his Perſon; but with what gentle language ſoever the King could flatter his vanity, it was impoſſible to perſwade him into that Journey, ſo many Accuſers, and Witneſſes of his Guilt he found in his own Conſcience againſt him. His Majeſty therefore not being able to bring about his deſign by this way, and unwilling to live any longer in the apprehenſions he had been put into by the *Mareſchal's* practice, reſolv'd at laſt by a manifeſt diſobedience to extract from him a confeſſion of his fault, which ſhould either give him a reaſonable colour to proceed againſt the *Mareſchal* as a Criminal, and a Rebel; or otherwiſe oblige him to come, and deliver himſelf into his hands. He therefore firſt diſpatch'd away to him the *Sieur d' Eſcures*, Quartermaſter-General of his Armies; a man very acceptable to the *Mareſchal*, and in great credit with him, for having long ſerv'd under his Command, and immediately after Preſident *Janin*, who alſo by his wiſdom, and experience had won ſo great an eſteem with the foreſaid *Mareſchal*, that he would ſeldom undertake any buſineſs of any great moment without firſt conſulting this politick Miniſter.

Theſe two were ſent with expreſs Orders to repreſent to *Biron* part of the ill Offices had been done him to the King; to which they added, "That all the endeavour of his beſt Friends could "not ſo juſtifie his actions to the King, that his Majeſty had not "his fidelity in ſuſpicion, until he ſhould receive his juſtification "from his own mouth: that ſince only himſelf could defend "himſelf from Calumny, there was nothing to be deliberated "of in the caſe, and that he muſt ſuddenly reſolve, either to give "an accompt of his actions to the King, or declare himſelf his "Majeſties open Enemy, maintain an impudent War againſt his "Prince, and have himſelf and his Poſterity branded with the "durtieſt and moſt hateful of all Crimes, to wit, a Traytor to his "Benefactor, King, and Country, that he had to do with a "Prince, whoſe Clemency was ſo well known to none, as to "himſelf, who had his great Services freſh in his memory, who "expected no leſs from his Courage and Fidelity for the

Anno 1602.

"time to come, and whoſe intereſt it was as much to preſerve "him (knowing, as his Majeſty very well did, the utility of his "Service) as it was to preſerve himſelf, whoſe authority was to "be maintain'd, and eſtabliſh'd by men of his Conduct and Valour. Remonſtrances from men he lov'd, and eſteem'd, by which *Biron* was ſo encourag'd, and believing that *Lafin* had ſaid nothing againſt him (as he had often, and falſly aſſur'd him) that he reſolv'd upon going to Court; in order whereunto he preſently ſet forth, taking the Road of *Paris* in the Company of Preſident *Janin* only, *d' Eſcures* having been ſent away before to carry news of his coming.

The ſtrict, and inviolate friendſhip that all the world knew to be betwixt the Duke, and the *Mareſchal*, ſoon rendred the firſt ſuſpected of having a hand in the other's deſigns; neither was the Duke ignorant that his Enemies labour'd with all the Artifice they had, to involve him in his Friends Treaſon; but how perfect ſoever he was in their malicious practice, and how clearly ſoever he foreſaw the dangerous conſequences were likely to attend a buſineſs of this nature, he was reſolute nevertheleſs, with a generoſity hardly to be parallel'd in ſo critical an occaſion, to be no ways wanting to his friend: wherefore having notice that the *Mareſchal* was drawing near to *Paris*, and that a caution, which would now come too late to divert him from coming to the King (a thing he would by no means have adviſ'd him from) might perhaps awake his judgment, and make him appeal to his Majeſties mercy, he ſent the *Sieur du Pleſſis Bauſſonniere*, a man in whom he had an abſolute confidence, to meet him upon the way.

This Gentleman had put himſelf into the Duke's dependence in his younger years, and having left his Studies, wherein he had made a conſiderable progreſs, had follow'd, and ſerv'd him in *Provence*, commanding the Regiment of *Pernes* his Brother in-law, all the while the Duke was there in action; after which, during the whole time of the Duke's life, which was very long, he was by him continually employ'd in his greateſt, and moſt important Affairs; in which he ever gave ſo good an accompt of his Conduct, and Fidelity, that there was ſcarce any Gentleman of his time in a higher reputation for Valour, Prudence, and Integrity; inſomuch that I have often heard the Duke ſay, if he were to corrupt *le Pleſſis*, he ſhould be to ſeek on which ſide to aſſault him, his ſoul was ſo bravely fortified throughout. This *le Pleſſis*, according to his Maſters order, puts himſelf upon his way to go meet the *Mareſchal*: but as his Errand could not but be dangerous both for the Maſter, and the Servant, the one, and the other

ſufficiently

ſufficiently knowing the violent ſuſpicion the King had of the *Mareſchal*'s proceeding; ſo did he endeavour with all imaginable caution, if poſſible, to entertain him alone. I have often heard him tell the ſtory, and do very well remember every circumſtance, which put altogether will make this appear an affair of the greateſt difficulty, and the beſt carried on, that perhaps you ſhall meet with in the Duke's whole Hiſtory; and wherein the generous ſpirit of an innocent Servant, and the Clemency and Juſtice of a good Maſter, will as evidently appear. *Le Pleſſis*, perceiving the *Mareſchal*'s Equipage coming at a pretty diſtance, lighted at a Barn a little wide of the High-way, where, having with him one of the Duke's Footmen without a Livery, he commanded him to call the firſt of the *Mareſchal*'s that appear'd upon the Road; which he having done, and *le Pleſſis* being not unknown to the fellow, he ſent him to tell his Maſter in his ear, that *le Pleſſis* ſtaid to ſpeak with him a word or two in private. The Footman accordingly deliver'd his Meſſage, whereupon *Biron* ſtragling from his company upon ſome pretenſe or other, came to the place where *le Pleſſis* ſtood to expect him, and where without being obſerv'd by any, he had all liberty to diſcourſe at leiſure. *Le Pleſſis* had in charge to tell him, "That the Journey he was now upon "to the King requir'd his moſt ſerious deliberation, and that he "was now in good earneſt to reflect upon his own condition: "That if he came with a confidence, ſome poſſibly might have "poſſeſs'd him withal, that *Lafin* had not ſpoken to the King, "he was abus'd: That the Duke of *Eſpernon* did not know what "had paſs'd betwixt *Lafin* and him; neither did he deſire to in-"form himſelf: but that he might be aſſur'd, that whatever he "had done, or negotiated with him, or by him, was every tit-"tle diſcover'd to the King; acquainting him with the ſeveral "times and places, and how oft *Lafin* had been in private Confe-"rence with him: That he was herein to be adviſ'd by his own "Conſcience, and to rely upon his Majeſties Grace, and Bounty, "if he conceiv'd there was any thing that might juſtly be con-"demn'd in his former Actions; there being much better to be "hop'd for, from his Majeſties Clemency, and noble nature, than "from the ſecreſie of what had paſs'd betwixt *Lafin* and him. This obliging and prudent advice, which ought to have been receiv'd by the *Mareſchal* with ſo much the greater tenderneſs, by how much it was preferr'd with the infinite hazard of him that ſent it, did on the contrary put him into ſo great a rage, that I have heard *le Pleſſis* ſay, he never in his life ſaw any thing in ſo extravagant a fury. *Biron* ask'd him firſt of all, "If the Duke of

Eſpernon

Anno 1602.

Anno 1602. "*Espernon* esteem'd him for other, than an honest man? To whom *du Plessis* having reply'd, "That had he had any other "opinion of him, he would not have persisted in his Friend- "ship so long; he proceeded to tell him, "That he was come to "give the lye, and to be the death of all those, who durst blemish his Actions: That he was the same the Duke of *Espernon* and he "*Plessis* himself had ever known him to be: That for what con- "cern'd him, *Mounsieur d' Espernon* might set his heart at rest. And then clapping his hand upon his Sword, after a hundred wild postures, he further told *du Plessis*, "That if any one durst make an "attempt upon his Person, he would make more arms and heads "flie, than would stand before him: So that instead of making use of his Friend's caution, and good advice, he continued his way in his first obstinacy,. and the same night arriv'd at *Fountain-bleau*.

At his arrival the King spoke to him of the business himself, gently admonishing him withal to make an ingenuous confession of his fault: a thing he was so far from being perswaded to do, that he seem'd discontented and angry at the motion.

Soon after he went to *Paris*, and din'd at the *Hostel d' Espernon*, when the King returning the same day from *Fountain-bleau*, the Duke and he went together in the afternoon to the *Louvre*, to attend his Majesty; who having notice of their coming went to the Window, through the glass to observe their carriage, and countenance; which a friend of the Duke's, who was then with the King, gave the Duke timely caution of, to the end he might comport himself so, as that his Majesty might not by any behaviour of his be fortified in those evil impressions, with which he had before by his Enemies been prepossess'd: though the Duke carried himself quite contrary to his advice; and being more and more confirm'd, in the testimony of a good Conscience, and full of a just and generous indignation to see his Fidelity suspected, walk'd with his face erect, and his eyes fix'd upon the Window where he knew the King stood: A carriage the King very well observ'd, as he made others about him to do also. They were no sooner come both of them into his Majesties Chamber, who as yet had express'd no publick dissatisfaction with *Biron* (as being still in hope to regain him, and to have an occasion to pardon him by the confession of his fault) but that he presently made a Match at Tennis, wherein the King and the *Count de Soissons* were to play against the Duke of *Espernon*, and the *Mareschal*: and upon this occasion it was that the Historians of that time make the Duke say, as a piece of wit, speaking to the

the *Mareſchal, That he played well, but that he made his matches ill*; as if by thoſe words, which may admit of a double interpretation, he would obliquely condemn *Biron*'s deſigns, which never came into his thought; it being his cuſtom when ever he talk'd with the *Mareſchal* about that buſineſs, not to do it in ſuch ambiguous terms; nor ſo out of ſeaſon, but ſeriouſly and plainly, and in a ſecreſie, the ſafeſt for him he would adviſe. He ſeveral times repreſented to him the ill Offices he had receiv'd, he confirm'd to him the ſame thing he had ſent him word of before concerning *Lafin*, conjuring him not to rely upon his Faith, which would certainly deceive him: But theſe ſecond admonitions were as fruitleſs as the firſt; and the King ſeeing that he could neither by himſelf, nor by the *Count de Soiſſons*, the *Mareſchals* intimate Friend, who had dealt with him by his Majeſties abſolute command, and in his name, reclaim this obſtinate ſpirit, nor make him reconcile himſelf to his duty, by acknowledging his offence; he gave him over at laſt to the rigor of Law, and Juſtice, who puniſh'd his Crime, by the forfeiture of his Head

Anno 1602.

Whilſt they were drawing up the *Mareſchal*'s Charge, his Majeſty well enform'd of *le Pleſſis* Envoy (it being a thing hard to be kept ſecret, in an Affair where all things were ſo narrowly obſerv'd) referr'd the intelligence to the deliberation of his Council. The Cabinet Council at that time conſiſted of the *Count de Soiſſons, de Sillery* Keeper of the Seal, *Sully* ſuperintendent of the Exchequer, Preſident *Janin*, *Bellieure*, and *Villeroy*: In which Aſſembly divers conjectures being ſet on foot, to fortifie the jealouſies his Majeſty had been perſwaded into againſt the Duke, it was by the major part voted neceſſary to ſecure his perſon, or at leaſt to make ſure of *le Pleſſis*, and to put him to the wrack, that from a confeſſion extorted from him ſufficient evidence might be drawn to convince his Maſter: A reſult ſo approv'd by all, that the King was himſelf almoſt the only man that oppos'd thoſe two propoſitions. "He told them that as for the Duke, a man of his "quality was never to be arreſted, unleſs to be condemn'd, that "as yet there was nothing but ſuſpicion, and conjectures againſt "him; which ſhould they prove idle, and vain, he was never af-"ter to repoſe any truſt in a man, ſo undeſervedly, and ſo unjuſtly "offended: That for *le Pleſſis* he was no more to be meddled "withal than the other, without giving a manifeſt diſtaſte to his "Maſter: That if one of them were to be ſecur'd, he ſhould "rather begin with the Maſter, than the Servant; becauſe the "confinement of the laſt would be an equal injury to the other; "but that the effect would by no means be the ſame, being the

Duke,

Anno 1602. "Duke, if he knew himself guilty, would by the seizing of *le* "*Plessis* be forwarn'd to make his escape: That he was therefore "of opinion to expect if in the Tryal of *Mareschal Biron*, nothing "would come to light that might justly bring the Duke in que- "stion, which if there did, and that he should be found a Com- "plice, there was no place he could fly to so remote, where his "arm would not be long enough to reach him.

If the King had intelligence of *le Plessis*'s Envoy to the *Mareschal Biron*, the Duke was no less faithfully inform'd of what had pass'd in the Cabinet Council concerning him; by which he understood that *le Plessis* Journey was not so great a secret, as it had been convenient for both their safeties it had been, which made him consult with *le Plessis* what was best to be done in so dangerous an occasion. The Duke was not secure, the King would continue so constant in his favour, that his Majesty might not at another Council be over-rul'd into other resolutions, and perswaded at last to put *le Plessis* to the question; a doubt that made him think it expedient he should retire; that he being gone, no evidence might appear against him, he having been alone entrusted with the secret of this Affair: but *le Plessis*, who very well foresaw his flight, though it might procure his own particular safety, would certainly be his Master's ruine, could by no means consent to the motion. He rather chose to run the hazard of the Wrack, (which he was ready to undergo, and of which, I have heard him say, he had already the terrors in his imagination) than to expose the Life, and Honour of his Master, which, after so strong a presumption, as his withdrawing himself must of necessity give, would be in an apparent danger. He therefore humbly entreated the Duke not to concern himself at the thought of any thing that threatned him; assuring him withal, that as he had done nothing contrary to his Majesties Service, so all the Wracks and Tortures in the world could never force him to say any thing contrary to the truth. Settled then in this resolution, from which I do believe nothing upon earth could have remov'd him, his wit suggested to him an expedient, by which in the end he secur'd both his Masters Person and his own. He advis'd the Duke to prevent his Majesty by an ingenuous confession of the truth, and to tell him himself what he had done: for as the King could not imagine that the Duke could have had any notice of that secret, it being improbable, the result of a Council held but that morning, and consisting of men of so approv'd Fidelity and Trust, could be so suddenly reveal'd; so was it not to be believ'd, that the Duke's voluntary discovery of what he had done, could pass in

his

his Majeſties opinion for a premeditated thing. The Duke approving of this advice, put it as ſpeedily into execution; and the King intending to hunt in the afternoon, he mounted on horſeback, as he us'd to do, to attend him; where having follow'd and obſerv'd his Majeſties motion with an extraordinary diligence, that he might find an opportunity for his purpoſe, they light by chance into a ſolitary place, into which his Majeſty being inſenſibly ſtragled from the groſs of his Train, there were very few left about him. And here it was that the King turning towards the Duke, fell upon the Diſcourſe of *Mareſchal Biron*, who was now in the heat of his Tryal, complaining how ill he had us'd him, and how ungrateful a man he was: To which the Duke reply'd, "That as a Relation, and a Friend to the *Mareſ-*
"*chal*, he could not without great affliction ſee ſo evident teſti-
"monies of his guilt, that he had been at firſt very unwilling to
"believe he could be guilty of ſo foul a Crime: but that now it
"did ſo manifeſtly appear, he could not think any puniſhment
"enough to chaſtiſe ſo foul an Offence: To whom the King having return'd, "What, it ſeems then you know nothing of the
"buſineſs? The Duke made anſwer, "Sir, I knew ſo little of it,
"that at his coming to this Town, I ſent *le Pleſſis* to meet him,
"and to welcome him to Court, which I ſhould never have
"done, had I thought him guilty. At which words, which touch'd the King to the quick, his Majeſty ſet ſpurs to his Horſe, with an extravagance not very natural to him, but which that unexpected anſwer had put him into: when having taken a Career, and turning again to the Duke, with a countenance that ſufficiently expreſs'd that he was angry at a diſcovery he had no mind ſhould have come from the Duke's own mouth. "It ſeems then, ſaid
"he, you ſent to *Mareſchal Biron* without my knowledge? To whom the Duke reply'd again, "That he did not conceive it
"neceſſary to ask his Majeſtie's leave to ſend a meer Complement
"to his Friend: That ſeeing him come without a Guard, or any
"apparent marks of diſgrace, and his Majeſty treating him with
"the ſame favour he us'd to do, he had on his part us'd him at
"the ſame rate he had ever done: That it had been a cuſtom
"long obſerv'd betwixt them, that which of them ſoever had
"been any time abſent from Court, was at his return by ſome
"Servant of truſt enform'd by the other of all the little paſſages
"had happned during his abſence: That it was true, he had in
"this occaſion continued this cuſtom: That he humbly beſought
"his Majeſty to believe nothing more particular had paſs'd be-
"twixt them, and that he had rather dye, than once conceive a

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"thought to the prejudice of his Majesties Service, or his own "duty: That he hop'd the event would more clearly evidence "the integrity of his actions; but that nevertheless he thought it "fit to give his Majesty that security in hand. The King being well satisfied with the Duke's Reasons, but much more with the Confidence he perceiv'd him to repose in his Justice, and his own Innocency, all jealousies, that before had been infus'd into him, to the prejudice of the Duke's Fidelity, and Honour, vanish'd away, and he with the greatest care and assiduity, was more than ever about his Majesties Person. His Children (which a little before he had brought to Court) had order to continue about the young *Dolphin's* Person, to be as it were Hostages of their Father's Innocence, and the *Mareschal's* Tryal being at last over, all Witnesses and Parties examin'd, and heard without the least mention of the Duke of *Espernon's* name in all their practice, his Majesty was not a little satisfied with himself, that he had carried things with that moderation towards the Duke upon this occasion.

This untoward business was soon after seconded by another, which, though of far less dangerous consequence, begat the Duke nevertheless as much trouble as the first. The Duke as he was ever very circumspect in his duty, to preserve his Fidelity entire to the King, so was he no less solicitous to maintain himself in all advantages deriving to him as particles of any of his Commands. That of Colonel therefore having been conferr'd upon him by *Henry* III. with extraordinary priviledges, as by his Patent does appear, he could not endure the least violation of his Interest; but with a stiffness (that doubtless would have offended a less equitable Prince, than that under whom he had the honour to serve) was ever obstinate to maintain every punctilio of his right. One of the greatest, and of the greatest Honour that was annex'd to this Command, was the power he had to name the Camp-Master to the Regiment of Guards when ever that place should be void; and it hapned now that *Grillon*, who had been possess'd of this Command before the Duke was created Colonel, was fall'n into infirmities, that rendred him incapable of his Charge: Yet had his former Services been such as made it very reasonable he should however make his best advantage of it, as his Majesty was content he should; but having a singular, and a very just respect for the *Mareschal de l'Esdiguieres*, and a very great affection for his Son-in-law *Crequy*, he intended the latter, having first compounded with *Grillon*, should be preferr'd to that Command, intending perhaps hereby, as much to clip the wings of the Duke's Authority, which he had as Colonel over the Regiment of Guards,

Guards, as altogether to oblige *Crequy*. The Duke, advertis'd of his Majeſties purpoſe, could not forbear giving out aloud, that he would never conſent to it, and the King on the contrary was reſolv'd his pleaſure ſhould prevail: But in the end after many oppoſitions (which this good Prince was pleas'd to endure from a Servant) the Duke, who had never diſcover'd his mind to the King, but by the mediation of others, was reſolv'd to deliver it to his Majeſty with his own mouth, as accordingly he did; repreſenting to him with a liberty (which to his Subjects was none of the leaſt felicities of his happy Reign) the Juſtice of his Cauſe. All which, notwithſtanding his reaſons, could not ſo prevail upon his Majeſties temper, but that he remain'd as firm as ever in his firſt reſolution. Which the Duke ſeeing, and conceiving he could not conſent to his Majeſties deſire, without going leſs in the dignity of his place, he rather choſe to abſent himſelf from Court, than to be compell'd by an expreſs, and poſitive command to do a thing ſo much to the prejudice of his Authority, and Honour; and accordingly very much diſſatisfied, retir'd himſelf to *Angouleſme*. The King, who was not yet totally cur'd of a jealouſie, ſtill kept awake by the practices, the remainder of *Biron*'s Faction (not quite extinct) yet kept on foot in his Kingdom, gave manifeſt ſigns of diſcontent at the Duke's departure; and as he knew the alliance the Duke of *Montpenſier* had contracted with his Family, by his Match, had begot a ſtrict friendſhip betwixt them, ſo was it to him eſpecially that he ſpoke of it with the greateſt freedom, and in terms (not without threats) of the higheſt indignation. This Prince, who concern'd himſelf as much at the Duke's Intereſt, as his own, diſpatch'd away to him in great diligence the *Sieur de la Chetardie*, in whom he had an eſpecial confidence, to let him underſtand the King's diſpleaſure, and to remonſtrate to him the danger he would expoſe himſelf unto, ſhould he longer perſiſt in oppoſition to his Majeſties pleaſure, who would herein be abſolutely obey'd: A caution by which the Duke plainly ſeeing he was reduc'd to a neceſſity either to bow, or break; he indeed choſe the latter, though not without high complaints of the injuſtice was done him, which were neither ſo modeſt, nor ſo private, that they were not ſoon carried to the King's ear: And though ſo ſtubborn an oppoſition in the Duke might reaſonably enough have more exaſperated the King againſt him, yet ſuch was the noble nature of this great Prince, that it would not ſuffer him long to bear in mind the memory of his offenſe; for the Duke had no ſooner given his conſent to *Crequy*'s admiſſion, but that his Majeſty commanded him the firſt

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Anno 1602. thing he did, to take a Journey a hundred Leagues from *Paris*, to see his Colonel, to take his Oath betwixt his hands, to obtain his hand to his Commission, and to receive his Order for his admission into his place: Civilities by which although the King endeavour'd to give the Duke all satisfaction; yet could they not so far reconcile him, but that at *Crequy*'s arrival, he made him wait a whole day together at his Chamber door, and expect some days after before he would receive his Oath, or Sign his Commission: And although he was himself very sensible that so many manifest aversions were sufficient to beget new distastes in the King against him; yet was he not so much master of himself, nor had so much command over his own Nature; but that he must put those affronts upon *Crequy*, or rather upon the King, who made this business his own.

Mounsieur Crequy made Camp-Master to the Regiment of Guards.

By these disputes (which in another time might have turn'd very much to the Duke's prejudice) he got nevertheless this advantage, that the King to satisfie him for the future in the interests of his Command, made a kind of agreement with him (if a largess from a Master to his Servant may be so call'd) which was, That his Majesty would indeed really, and effectually reserve to himself the nomination of Camp-Master to the Regiment of Guards; as also to the other old Regiments: but with this condition; that the Colonel should swear them, that they should be conceiv'd to have their admission from him, without which they were not to be receiv'd into the employment: That his Majesty having provided for one Company in the Regiment of Guards, he was content the Duke should in turn do the same for the next at his own appointment: That of all the Foot Companies of the other Regiments, new and old, the Duke when ever any should be vacant, should have the naming of the Captains to the King to fill them up; and that no Captain soever, whether of the Regiment of Guards, or any other Regiment should be admitted into, or establish'd in his Command till first his Commission was Sign'd by the Colonel: But for what concern'd those Offices, that depended upon the Duke's Command, as Lieutenants, Ensigns, Colonel-Ensigns, Serjeants, and Serjeant-Majors, Martials, Provost-Martials, Quarter-Masters, and other Officers, that he should place and displace them by his sole Authority, without any order from the King, or his Majesties taking any notice thereof. According to which Agreement the Duke proceeded so regularly, and undisturb'd in the Priviledges of his Command, that there was never after, during this Kings Reign, the least Dispute betwixt them, saveing once, that the King thinking

ing it fit to add two Companies more to his Regiment of Guards, and having appointed their Captains, the Duke interpos'd his Majeſties Royal Promiſe, humbly beſeeching him to do him right: an Argument ſo powerful to this equitable Prince, that of two Captains he had nam'd, he only provided for one, which was the *Sieur de la Courbe*, who had but the ſecond Company neither: the firſt being given to the *Sieur de Bourdet* by the Duke's Recommendation, whoſe turn it was to name the firſt vacant Company: yet did not the buſineſs paſs without ſome diſpute, though at laſt the King was pleas'd rather to give way to his Servant's juſt deſires, than to fail in the leaſt Article of his Word. *Anno* 1602.

I ſhall here add (ſince I am upon this diſcourſe of the Office of Colonel) a thing that time has ſufficiently juſtified to all *France*, which is, that the Duke was ſo exceeding cautious in the diſpenſation of Commands, whether meerly depending upon his own Authority, or in his nomination only, that his Majeſty would often ſay, he never had better Foot Officers, than thoſe of the Duke's preferring. And in truth the *French* Infantry, whilſt the Duke was permitted to execute his charge, were kept in ſo good order, that perhaps no Militia in Europe were better Diſciplin'd, nor better Officer'd than they; a truth to this hour confirm'd by an infinite number of perſons yet living, who have commanded under him, and who were witneſſes of his conduct. To which I ſhall further add, and to his great commendation, a thing not to be contradicted; which is, that he neither directly, nor indirectly ever made the leaſt benefit of any Command he diſpos'd of, which I think had they been ſet to ſale would, in the long courſe of his life, have amounted to above two Millions of Gold, after the rate they are ſold now adays. And I do very well remember, that towards his latter end, when he ſaw the ſelling of Offices began to grow in faſhion, he did all he could, and that the condition of the time would permit, to oppoſe it; repreſenting to the King, with very convincing Arguments, what a prejudice ſuch an abuſe would be to his Service; although in the end ſeeing he could not prevail with the Council to alter that toleration, he alſo gave ſome of his own Servants, though very few, leave to make mony of the Offices he had conferr'd upon them: but I am certain, that for his own particular, he never converted any the leaſt employment to his own profit: A thing perhaps ſuch as thought him ſolicitous of his own Intereſt, will hardly be perſwaded to believe, as indeed he was enclin'd to the ſaving ſide, and wary enough when it was fit for him to be ſo: but never, upon any occaſion where his Honour was concern'd, that

Anno 1602. that ever taking with him the upperhand of all other considerations.

The business of *Crequy*, how troublesome, and how hard soever to digest, was not yet the last of the same nature the Duke was to wrestle withal in this years revolution, another following immediately after; which, as it nearer concern'd him, pierc'd deeper to the quick: neither had it so happy an issue as the first. The Duke having in the year 1582. been by King *Henry* the III. establish'd in the Government of *Metz*, he conferr'd the Lieutenancy of the City and Country upon *Moncaßin* his Kinsman, and the Command of the Cittadel upon *Sobole*: but in process of time, which hapned in the year 1585. having withdrawn *Moncaßin* from this employment to continue about his own person: *Sobole*, whom he had bred a Page, and in whom he had an entire confidence, was by his bounty rais'd to that degree, that he conferr'd upon him the command of the City, and Country, together with that of the Cittadel also; which was effectually one of the bravest entertainments in *France*, *Metz* being at that time the most considerable place of the Kingdom, and the noblest member of the Duke's Command.

In the Year 1594. the King undertook the Siege of *Laon*, to which, as to an occasion wherein he expected to meet with great difficulties, he invited many of his Servants of the neighbouring Provinces. Amongst these *Sobole* was one, who by the Authothority the Duke had given him in *Metz*, having got a great interest in the Country, might with great facility raise a considerable party of Horse, as he did, and at the Head of sixscore Light-Horse, very well appointed, and fourscore Carabins, went to serve his Majesty at this Siege. The King receiv'd him with great demonstrations of favour, and not being well satisfied with the Duke of *Espernon*, who being at that time in *Provence*, where he did not behave himself to his Majesties liking, after he had, as he conceiv'd, cut him out work enough there, he took occasion to raise him greater difficulties about *Metz*, by lessening the Authority he had till that time ever had over *Sobole*. And to that purpose after he had reduc'd *Laon* to his obedience, and about to dismiss those Auxiliaries who had come in to serve him in that Action, his Majesty sent *Sobole* word, "That after so great a satisfaction as he had receiv'd from his Services, he was as well "dispos'd to gratifie him as he himself could desire; which nevertheless the present condition of his Affairs not permitting him "to do, at so honourable a rate, as he could wish, it was for "him to look out for something he had a mind to, which should be

"be as readily conferr'd upon him. Thoſe who had order to make this overture to *Sobole*, were further intruſted to repreſent unto him, "That being Governour of *Metz* meerly by the "Duke's toleration, he was ſubject upon the firſt capricio to be "remov'd; after which from the honourable condition wherein "he had liv'd for many years, he would find himſelf reduc'd to a "very moderate fortune: That though he could be aſſur'd the "Duke's humour would continue conſtant to him, yet ought the "declining poſture of his Affairs in *Provence* to give him a rea-"ſonable Alarm: That all things in that Country were ſo averſe "to him, it was all the Duke could do to keep his head above "water; and that his Affairs coming to an abſolute ruine, as they "evidently declin'd, he would be in danger to be left in *Metz*, "without any ſupport, or any colourable claim, either to com-"mand, or recompenſe: That the King conceiving a Gentleman "of his Valour and Merit, worthy a more certain fortune, did "voluntary offer to make him his own Lieutenant, in the Go-"vernment of the Place and Country, under the Duke; whoſe "Authority being kept inviolate, he could have no juſt reaſon to "reproach him; for ſeeking to eſtabliſh his own Fortune, with-"out doing any prejudice to his. It was no hard matter to per-ſwade *Sobole* into a thing he believ'd would ſettle his Affairs ſo much to his advantage; ſo that he greedily ſwallow'd the bait, and receiving a new Commiſſion from the King, retir'd very well ſatisfied with his Majeſties bounty into his Government: But as the firſt ſtep into a fault, makes men ſubject to ſtumble into an-other, after having once fail'd in his Faith, he had now no more regard to his Duty; and conceiving he had good title for the fu-ture to Lord it over the Inhabitants of *Metz*, with greater Au-thority than he had formerly done; he grew inſolent to the laſt degree. Complaints whereof were ſoon brought to the Duke; where to him they accus'd *Sobole*, for having rais'd mony upon them by his own private Authority, and to have committed ma-ny other inſolencies againſt them. The Duke was at this time diſingag'd from the trouble of his Affairs in *Provence*, and the reſidence he had ſince that time made at Court having in-form'd him of *Sobole*'s deportment, he was queſtionleſs poſſeſs'd with an indignation proportionable to the offenſe: but he very well foreſaw, that the King, who had in deſign rais'd *Sobole* againſt him, would doubtleſs uphold him, and juſtifie his own Commiſſion; ſo that he durſt by no means act any thing in pub-lick againſt him, nor go about by open force to diſplace him: but on the contrary diſſembled as much as in him lay, both the know-

Anno 1602.

Anno 1602. knowledge, and the trouble of his fault; and when continually importun'd by reiterated complaints from the Inhabitants of *Metz*, (a people he ever had in great consideration) he only admonish'd him to behave himself with greater moderation towards them: but *Sobole* was deaf to all those admonitions, and so far from slackning his hand, that on the contrary, to render the Duke's good Offices fruitless to them, he contriv'd with himself to accuse many of the principal among them to the King, for having (as he said) endeavour'd to betray the Town, and Cittadel of *Metz* to *Count Mansfield*, Governour of *Luxenbourg*, for the King of *Spain*: Which he did, to the end that his Majesty being prepossess'd with so black an accusation, no one, not so much as the Duke himself might dare to speak in their behalf. The business was very strictly examin'd, and in the end discover'd to be a meer calumny, which made all the world conclude it had been invented by *Sobole* in spite to deprive the Inhabitants of their Lives and Estates: a malice so notorious, that the Duke could no longer endure a people, whom he lov'd, and had ever protected, should be so ill us'd by a man he himself had appointed to govern, but not to destroy them: Which made him openly undertake their protection against *Sobole*'s violence, against whom the hatred the people had conceiv'd, having provok'd them into arms, they besieg'd him in the Cittadel; a thing the Duke was not sorry for, hoping this would counsel the King to remove him, and that he being out, the place could be supply'd by none, from whom he might not promise to himself better things than from *Sobole*.

Anno 1603. What the Duke had so prudently foreseen, fell out exactly, as he imagin'd it would; for the King alarm'd at the danger of so important a place (it being very much to be fear'd his ill neighbours would take the advantage of the evil intelligence betwixt the Governour and the people, to seize the Town, resolv'd to go thither in person; and accordingly with the Queen, and all the Court set forward in the beginning of the year 1603. A journy in which the Duke of *Espernon* was too much concern'd to stay behind; and in the issue whereof *Sobole* was depos'd from his Government, with a pardon for all that was pass'd; which his ill carriage had made the reward of his Service, and all the recompense he receiv'd for so brave a Command. After his departure his Majesty resolv'd himself to dispose of his places; a thing wherein the Duke of *Espernon*'s interest did most of all consist, who till that time had ever had the disposition of all Offices inferiour to his own in that Government; and by that means had been absolute

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over the City: but his Authority being ſuſpected to the King, who would have no other than his own acknowledg'd in his Kingdom, his Majeſty gave the Duke to underſtand, that *Sobole* having reſign'd unto him his Lieutenancy to the Government of the City, and Cittadel of *Metz*, and the *Meſſin* Country, which his Majeſty had formerly ſeated him in, he was now reſolv'd to ſettle men of Condition, and approv'd Fidelity in his room, always reſerving (which his Majeſty would by no means diminiſh) for the Duke his Authority in the place; that in order thereunto he had caſt his eye upon the two Brothers *les Sieurs de Montigny*, and *d' Arquien*; to the firſt of which he would give his Lieutenancy to the City, and Country; and to the other the command of the Cittadel; but that the one and the other ſhould render him an obedience equal to his own perſon. The Duke, having well enough foreſeen how things would be, had nothing to oppoſe againſt his Majeſties Royal Pleaſure; but without contradiction gave way to neceſſity, and with patience (the only remedy remain'd) was content to expect ſome happy opportunity that might re-eſtabliſh him in the poſſeſſion of a place ſo important to his fortune, and whereof he ſaw himſelf at preſent abſolutely depriv'd. *Anno* 1603.

During his Majeſties abode at *Metz*, the Provincial of the Fathers Jeſuits was by the Duke of *Eſpernon* preſented to him; where the propoſition preferr'd by the Provincial for the re-eſtabliſhment of his fraternity in *France*, was ſo promoted by the Duke's mediation, that it was concluded on to his great ſatisfaction. Neither was this the firſt good office the Duke had done them, nor the ſole teſtimony he had given of his affection, and reſpect to that Society; he having ever been one of their moſt conſtant, and moſt powerful Protectors in the time of their perſecution, as he was one of their principal benefactors after their re-eſtabliſhment. *Metz*, that ever till then had made many, and almoſt invincible difficulties of ever admitting them into their Corporation, receiv'd them upon the Duke's ſingle accompt, as he alſo procur'd their admiſſion into *Angouleſme* before he left that Government: Their Colledge of *Xaints* has no other foundation than what he beſtow'd upon it of four thouſand Livers a year in two fair Benefices, which put all together have rendred him one of the principal Benefactors of that Society, by the acknowledgment, and teſtimony of the moſt ancient, and moſt eminent men of the Order.

The variety of accidents, and buſineſs that had befallen the King in theſe laſt years, were yet too few to take him wholly up, he

The ſtate of Affairs at Court during the Peace.

Anno 1603. he still found leisure enough for his delights; and although he himself took a particular accompt of all Affairs, and was ever the main director in all things; yet his abilities (which nothing was too big for) rendred him so excellent at dispatch, that he still made way for his vacation and pleasure. The Peace concluded with all his Neighbours, and his domestick troubles extinguish'd, either by the punishment of the offenders, or by the excess of his own clemency, gave him now sufficient leisure to look after the reformation of such abuses as were crept into the state during the licence of War; an employment which, how becoming soever his Royal care, and how profitable soever to the Kingdom, took up but a very inconsiderable part of his time, the rest being dedicated to the Chace, to play, and to the diversions of Love: entertainments that (as the passions, and humours of Princes (who are the great examples of their people) do easily insinuate themselves into their Subjects Affections, or at least their imitation) were grown so much in fashion at Court, that there was scarce any talk of any other thing; and if they had, during this Voyage to *Metz*, suffer'd a little intermission, they were, at the return of the Court to *Paris*, more than ever set on foot. It has been believ'd, that though the King in his hunting, and his Mistrisses altogether follow'd the proclivity of his own nature; yet that for what concern'd play, he had in that as much design at least, as inclination. I have already told you, that his Majesty having set down the bringing low the great men of his Kingdom by imperceptible ways, to render them more obedient, for a Maxime of State, had put them upon the humour of Building, to drain their purses: and doubtless his engaging them in play, was in order to the same design: amongst whom the Duke of *Espernon*, who already felt the smart of the first, and that very well understood his Majesties meaning in the latter, refus'd not nevertheless to make one for his Master's satisfaction: but if he did it at first meerly out of compliance, his ill fortune at last made it become his revenge, and enclin'd him so passionately to it, that he found himself in the end engag'd in so extraordinary losses, as were no little inconvenience to him. His Majesty would often do him the honour to play at his house, ever inviting him to all his Matches: And whether he retir'd to *Zamet*, or to any other place to evade the tumult of Majesty and Greatness, the Duke of *Espernon* was always the first invited; so that although he was not in favour, he was nevertheless in great esteem: of which one of the most signal testimonies he could receive, was the honour the King did him in permitting him to enter the *Louvre* in his Coach; a favour

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till this time reſerv'd only for the Princes of the Blood, excluſively to all other perſons of the Kingdom, the Duke being the firſt that unlock'd this Priviledge for the Dukes, and Peers, though he enjoy'd it alone during the King's life; his Majeſty, though often importun'd by others of the ſame quality, for the ſame honour, never conſenting to have it drawn into example. 'Tis true, that after the King's death, the Queen Regent, to accommodate her ſelf to the time, was content to abate much of the Royal State, and allow'd the Dukes, and Peers, and Officers of the Crown, the ſame Priviledge: but the reſpect to the Duke's perſon was that which firſt procur'd them that indulgence. *Anno* 1603.

A famous Gameſter call'd *Pimentel*, an *Italian*, came at this time into *France*, whoſe dexterity in gulling the Court was ſuch, that I cannot forbear to mention him in this place. 'Tis ſaid, and it is perfectly true, that this Cavalier hearing what an humour of play reign'd at the *French* Court, caus'd a great number of falſe Dice to be made, of which he himſelf only knew the high, and the low runners, hiring men to carry them into *France*, where after they had bought up, and convey'd away all that were in *Paris*, he ſupply'd all the Shops with his own: By which means having ſubjected the ſpirit of Play, and ty'd the hands of Fortune, he arriv'd at laſt in *France*; where inſinuating himſelf into the Court, he was by ſome of his own Nation, who had great intereſt there, ſoon brought acquainted with the King. Some have believ'd his Majeſty underſtood the man well enough, and was content to admit him for a Gameſter, the better to bring about his own deſign of impoveriſhing the Lords of his Court, whoſe Riches grew ſuſpected to him. The Duke of *Eſpernon* was one from whom he drew the moſt conſiderable ſummes; who after having got all his ready mony, and many of his Jewels, he moreover won of him a piece of Ambergris, to the value of 20000. Crowns, the greateſt that ever was ſeen in Europe; and which the Republick of *Venice*, to whom it was after ſold, preſerve to this day in their Treaſure for a great rarity. The Duke had not long been Maſter of it; a Country fellow that had found it upon the Coaſt of *Medoc*, having but a little before brought it to him, as a thing due to the Houſe of *Candale*; of which the Duke was now the head. This Ancient and Illuſtrious Family, are poſſeſſors of many goodly Mannors in *Guienne*, and principally in the Country of *Medoc*, with as ample priviledges as belong to any of the greateſt Territories of the Kingdom; of which one of the moſt honourable is that of the Admiralty, which might alſo have been one of the moſt profitable, had the Duke when the *Spaniſh* Carricks ſuffer'd The ſtory of *Pimentel*.

Anno 1603.

Shipwrack upon that Coast in the year 1627. been countenanc'd in his right; which, however at that time set aside, derives to him nevertheless from a Title of above 300. years standing, to all the wracks that should happen any where within the extent of above fifty Leagues upon the Coast that bounds this Territory. But how just soever his claim might be, it was impossible for him to justifie his title against the Power, that then under his Majesties name exercis'd a more than Sovereign Authority. The Sea of *Medoc*, one of the most tempestuous of the Ocean, famous for Shipwracks, and for that reason call'd *La Mer Sauvage*, or the wild Sea, hath usually in stormy weather cast up Ambergris, and the best in the world, upon that Coast; a truth I can with confidence aver, after having been an eye-witness of the difference betwixt that, and the other which was brought from the Indies in the Carricks. The people of the Country, by the profit invited to this search, never fail, after a storm to rake all along the Shoar for this Commodity, wherein they have often very good fortune; I having seen in my time a piece, which though much less than that I have already mention'd, weigh'd above twenty pound, and was valued at above 20000. Livers, found by a Country fellow in the year 1625. wherein he did all he could to cheat the Lord of his due; to whom two thirds of the thing found does of right belong, and the third to the finder, if he make a faithful discovery: but this fellow's fraud being found out, the Duke was by justice favour'd in his claim, and made master of the whole.

The advancement of *Philip Cospean* Bishop of *Lizieux* by the Duke of *Espernon*'s means.

Whilst the Duke on the one hand lost his Mony and Jewels at play, his liberality at the same time acquir'd a Treasure sufficient to recompense those losses, and that was the friendship of *Messire Philip Cospean*, first Bishop of *Aire*, afterwards of *Nantes*, and lastly of *Lizieux*, where a few years since he died in as high a reputation of Sanctity and Learning, as any Prelate of his time. This good Bishop was at this time a young man, newly arriv'd from *Mons* in *Hainault*, where he was born; who having run through his course of Study at *Lovain*, under the tuition of *Justus Lipsius*, with great applause, had assurance enough to trust himself upon the great Theatre of Europe, and resolv'd upon a Journey to *Paris*: Thither being come, he first undertook the Education of *Messieurs de Rambouillet*, and *du Fargis*, Pupils worthy of so excellent a Tutor; when from private Precepts, proceeding to publick Lectures, he became Philosophy Reader, which he so admirably perform'd, that he soon eclips'd the Reputation of the most famous Doctors of his time. *Le Plessis Baussonniere*, who in the profession of Arms retain'd yet a great inclination to

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Learning, being invited by *Coſpean*'s Reputation to his Lectures, a particular friendſhip was ſoon contracted betwixt them; under the priviledge of which *Le Pleſſis* importun'd *Coſpean* to leave the Schools, and to mount the Pulpit, incouraging his modeſty with the applauſe he might infallibly promiſe to himſelf from the equity and opinion of all judicious men. With much ado *Coſpean* was at laſt overcome by his Friends perſwaſions, ſo that he preach'd, and in a ſhort time got ſo high a repute, that *le Pleſſis* made no difficulty to invite the Duke his Maſter to hear a ſtranger preach, that had no name at Court. The Duke went the firſt time to hear him upon *le Pleſſis* account, where being highly ſatisfied with the Eloquence of this new Orator, he afterwards drew moſt of the Court to hear him, where *Coſpean* out-ſtripping the expectation of all his Auditories, arriv'd in a ſhort ſpace to ſuch a degree of Reputation, that he became the model of queint Preaching; and doubtleſs by this ſtranger Eloquence firſt mounted the Pulpit in *France*. The Duke of *Eſpernon*, not content only to countenance the Reputation of ſo deſerving a man, would further by his bounty advance a Vertue, that he had firſt brought into the light; wherefore the Biſhoprick of *Aire* having been ſome time vacant by the deceaſe of *Francis de Foix*, and *de Candale*, and this Dignity being at his diſpoſe, he preferr'd the Merit of his Friend, to the conſideration and reſpect of many men of Quality, his Relations; and unknown to *Coſpean*, diſpatch'd his *Mandamus* to the Biſhoprick, procur'd Bulls from *Rome* at his own Charge, and gave him Furniture and Equipage neceſſary for the ſupport of his Dignity, which would otherwiſe have been very chargeable to him. A bounty this good Prelate would often mention to me in the ſtory of his Life, with the greateſt acknowledgment; and never was man more grateful for a Benefit, than he made it appear he was for this all the days of his life. Neither if he, upon all occaſions, highly magnified the Duke's Liberality, was the Duke leſs ſatisfied with his good Fortune, that had given him ſo happy an opportunity to oblige ſo excellent a man; from whom, I have often heard him declare, he receiv'd more aſſiſtance in his Affairs, more ſweetneſs, and ſatisfaction in his converſation, and more comfort in his afflictions, than from all the advantages he had deriv'd from Fortune beſides, during the whole courſe of his long life. *Anno* 1603.

All theſe things paſt during the calm the Court at this time liv'd in, a tranquillity wherein the King, who by the ſole reputation of his name kept all things quiet abroad, and who had very little to do at home, began ſeriouſly to think of improving his Revenue, and

Anno 1603. and of filling his Treaſure; his great, and noble courage ſuggeſting to him generous deſigns enough of employing it one day to the glory of his own name, and to the advantage of his Crown and Kingdom. A time wherein the preſence of his great Miniſters being not very neceſſary at Court, where all things were carried on by his Majeſties own particular conduct, every man had leiſure to look after his own private affairs.

Anno 1604. It was after the foremention'd tranſactions that hapned in the Years 1602. and 1603. that the Duke of *Eſpernon*, willing to ſhare in the liberty of the time, departed in the latter end of the laſt into his Governments of *Xaintonge*, and *Angoumois*; where bearing ſtill in mind the affront offer'd him by the *Mareſchal d'Ornano*, and thinking himſelf not clear in his Reputation, unleſs he return'd again to *Bordeaux* to renew the match had before by the *Mareſchals* moroſity been broken off, he went again to *Bordeaux* in the beginning of the year 1604. to make ready for a Carnaval; to which he had invited a far greater number of Nobility, and Gentry than before, and where the preparation for Maſques, Running at the Ring, Balls, and Feaſting, were made with great pomp, and vaſt expenſe. But the *Mareſchal*, notwithſtanding the Orders he had receiv'd from the King, conceiving this buſineſs, what gloſs ſoever might be put upon it, would be interpreted to his diſgrace, and would paſs in the opinions of men at honour for a Bravado, and an affront to him in his Government, could by no means perſwade himſelf to digeſt it, which made him very important with the King, that his Majeſty would pleaſe to abſolve him from ſo injurious a condition; a thing the King (who had him in great eſteem) would as willingly have done: But his Royal Word being already paſs'd to the Duke, whom he knew to be as obſtinate as the other, in things wherein his Honour was concern'd, and not knowing how at once to ſatisfie two ſo different humours, matters were in all apparence going into as ill terms as at firſt, when an accident fell out that ſoon took the Duke off all thoughts of that Solemnity. The Dutcheſs of *Bar* the King's only Siſter, hapned to dye at this time which gave the King occaſion to write to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, that he aſſur'd himſelf all ſuch good Subjects and Servants, as he was, would rather lament with him for the loſs of ſo dear a Relation, than to think of Mirth and publick Solemnities of Joy, at ſo unſeaſonable a time; a command ſo much the eaſier for the Duke to obey, by how much he himſelf had particular reaſon to be really afflicted at the death of that excellent Lady. So that by this accident the *Mareſchal d' Ornano* ſaw himſelf diſingag'd from one of the greateſt extre-

A new quarrel like to riſe betwixt the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and the *Mareſchal d'Ornano*.

extremities he had ever found himſelf involv'd in, it having been otherwiſe neceſſary for him, either abſolutely to diſobey the King, which he could not have done without incurring his diſgrace, or patiently to ſubmit to an affront he himſelf had declar'd to be the greateſt he could poſſibly receive; and that ('tis ſaid) he was reſolv'd to have avoided by laying down his Commiſſion: ſuch as were moſt perfect in his paſſionate nature being confident, had it come to the puſh, he would certainly have ranſom'd himſelf from that ſubmiſſion at the price of his Fortune. *Anno* 1604.

The Duke continued ſome time after this in *Guienne*, and from thence returned into *Angoumois*, where he ſpent the remainder of the year, without being call'd thence upon any publick occaſion. All things (as has been ſaid) were quiet, and the King ſeem'd to be wholly taken up, with the care of husbanding and filling his Exchequer; wherein though ſome believ'd him to be meerly carried on by a natural inclination to the love of mony; yet his deſigns which a few years after diſclos'd themſelves gave the world an accompt, that there was more of deſign than avarice in the exact care he took to moderate the exceſſive expenſe had by his predeceſſor been introduc'd into the Kingdom. The Duke of *Eſpernon* nevertheleſs could have wiſh'd his Majeſty had been more open handed to the Garriſons in his Government, thoſe of *Angouleſme*, and *Xaintes* being ſo ill paid that they could hardly ſubſiſt; which putting him into an apprehenſion, that thoſe places (become now as it were Frontier Towns, ſince thoſe of the Reformed Religion had made a kind of ſeparation in the State, of which *Rochelle* ſeem'd to be the Metropolitan City) might be loſt in his hands, he continually repreſented to the King the danger thoſe Cities were in, but without being regarded at all; which made him in the beginning of the enſuing year reſolve upon a Journey to Court, to try, if in perſon, and by word of mouth he could not prevail more, than by continual importunities in writing he had hitherto done: where being arriv'd, and preſenting himſelf before the King, his Majeſty as'd him in what condition he had left his Governments? to whom the Duke reply'd, That they could not poſſibly be in a worſe; the neceſſity of the Souldiery in Garriſon being ſo great that he durſt not undertake for the ſecurity of thoſe places committed to his charge. To which the King having made anſwer, That they were us'd as others were: The Duke (who very well knew the difference his Majeſty made betwixt his Catholick Garriſons, and the neighbouring places poſſeſs'd by thoſe of the Reform'd Religion) took the liberty to tell him, that thoſe who had ſo inform'd his Majeſty had given him a very ill accompt

Anno 1604. compt of his Affairs, the Garrisons of those of the Religion, who perhaps were arm'd to the prejudice of his Service, being nothing in Arrear, whilst the Catholicks who were firm in their obedience, were ready to perish for want of pay. The King nettled at so tart a reply, and angry that the Duke should give him so publick a reproach in the discovery of a truth, he had a mind, for many reasons, should have been conceal'd, suffer'd himself to be so far transported by his passion, that he could not forbear to tell the Duke, "He was perverse, and importunate: That he sought all "occasions to displease him: That he would have done him "a greater kindness to have kept still at the distance he was at, "than to come into his presence only to offend him; and for the "close of all, that he had long observ'd he did not love him. To which the Duke without being thunder-struck at the King's anger, which might perhaps have surpriz'd another man, less confident of his Fidelity than he, insisting upon the last words, answered coldly, but after a serious manner, "Sir, your Majesty "has not a more faithful Subject than my self in your Kingdom, "and I had rather die, than do any thing contrary to the least "particle of my duty: But Sir, for what concerns friendship, "your Majesty knows very well, that is a thing not to be ac-"quir'd but by Friendship. At so bold, and generous an answer, there was none who was not astonish'd at the Duke's freedom, and that was not ready to condemn his rashness; though the King himself, who knew how to put a just value upon great actions, and how to interpret language of this nature, was of a more favourable opinion, and gave no reply: but on the contrary, reflecting upon what the Duke had said, converted his indignation into esteem; and interpreting what others thought temerity, for an effect of honest liberty, proceeding from a good conscience, resolv'd to make himself belov'd, by the way the Duke had laid him down, and from that time forward began to use him much better, than he had ever done. Neither was the Duke wanting on his part, but perceiving his Majesties good disposition towards him, and adding the spur of affection to what he had formerly perform'd upon the meer accompt of duty, he at last obtain'd so great a share in his Majesties favour, and good opinion, that before his death he receiv'd as many testimonies of his Royal good Will and Confidence, as any other person of his condition whatsoever in the Kingdom.

A bold answer from the Duke to the King, well receiv'd, and turn'd to his advantage.

Anno 1605. This confidence began soon after to appear, by the command the King was pleas'd to give the Duke over the Horse and Foot he sent into *Limousin*; when tir'd out with the continual disorders, the

The Duke's expedition into *Limousin*.

the exceſs of his clemency begat every day in his Kingdom, he was reſolv'd to take order once for all, and by a ſevere and exemplary puniſhment to quiet the Rebellion ſome of *Mounſieur de Boüillons* Servants openly maintain'd after his departure out of the Kingdom in *Perigord*, *Quercy*, and *Limouſin*. The *Mareſchal de Boüillon* was ſeiz'd of many very fair poſſeſſions, and had many Friends and Servants in thoſe Provinces; where the Nobility, Gentry, and Commons being alſo naturally inclin'd to Arms, it was no hard matter to perſwade them into commotion. *Anno* 1605.

The King had been given to underſtand, that under the pretenſe of ſeeking protection only from the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, and the *Swiſſe Cantons*; the *Mareſchal* endeavour'd to intereſt them in the Quarrel of thoſe of the Religion in *France*, by poſſeſſing them (as it was ſaid) that ſince the King's Converſion, their uſage was far different from what it had formerly been, and the liberty of Conſcience far more reſtrain'd, than it us'd to be. Neither did his Majeſty doubt, but that all of his opinion in his Kingdom, would eaſily be induc'd to follow the Duke of *Boüillon's* diſcontent, who had acquir'd an abſolute reputation among them. He farther ſaw that many Catholicks made no ſcruple to joyn with him, to the end they might re-enjoy the licence of War, which would by no means be allow'd them in the better times of Peace: He knew that great ſummes of mony were diſtributed for the raiſing of men; which mony was ſuſpected to come from *Spain*, from whence all the inteſtine broils of his Kingdom had ever been countenanc'd, and promoted. Evil diſpoſitions, that being all joyn'd together, were ſufficient to produce great diſorders in the State, and to reduce the King in ſpite of his heart to the neceſſity of a Civil War. His Majeſty therefore thinking it very convenient to prevent all theſe diſorders, and to ſuffocate them in their Birth, reſolv'd to go in perſon to *Limouſin*, either by his Preſence to appeaſe, or by his Authority to ſuppreſs the begun Commotions: but to diſpoſe them to their obedience if poſſible before his arrival, to chaſtiſe ſome Offenders without drawing the Odium immediately upon himſelf, and to reduce every one to his Duty; he order'd the Duke of *Eſpernon* to go before with ſix Companies only of his Regiment of Guards, and four Troops of Horſe; not doubting but with this little Body, together with the Duke's Intereſt (which was very conſiderable in thoſe parts, of which ſome places were under his own Government) he would be able to give a better accompt of his Expedition, than another perhaps could do with greater Forces. And to the end that his Juſtice might accompany his Arms,

Anno 1605. he joyn'd to the Duke *Jean Jaques de Meſmes Segnieur de Roiſſy*, Maſter of Requeſts, with Commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer to ſit upon the Life, and Death of the Offenders. This was he ſo famous for his Integrity, and Valour, that was afterwards Doyen to the Council of State, where, though the eſteem every one had of his Vertue was very great; yet was it no more, than was due to his merit; although afterwards in the progreſs of a long life, he had this honour added to the reſt he enjoy'd, to ſee his name illuſtrated by a noble Poſterity; not any man ſcarce of his condition in the Kingdom having ſupply'd the State with ſo great and able Miniſters. The Duke having taken his leave of the King, advanc'd into *Limouſin*; where he would have *Crequy* Camp-Maſter to the Regiment of Guards to command in perſon the Forces he took along with him, and where the moſt turbulent ſpirits, at his unexpected arrival (which by his diligence had almoſt got the ſtart of any intelligence of his coming) meditated nothing leſs than their defenſe; ſome of the moſt advis'd fearing to have to do with the Duke, or *de Roiſſy*, appeal'd to his Majeſties mercy, and by the acknowledgement of their offenſe, obtain'd their Pardon; others retir'd themſelves to the Duke *de Bouillon* to *Sedan*, the moſt imprudent, or the moſt unfortunate only falling into the hands of Juſtice. Of which five or ſix ſuffer'd death, though many others were puniſh'd by more moderate ways: ſo that before the King's arrival at *Limoges*, all thoſe Countries, that before breath'd nothing but Sedition and Diſorder, were now ſo calm and ſtill, that his Majeſty had nothing to do, but by his Clemency to ſettle Rebels, newly reclaim'd from their Diſobedience, in their Duty, and to reward his faithful Subjects, by the demonſtrations of his Grace and Favour.

The end of the Fifth Book.

THE

THE HISTORY Of the LIFE of the Duke of Eſpernon.

The Sixth Book.

THE Affairs of *Limouſin*, that had taken up the Duke of *Eſpernon* the whole year, having been compos'd with the facility you have heard, the King return'd again to *Paris*, attended by the Duke, who had now nothing left to do behind. The antiquated enmity, that ſo many years had been nouriſh'd betwixt the Houſe of *Guiſe* and him, continued ſtill, which was ready to diſcover it ſelf upon every light occaſion, and almoſt as oft as they met to come to a buſtle betwixt them: In all which diſputes, the Duke (notwithſtanding that that Illuſtrious Family, by the greatneſs of their Birth, and by their Offices in the State, by their vaſt poſſeſſions in the Kingdom, and above all by the great number of generous Princes of which it was compos'd, as alſo by the potency of their Alliances, made up a great part of the Court) would never give them the leaſt ground, but ever ſuſtein'd their power with great Spirit, and Vigour; neither did he want ſuch a number of Relations, and Servants, as might ſecure him from the apprehenſion

Anno 1605. A diſpute betwixt the Duke of *Eſpernon* and the Duke of *Guiſe*.

Anno 1605.

of the greatneſs of any. He had ſometime before this had a brisk diſpute with the Duke of *Guiſe*, the King being at *Lyons*, which proceeded ſo far, that the Duke of *Eſpernon* by the hands of *la Pierre*, one of the Duke's Gentlemen, receiv'd a Challenge from him, though the Quarrel had been ſo publick, and the Duke of *Guiſe* was ſo narrowly watch'd by his Friends, that he could not get out into the Field; wherein the Duke of *Eſpernon* was better ſerv'd by his, who permitted him to go out of the City with *Gohas*, whom he took with him for his ſecond: but being call'd back by the King's Command, who would himſelf compoſe their difference, that Quarrel was ſoon at an end.

Another quarrel betwixt the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and the Prince of *Joinville*.

There hapned at this time another, betwixt the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and the Prince of *Joinville*, now Duke of *Chevreuſe*, and Brother to the Duke of *Guiſe*; for this Prince having ſtaid the Coach of a Woman of Quality at the outer Gate of the *Louvre*, one night that the King had appointed a great Dancing at Court, and the Duke coming out, with the Duke of *Montpenſier* to go home, the Ladies Coach ſo ſtopt the Gate, that the Duke's could not poſſibly paſs; wherefore he commanded the Coachman to make way: But the Duke of *Chevreuſe*, who was lean'd upon one of the Boots of the Coach, on the dark ſide where he could not be perceiv'd, commanded the Coach-man not to ſtir, ſeeking (as it was plain enough) out of youthful bravery, an occaſion to quarrel: nor did the Duke fail to give him as good a one, as he could deſire; for not being able longer to endure the inſolency of ſo baſe a fellow, he cudgell'd the Coach-man ſo well, that he forc'd him at laſt to give back. The Prince *de Joinville*, who perhaps forbore out of reſpect to the Duke of *Montpenſier*, appear'd not at all in the buſineſs at that time; but in the morning ſent the Gentleman of his Horſe, *le Comté* by name, to queſtion the Duke about it: The Duke was yet in his bed, and aſleep when the Gentleman came, but being wak'd by the Groom of his Chamber, who never refus'd admittance to any, he ſent for him to his bed-ſide; where being come, the Gentleman told him that he was ſent by the Prince of *Joinville* his Maſter, to know, if when he beat the Coachman over night, he did it to affront him? To which the Duke returning no anſwer, but only asking him where his Maſter was? and the other having anſwered that he ſtaid at the foot of *Montmartre* with a good Horſe, and a good Sword to expect him, he, without more words leap'd out of his Bed, dreſt himſelf in the Gentleman's preſence, and having led him into his Armory, took out thence two Swords of equal length, whereof he gave him the choice; by which time the Maſter of his own Horſe, being alſo come

come to him. they went all three together to the place. Being there come, the Duke found the Prince *de Joinville* ready to receive him, their Swords were already drawn, and they were juſt going to't; when the Prince, who had his face towards *Paris*, ſeeing a Party of Horſe coming that way, and ſuſpecting it was with an intent to prevent them, ſhew'd them to the Duke, telling him withal that they muſt ſpur to gain the *Bois de Boulogne*, and without more words turn'd his Horſe that way. The Duke, who by the diſtance of thoſe he ſaw, conceiv'd they had yet time enough to end their diſpute before they could come in to interrupt them, had a great mind, without going further, to have diſpatch'd the buſineſs there: but being neceſſitated to follow the Prince, who was already upon the gallop towards the Wood, he ſpurr'd after, though they could not make ſuch haſte, but that they were interrupted before they could come there, and by their Friends carried back to the City. Where the King, having notice of their Quarrel, commanded them both to the *Louvre*, and there took up the buſineſs, making them embrace in his preſence, and promiſe to be good friends. That which was moſt remarkable on the Duke's ſide in this occaſion was, that the number of thoſe who declar'd themſelves of his Party was ſo great, that they took up all the ſpace betwixt the *Roule*, to the *Louvre*; whilſt the Duke of *Joinville* was only countenanc'd by thoſe of his own Relation, whoſe intereſt in *Paris* was at this time very much declin'd, from what it had formerly been in the life of the Duke his Father. *Anno* 1605.

Although the reſidence of this great City was very pleaſing to the King, yet could not the delights that entertain'd him there, detain his Majeſty from viſiting all parts of his Kingdom, where he conceiv'd his preſence to be neceſſary for the advancement of his Affairs. We ſaw him the laſt year in *Limouſin*, and this invited him into *Champagne*, and as far as *Sedan*, to reduce the Duke of *Boüillon* to his duty. This Duke keeping himſelf ſtill at a diſtance from the Court, and refractory to ſeveral Summons his Majeſty had ſent him to make his appearance, and by juſtifying himſelf to obtain his favour, it was plain that his refuſing to come, was a contempt to the Sovereign Authority, and that therefore his Majeſty in the vindication of his own honour, was oblig'd to chaſtize him. Neither did he longer defer, for that purpoſe to make his preparation for a Journey to *Sedan*. In this expedition the Duke of *Eſpernon*, whom the King began now much better to reliſh, and whoſe admirable care, and vigilancy, upon all occaſions, gave his Majeſty infinite ſatisfaction, had the command of the Vant-Guard committed to him, and had matters proceeded to the neceſſity *Anno* 1606.

The King makes an expedition to *Sedan*, wherein the command of the Vant-Guard is committed to the Duke of *Eſpernon*.

Anno 1606. ceſſity of a Siege, was deſign'd for one of the moſt important Quarters againſt the Town: but the Duke of *Bouillon* having at laſt ſhut himſelf up in the place, and not willing to pull upon himſelf the utmoſt effects of the King's indignation, had recourſe to his mercy; and by his ſubmiſſions, together with the Queens interceſſion (who ordinarily accompanied the King in all his Motions) obtain'd of his Majeſty an indempnity for all things paſt, upon the moſt favourable terms he could himſelf expect, or deſire. Whereupon he receiv'd the King into the City the ſeventh of *April* 1606. with a Garriſon of 300. men, which by the condition of the Accommodation were to remain four years in the Caſtle; during which time his Majeſty would make tryal of this new Convert's perſeverance in his duty: but that long ſpace was, by his Majeſties favour, reduc'd to a few months, the bounty of this generous Prince ever contracting the term of mens diſgraces; his diſpleaſure being ſhort liv'd, and of no continuance; but his noble nature being ever conſtant to oblige all his Subjects.

Anno 1607. Though the following year was paſs'd over without any diſturbance in the Kingdom; yet did his Majeſties Name, and Reputation give him opportunity, and by his Authority, Power, to compoſe one of the moſt dangerous differences, that could poſſibly have hapned amongſt Chriſtian Princes, and that was the falling out betwixt the Pope *Paul* the V. and the Republick of *Venice*: a diſorder, that had it not in time been taken up, would infallibly have involv'd all Chriſtendom in the Quarrel, and it is infini ely to be fear'd, have given the *Turk* opportunity in ſo great a confuſion to have made a formidable advance into the very heart of Europe. A danger that his Majeſty (than whom none was clearer ſighted) very well foreſaw, and (retaining a grateful memory of the obligations he had receiv'd, both from the Holy Sea, and that Republick at his advancement to the Crown) as ſoon undertook to interpoſe betwixt thoſe two powerful adverſaries. The buſineſs was carried on by the mediation of the Cardinal *de Joyeuſe*, and Cardinal *Perron*; wherein the one, and the other proceeding according to his Majeſties wiſe direction, their endeavours were at laſt crown'd with ſucceſs, and all things concluded to the ſatisfaction of both parties, but chiefly to the Honour of *France*; which now appear'd to be the Arbiter of all the Eſtates of Europe. And indeed in thoſe times all things in a manner were ſway'd by his Majeſties will; his deſire being almoſt a rule to all Princes in all Affairs: Neither was there in the whole world a Kingdom to be found more glorious, more flouriſhing, or more happy,

happy, than that of *France*, during the Reign of this mighty Prince. *Anno* 1607.

Yet could not all this reputation abroad ſecure him from afflictions at home; neither could his greatneſs and bounty exempt him from the power of Death; who firſt exerciſing his cruelty upon ſome of his Family, diſcharg'd in the end his whole rage and fury upon his own perſon. The precedent year had raviſh'd from him one of the Princes his Children, and this depriv'd him of the Duke of *Montpenſier* his Couſin; a Prince for whom his Majeſty had as great a kindneſs, as for any whatſoever of his Blood, as he made it appear by the true ſorrow he manifeſted for his death: but the Duke of *Eſpernon* was afflicted beyond all expreſſion. I have already given an accompt of the Alliance betwixt theſe two, and of the particular Friendſhip that Alliance begot, I ſhall now further ſay, they were inſeparable in their converſation, their Intereſts went ever hand in hand with one another, and it will be hard to find a Friendſhip ſo pure, and conſtant betwixt two private perſons, as they ever preſerved entire, in the corruptions and revolutions of the Court. Neither could the friendſhip of a Prince of his extraction and vertue be otherwiſe than of great importance to the Duke; whoſe proſperity and advancement had procur'd him ſo much envy, and conſequently ſo many enemies: yet was he conſtrain'd to ſubmit to the inevitable neceſſity of death, and to bear with patience a loſs for which there was no other remedy.

The death of the Duke of *Montpenſier*.

This accident was yet follow'd by another the enſuing year, at which the Duke was almoſt equally afflicted: *Pere Ange de Joyeuſe*, Father-in-law to the Duke of *Montpenſier*, had been return'd into the Order of Fathers Capuchins from the year 1599. from which time he had continued in the auſterity of his Canon with ſo great zeal and ſanctity, that he was become a preſident of Vertue, and Holy Living to all the Religious Men of his Order: Yet did he not (when returning to the obſervation of his Vow, he threw off all worldly vanities, and deſires) baniſh from his breaſt thoſe true affections which Nature and Reaſon had planted in his heart: but on the contrary had ever in his greateſt retirement cheriſh'd the Duke's friendſhip, as if he had been his true Brother in Blood, as he was in Alliance and Affection. Neither was the Duke on his part leſs ſedulous to improve ſo vertuous an Intereſt, ever honouring, and loving him, even in his penitential Sack-cloath, at as high a rate, as when he liv'd in the greateſt Luſtre, in the moſt honourable employments; and applying himſelf with greater diligence to the Intereſts of his Houſe, and to the advancement of his Daughter, than when he himſelf liv'd upon the great Theatre of *Anno* 1608.

Anno 1608. of the buſie world: ſo that in different capacities of living, their friendſhip continued ſtill one, and the ſame, till death came to cut the knot, which alone had power to diſſolve it. This Holy man died at *Rivoly* in *Piedmont*, in his return from *Rome*, in great reputation of Sanctity and Vertue, which has ſince by time been made more manifeſt to all.

The death of *Pere Ange de Joyeuſe* the Duke's Brother-in-law.

Anno 1609. The following year affords ſo little conſiderable to be ſaid of the Duke of *Eſpernon* in particular (the Court being at this time wrap'd in ſo great a calm and ſecurity, that there is nothing of moment to be reported of any ſave the King himſelf) that it might well enough be paſs'd over in ſilence: But having hitherto found out ſomething or other to record in the foregoing years, I had rather travel, not out of my ſubject only, but alſo out of the affairs of the Kingdom, than to omit the moſt glorious proof his Majeſty could poſſibly give of his Authority with all the Princes, and States of Chriſtendom in the concluſion of the Truce betwixt the Crown of *Spain*, and the States of the United Provinces.

This great affair had been fruitleſly propos'd almoſt from the very firſt buſtle of Arms in that Country; neither had endeavours been wanting even in the heat of the moſt bloody executions (that the fury of War has perhaps produc'd in any part of Europe) for the effecting of ſo good a work,, Treaties of Accommodation having every year, during thoſe troubles been conſtantly by ſome or other ſet on foot: but the animoſity of Factions, the difference of Religions, and the variety of Events, that had ever kept Affairs on both ſides as it were in equal balance, had ſo exaſperated the minds of men, that ſcarce any propoſition of Peace would be endur'd. A work, it ſeems, reſerv'd to be an additional Ray to the King's Glory, whoſe reputation only could cut the knot of all thoſe difficulties. *Spain* had great need of Peace, which having often, without intereſſing the King in the Affair, ſought in vain, he was in fine conſtrain'd to apply himſelf to him to procure it, and wholly to ſubmit all things to his Arbitration. A task the King (very well ſatisfied with ſo high, and publick an acknowledgment of his power) as readily undertook, and to that purpoſe diſpatch'd away Preſident *Janin*, and the *Sieur de Roiſſy*, to manage the Work: by whoſe prudent conduct, fortified by their Maſters Reputation, they effected that by the weight of Authority, which perhaps their dexterity (how great ſoever) without great labour and expence of much time, could not otherwiſe have brought to paſs. So that things were reduc'd to the point the parties concern'd could themſelves deſire; from whence

The Truce betwixt *Spain* and *Holland* concluded by the King's mediation.

whence followed an univerſal Peace amongſt all Chriſtian Princes. *Anno* 1609.

It was into this tranquille condition, that the Affairs of Europe were firſt to be wrought, before the King could begin to form it into the new mould he had long deſign'd; for this great Prince, born to reconcile Monarchy and Juſtice, being unable to endure the proud Authority, with which the Crown of *Spain* lorded it over all her Neighbours, and more impatient that by the expanſion of his Empire the *Spaniard* ſhould reap advantages, which he conceiv'd were more juſtly due to his Birth, and Valour, he reſolv'd to clip the wings of this ſoaring greatneſs, to make him give back thoſe Territories he uſurp'd from his Neighbours, to reſtore the Republicks their ancient liberty, and finally to reduce his power to the limits of his primitive poſſeſſion. This in ſhort is all that can be ſaid of the King's deſigns, and all that ſuch as conceiv'd they penetrated deepeſt into his moſt private thoughts, could poſſibly divine; it being moſt certain that he diſcover'd the bottom of his deſign to none, which had it been communicated to any, the Duke of *Eſpernon* would doubtleſs in this conjuncture have participated of the truſt: but as this great Prince would execute all things in his own perſon, ſo did he here reſerve to himſelf the ſecret of his reſolutions; inſomuch that though his Army was all ready drawn into the Field, that he himſelf was immediately to come up to them, and that in all probability there would be ſudden action; yet durſt no one venture poſitively to determine whither that preparation was directed, or who was to feel the firſt edge of his Arms: neither ſhall I preſume to deliver theſe conjectures for truth, nor ſuffer my curioſity to tranſgreſs the bounds this mighty Prince in his wiſdom preſcrib'd even to the moſt faithful Miniſters of his Kingdom. *Anno* 1610.

The King makes great preparation for War.

This brave and laudable ambition having long poſſeſs'd his generous heart, he had from the firſt Idea of his deſign wiſely laid up for the means to effect it, that it might ſucceed to his glory: and to that end, from the time peace was firſt ſettled in his Kingdom, had been gathering, and had now got together a prodigious Treaſure: His Artillery and Ammunitions were all ready, and in equipage fit to execute his vaſt deſigns. *France* was able to furniſh him with an infinite number of old Souldiers; neither, in the fair weather he had been ſo ſolicitous to maintain at home, had he forgot to take a particular care of breeding ſo many brave Captains, and good Souldiers in the Low-Country-Wars, as were ſufficient, in a very ſhort time, to bring ſuch raw men as ſhould be rais'd, into very good diſcipline. Beſides the Forces of his own

Anno 1610. Kingdom, he had made a League with all the neighbouring Princes: The Duke of *Savoy*, the Republick of *Venice*, the Duke of *Florence*, and almost all the Princes of *Italy*, the Prince of *Orange*, and most of the Princes of *Germany*, with the Hanse-Towns of the Empire were engag'd to joyn with him: And the King of *England* had made great preparation in favour of his designs; so that in all apparence, what, and how great soever these designs might be, they were very likely to succeed.

Nothing then being wanting, but a pretense to give colour to his action, the death of the Dukes of *Cléves*, soon supply'd him with one as good as he could desire; for after his death, the succession to his Dukedom being pretended to by all his Brothers-in-law, who were five, the Marquis of *Brandebourg*, the Duke of *Newbourg*, the *Count Palatine*, the Duke of *Deux Ponts*, and the Marquis of *Burgau*; all these Princes agreed to appeal to the King, and to stand to his Arbitration: but whilst they were pleading their titles in the Court of *France*, the Emperour (pretending all vacant Jurisdictions to be Fiefs of the Empire, and that for want of Heirs Males, he had right to seize them in trust) had there establish'd the Arch-Duke *Leopold* his Cousin, as his Deputy and Governour, for, and under him: in order to which delegation the Arch-Duke had already, by the assistance of the *Austrian* Forces, possess'd himself of the best part of the Dutchy by the taking of *Juliers*; notwithstanding that the King had publickly declar'd, he desir'd things might remain suspended, till every man's Title was examin'd, and the true Heir could be known. And this was in effect, all the reason could be given for this mighty preparation, though an Army consisting of forty thousand *French* Foot, ten thousand *Swisse*, ten thousand Horse, and fifty pieces of Cannon, with their Equipage; together with the Leavies the confederate Princes were still, on all hands preparing to joyn with him; giving all the world to understand, that so great Forces were design'd for some other end, than only for the Accommodation of a particular Quarrel, all men were in suspense, and in great expectation of what the event would be.

The Army then being in the Field, and the King ready to depart from *Paris*, his Majesty would yet first take so good order to secure the interior Peace of his Kingdom, that he might not, when at a great distance, and in the heat of his Enterprizes, be call'd back by Domestick troubles: A consideration that made him determine to devolve his Royal Power to the Queen, and to cause her to be declar'd Regent in his absence; and knowing that how good soever her intentions were, and how sincere soever her admi-

adminiſtration might be; yet that the ſovereign Authority he left her inveſted withal, would require the Fidelity, Courage, and Prudence of ſome great and experienc'd Miniſter to ſupport it, he caſt his eye upon the Duke of *Eſpernon*, to confer upon him that great Truſt and Honour. In this reſolution therefore, having one day call'd for the Duke, and cauſing him to come into his Cloſet, where he was then with the Queen alone; the Duke was not a little ſurpriz'd at the favourable, and obliging Character, his Majeſty was then pleas'd to give of him to the Queen, on ſo unexpected an occaſion. He told her, "That being upon the point to "go out of the Kingdom, the Government whereof he had, du-"ring his abſence, committed to her care, he had conſider'd how "neceſſary it would be for her to have a faithful Servant about her "perſon, upon all occurrences that might happen, and, in occa-"ſions where the modeſty of her Sex would not permit her to act "in her own perſon, to be aſſiſting to her with his Wiſdom, and "Valour: That having to that end ſeverally weigh'd the abili-"ties of all the chief Officers of his Crown, he had found none, "in whom the qualities neceſſary for ſo great an employment, "were more eminent than in the perſon of the Duke of * *Eſper-"non* there preſent: That having had a long experience of his "Fidelity, Wiſdom, and Valour, he had determin'd to deprive "himſelf of his Service, though infinitely neceſſary to him in the "proſecution of his deſigns, and to ſend him back to her upon "the firſt ſally of his Arms. That ſhe might repoſe an entire and "perfect confidence in him, as he himſelf alſo did, who knew "him to be a man of approv'd Fidelity, and Honour: That he "was going to execute deſigns, wherein he was likely to meet "with many difficulties, and perhaps ſome danger; but that "whatever ſhould happen, he deſir'd her to reſt ſecure in the "Duke's vigilancy, and care, for which he would undertake both "to himſelf and to her. After which, turning to the Duke, he told him, "That he did not require from him any confirmation "by new promiſes, of thoſe things whereof he had aſſur'd the "Queen in his behalf: That he had had ſo many proofs of his "Vertue, in the integrity of his former Actions, it was not now "to be ſuſpected, that he conjur'd him by the eſteem, and affecti-"on he had for him, to juſtifie his expectation, to ſerve the Queen, "and the Princes his Children, with the ſame Fidelity he had "ſerv'd him, and to promiſe to himſelf for his reward, all the "acknowledgement he could reaſonably expect from a grateful "Prince, and a good Maſter. The Duke a little out of counte-"nance at what the King had ſaid in his favour, made anſwer in

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* *De Serres* ſays the King intended to leave the Conſtable, and the Chancellor in that truſt.

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After this the King told him he could not leave him at present with the Queen, having occasion for him to command the Vant-Guard of his Army, till the Prince of *Orange* should come up to him, for whom he had reserv'd that employment. A thing the Duke knew before, as also that the King intended him the honour of that important command in the mean time: But the election of his person in that great employment of sitting at the Helm, did not a little displease, and increase the envy of many of the greatest men of the Kingdom, who had long look'd a squint upon the Duke's Prosperity and Favour; though his Majesty, having maturely, and upon very good grounds proceeded to that choice, was not for any consideration, or by any arguments whatsoever to be dissuaded from that resolution.

I know not how some, who envy the Duke's name, and memory, may entertain a relation so much to his advantage; though were I put to prove the truth of what I report, I could bring a great many persons of Honour, and Quality to attest it; the Queen Mother, in the first Letter she writ to the King after her escape from *Blois*, makes particular mention of it; than whom no one could be better inform'd in this Affair, and has also several times since declar'd by word of mouth, what she then publish'd in writing: neither was it a secret at that time, no more than I hope it will be suspected in this, where so many persons are living of Reputation enough to give it Authority, should it be contradicted by any, who perhaps are not so well inform'd.

The King having, as has been said, taken order to secure all things that were likely in his absence, to disturb the peace of his Kingdom, prepar'd himself to be gone: The Queen had been Crown'd at St. *Dennis* the thirteenth of *May*, and her entry into *Paris* was design'd to have been, on Sunday the sixteenth, and on the seventeenth his Majesty intended, without further delay, to set out towards the Army. Nothing was now to be seen in *Paris*, but great preparations of joy, and triumph, to honour the remaining

maining Ceremony of the Queens Coronation; nothing but demonstrations of the Kings Magnificence, and of the felicity of his Reign, himself being most diligent in giving the Orders necessary for the state of that Solemnity; when this Great and Illustrious Prince, the terror of his Enemies, and the love and delight of his people, going abroad upon the fourteenth of the same month, to view the preparation of those Magnificences, was in a stop he met upon the way in the street *de la Ferronnerie*, by Saint *Innocents Church*, with three stabs of a Villain's Knife, laid dead in his Coach. The Duke of *Espernon* had the honour to be seated by the King in the hinder part of the Coach, upon whom his Majesty was leaning to whisper something in his ear; the Duke of *Monbazon*, with the *Mareschal de la Vardin*, was in one of the Boots, * and other persons of great Quality took up the rest: at the first stab the King cried out, *I am hurt*; at which the Duke of *Espernon*, who saw the next blow coming, holding up his arm to divert it, receiv'd part of it in the * sleeve of his Doublet, that was strook through, though the King's Destiny would not suffer him to receive it all; nor permit, that at the peril of his own life, he should save that of his Master, as with all his soul he would have done. The cursed Patricide proceeded yet to a third stab, of which the two last were mortal, and with the second the King tumbled dead upon the Duke, who receiv'd him in his Arms, his blood boiling in great quantities out of his mouth. After this execrable act, the cursed Assassinate was soon discover'd, against whom those who attended the King, and amongst them Saint *Michel*, one of his Gentlemen in ordinary, prompted by a just fury, had already drawn his Sword to dispatch him; when the Duke, calling to mind, how much those Gentlemen had been condemn'd who kill'd *Jaques Clement* upon the Murther of *Henry* the III. by whose imprudent zeal, a further discovery from the wretches own mouth of the Authors of that abominable Treason, was prevented, he cried out to *Saint Michel*, and to the Footmen, who had drawn their Swords to the same purpose, to hold, and upon pain of death not to kill him, but only to seize kis person, that he might be deliver'd into the hands of *Justice*. A caution that serv'd not a little to the vindication of an infinite number of worthy men; on whom, without all doubt, the various Factions that after broke out in the Kingdom, would according to their several Animosities, have laid the blame of that detested Fact, to serve for a pretense to their Insurrection. The Duke having given this first order, commanded the Coach man to turn back to the *Louvre*, and having spied in the King's Train, the Marquis *de Monserrant* his

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The Death of *Henry* the IIII.

* Who were the *Mareschal de Roquelaure*, the Marquis *de la Force*, the *Sieur de Liencourt*, and the Marquis *de Mireleau*.

* *De Serres* says by a mistake the Duke of *Monbazon* receiv'd the stab in the right sleeve of his Doublet.

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his particular Friend and Servant, he intreated him to go before, and from him to command the Foot Companies that were upon the Guard before the *Louvre*, to ſtand immediately to their Arms, and to ſecure all the Gates, to prevent any diſorder in the King's Houſhold: In the execution of which command, and in the diſtraction the ſight of ſo horrid, and ſo unexpected an accident might reaſonably put him into, *Monferrant* met the Chancellour *de Sillery*, then going to Council in the *Louvre*; who asking him the reaſon of that hurly burly, and of the Souldiers running to their Arms, *Monferrant* told him the King was dead; at which the Chancellour amaz'd, and in ſuſpenſe how to believe it, graſping him by the arm, and ſaying how's that *Mounſieur de Monferrant*! do you know what you ſay? the Coach arriv'd with the Curtains drawn, out of which the King without any motion was carried up in a Cloak, and laid upon the Bed in his Wardrobe.

The Duke of *Eſpernon's* ſignal ſervices to the State after the Death of the King.

The Duke, after he had paid this laſt Office to his dead Maſter, though ſurpriz'd to the degree may be imagin'd at ſo tragical an accident, was not long nevertheleſs, before he recollected himſelf; when conſidering that the greateſt teſtimony he could give of his gratitude to his dead Prince, was to ſerve thoſe he had left to ſucceed him, he began to pay the Queen thoſe ſervices, he had but a few days before in the King's Cloſet engag'd himſelf to perform; though the Orders he there receiv'd were not intended to have been executed ſo ſoon, nor upon ſo fatal an occaſion. The rumour of the King's death had already ſpread it ſelf, not only throughout the *Louvre*, but alſo over all *Paris*; at which the Queen, being beyond all imagination afflicted, and diſſolving her ſelf into tears, without any other thought, than how to humour, and ſatisfie her own grief; the Duke of *Eſpernon* came into her Chamber, and after ſome expreſſions of ſorrow, which as a true *Frenchman*, a good Subject, and an oblig'd Servant he could not forbear for the loſs of ſo good a Maſter, he there told her: "That he did not "come to her Majeſty in hope to ſtop the current of her tears, "the cauſe of her ſorrow being too great to admit of any preſent "conſolation; but that ſhe would ever have leiſure enough to "weep, when perhaps ſhe might not always have opportunity to "provide for the Fortune of her Children, and the Safety of the "Kingdom, which in effect were one, and the ſame thing: That "her Majeſty might better judge than any, what envy the King's "proſperity had drawn upon him, from all the neighbouring "Princes; and how much it was to be fear'd leſt his own Servants, "no longer now reſtrain'd by the preſence of this great Prince, "might in hope of novelty be debauch'd from their duty, if ſome

good

" good, and prudent order, for the ſettlement of Affairs, were " not ſuddenly taken: That to keep things in the quiet poſture " they then were, her Majeſty muſt ſpeedily, and in the firſt place, " ſecure the Domeſtick Peace of the Kingdom, by continuing " *Paris* in the ſerenity, and calm of obedience, it then was: That " the ſingle ſtrength of the Kingdom, if united, and in good intel- " ligence within it ſelf, was of it ſelf ſufficient to fruſtrate the de- " ſigns of any that ſhould attempt any thing againſt the Crown " of *France*: That for his own part, who had taken upon him " the boldneſs to give her Majeſty this firſt advice, he there from " his heart made her an humble tender of his Life, his Fortune, " and his Friends to do her Service; that therefore ſhe was only " to command, what ſhe would pleaſe ſhould be done, and that " he would periſh, or cauſe her Royal will to be obey'd. The Queen awak'd by ſo prudent a Counſel, and fortified by the re- " ſolution of ſo generous, and ſo conſiderable a Subject, told him: " That ſhe wholly reſerr'd all things to his Vigilancy, and Con- " duct, to be order'd, as he ſhould in his wiſdom think moſt fit; " wherein ſhe recommended to his Fidelity, the care of her Chil- ": dren, much more than any concern of her own, and that ſhe " ſhould reſt very well ſatisfied with whatever he ſhould do, " knowing as ſhe very well did, his prudence, and affection to be " equally ſo great, that nothing was to be added to them. *Anno* 1610.

The Duke without loſing more time, went immediately out of the *Louvre*; where the firſt thing he did in order to the Queens commands, was to bid the Officers of the Regiment of Guards, to put their men ſuddenly into Arms. This great body conſiſting of four thouſand effective men, and thoſe of the beſt, and the beſt Diſciplin'd in Europe, did not a little awe the *Pariſians*, from leaping over the bounds of their Duty: a ſtrength that as it was abſolutely at the Duke's command, ſo did he upon this occaſion know ſo well, how to diſpoſe it into the moſt convenient Quarters of the Town, that without all doubt, it was by vertue of thoſe Forces, he ſecur'd the peace of that Seditious City, and kept the multitude from tumult and inſurrection. *Arquien*, whom (as has been ſaid) the King had put into the *Cittadel* of *Metz*, in the year 1604. was Lieutenant Colonel to the Regiment of Guards, and conſequently in the abſence of *Crequy*, who was Camp-Maſter to the ſaid Regiment (and who was already gone up to the Army, with the greateſt part of the Nobility of the Court) was under the Authority of the Duke to command it. Him therefore the Duke ſpeedily ſent for to have given him orders, but he was no where to be found; for from the inſtant that the King's death

was

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was certain, imagining the Duke would infallibly take the advantage of the time, and his own Authority, to remove him from *Metz*, he had taken poſt to put himſelf into the *Cittadel*, hoping there he ſhould be able to maintain his ground: But the Duke who in the care of publick affairs, did not altogether neglect his own, which his Affection and Fidelity to the Crown, rendred one, and the ſame with the other, judged by *Arquiens* abſence what his deſign might be, diſpatch'd *Mun de Sarlabouſt* Captain to one of the Companies of the Guards, immediately after him, if poſſible to prevent him, or at leaſt to follow him ſo cloſe, that he might arrive at *Metz* before *Arquien* could have time to practice any thing to his diſadvantage. The Duke had in *Metz*, beſides the ordinary Garriſon of eight Companies (of which he had compos'd a Regiment, call'd the Old Garriſon) two Companies of the Regiment of Guards commanded by *Tilladet*, and *Fromigieres*, ſince Grand Prior of *Tholouze*; all which were ſo abſolutely at his devotion, and their Captains ſo link'd to his Intereſts, their Fortunes wholly depending upon his Favour, as they had been rais'd by his bounty, that not a man of them but was ready upon all occaſions to be abſolutely commanded by him. To this he was confident of the Inhabitants good affection towards him, who by the moderation of his Government, and by the protection with which he had ſheltred them from *Sobole*'s Inſolence, were wholly acquir'd unto him: which intereſts, joyn'd together, made the Duke confident he ſhould not want Forces ſufficient to hinder *Arquien* from being receiv'd into the *Cittadel*, if *Mun* could get thither before him; or even there to force him, ſhould he happen to put himſelf into it, before his Orders could arrive. And indeed all things ſucceeded to his deſire, as ſhall in its due place be declar'd. But we muſt firſt return to *Paris*, which at this time was the Scene of the moſt, and the moſt important Affairs.

What ways the Duke proceeded in to cauſe the Queen Mother to be declar'd Regent.

The Regiment of Guards being in the abſence of *Arquien* drawn together by *Saint Coulombe*, the eldeſt Captain, the Duke ſent them order to advance; which being done, he appointed part thereof for the Guard of the *Louvre*, with the Regiment of *Swiſſe* which he (extending the Authority the Queen had given him, as *French* Guards over that Nation alſo) had likewiſe commanded into Arms: The other part were diſpos'd upon the *Pont-Neuf* towards *la rüe Dauphine*, and upon the principal avenues that lead to the *Convent des Auguſtins*. He further intreated *Mounſieur de Liancourt* Governour of *Paris* ſpeedily to aſſemble the * *Prevoſt des Marchands*, and the * *Eſchevins* in the * *Hoſtel de Ville* offering him withal a ſufficient Guard to ſecure them; as accordingly he ſent

* Or Lord Mayor of *Paris*.
* Sheriffs
* Or Guild-Hal'.

he ſent five hundred of the Regiment of Guards, under the command of Captain *Dnoüet* who remain'd there two days together upon Duty. Theſe Orders being given, the Duke himſelf mounted on Horſeback, went towards the *Pont-Neuf* to go to the *Cloiſtre Noſtre dame*, there to conſer with Preſident *Seguier*, without whoſe advice he reſolv'd to proceed no further. This man whoſe integrity, judgment, and affection, the Duke had in equal eſteem, had ever even in the time of his Favour, and in the greateſt difficulties of his Affairs, been with his Counſel aſſiſting to him; neither didt he Duke at this time, or ſince, reſolve almoſt upon any thing (whether of general, or particular concern) without firſt communicating the buſineſs to him, and conſulting his Advice. There was at this time none of the Princes of the Blood at Court, for the Prince of *Condè* had ſome time before the King's death retir'd into *Flanders*, and was at this time at *Milan*; and the *Count de Soiſſons* was at his houſe at *Champigny*; ſo that no body being at Court conſiderable enough to make a party, the Duke at his going out of the *Louvre*, found almoſt all the Lords, and Gentlemen, who were then in *Paris* (and whom the ſuddenneſs and great concern of that bloody Accident had aſſembled together) at the Gate ready to attend him. *Anno* 1610.

Being upon the way with this great Train, he had not gone far before he met with the Duke of *Guiſe*, whom he found alſo very well accompanied, though with a Train far inferiour to his own. Theſe two Dukes, nor their Families, were not as yet ſo well united (the paternal hatred having been rather fomented by the quarrels the Duke had lately had with both the Sons, notwithſtanding his Majeſties endeavour to reconcile them) but that there was greater expectation this meeting ſhould beget ſome new diſorder, than that men ſo diſunited betwixt themſelves ſhould concur ſo ſuddenly, and happily in the publick Service; inſomuch that their followers on both ſides ſeem'd only to expect a ſignal from their Leaders to fall to blows: when the Duke of *Guiſe*, having with great civility ſaluted the Duke, ask'd him how that ſad misfortune had hapned? to whom the Duke in ſhort related the manner of the King's death, with what had after paſs'd betwixt the Queen and him, and the Order he was by her Majeſties Command going to take to prevent any tumult in the City: Whereupon the Duke of *Guiſe* asking him, if there were not ſomething for him to do in the Queens Service alſo? the Duke reply'd, "That ſince he ask'd his advice, he conceiv'd he might "do both the Queen and the Kingdom a ſignal Service, by only "ſhewing himſelf in the ſtreets of *Paris*: That the people aw'd

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"within their duty, by the presence of a man of his condition, "would be less apt to be seduc'd into commotion; and that by "the calm which would by that means be preserv'd in the City, "they might doubtless more effectually proceed to the establish-"ment of such good orders, as would for the future secure the "peace of the whole Kingdom. A counsel the Duke of *Guise* as readily follow'd, and the good Fortune of *France*, having upon the instant extinguish'd all particular Animosities, betwixt these two great Persons, so as to make them, beyond all expectation, joyn in the common Service of the State. This happy union, and concurrence was of no little importance to the conservation of the Peace in that mutinous City. The Duke after continued his way to the President's House, to whom having communicated his designs, he found them to be generally approv'd by him; insomuch that before they parted it was concluded betwixt them, that that very day, and as soon as it was possible, the Parliament should be intreated to Assemble: the management of which being undertaken by the President, the Duke went in the mean time to provide for the rest.

The Duke goes to the *Hostel de Ville:*

He began with the *Hostel de Ville*, where having found the *Prevost des Marchands*, the *Eschevins*, and *Burgesses* met together, after he had first given them an accompt in brief of the sad Accident had hapned, he proceeded to exhort them, To confirm to "his Majesties Successors the Love and Obedience they had paid "to him during his happy Reign. He told them that by perseve-"ring in their Duty, they might secure their own Lives, and "Estates, which would otherwise be certainly expos'd to the vio-"lence and licence of Seditious men: That the least disorder of "this nature, that should happen in the City, would put the whole "Kingdom into Confusion: That he therefore intreated them to "cause all their Gates to be shut, to the end that no one might be "permitted, either to go out, or to come in, who were either "thought able, or likely, to breed any disturbance in the publick "peace, to give order to the Captains of the Train'd-Bands to "have their Companies in readiness upon any occasion might "happen, and to walk themselves the round of the City, the bet-"ter by their Presence and Authority to keep every one in his Du-"ty. He further gave them notice, that he had already caus'd the "Regiment of Guards both *French*, and *Swisse*, to stand to their "Arms, on purpose to suppress those who should first make "the least shew of Insurrection; but that he hop'd their wisdoms "would prevent a confusion, which would not so easily be com-"pos'd, if once grown to a head, as it might be suppress'd in the

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"beginning. A Remonstrance, that, being deliver'd with great plainness, and vigour, wrought so good an effect, that all the Magistrates unanimously engag'd to do their utmost endeavours for the conservation of the publick Peace; as they accordingly did: which was none of the weakest links that curb'd the head-strong multitude of that unruly City. *Anno* 1610.

From the *Hostel de Ville*, the Duke went to the *Augustins*, where that Session of Parliament had by the King been appointed to be kept; the Palace having been before furnish'd, for the Ceremony of the Queens Coronation, and where by the diligence of President *Segnier*, he found them already Assembled. The Regiment of Guards had already possess'd themselves of the *Pont-Neuf*, and stood in order all along the *Rüe Dauphine*, to guard, according to the Duke's command, all the passes round about the *Convent des Augustins*; a precaution, which though by the Duke meerly intended for the Parliaments security, was nevertheless misinterpreted by some to be rather design'd to compel them to execute his own particular Counsels, than that every man at greater liberty might have freedom to deliver his own Opinion; neither were the most prudent, and best dispos'd, sorry (as has been said) that the world should conceive there was some necessity upon them of a speedy resolution in the present juncture of Affairs, forasmuch also as some, who were prepossess'd in their judgments, would be oblig'd to concur with them, and disappointed, either from opposing, or deferring to declare the Queen Mother Regent during the King's Minority, which was the only thing then to be debated. The Duke goes to the *Augustins*, where he advises the Parliament to declare the Queen Regent.

The Duke being come into the Hall where the Parliament was set with his Sword in his hand, though not drawn, and in some disorder both in his Cloaths, and Countenance, began his Speech with some excuses; "For appearing in that honourable "Assembly in so undecent a posture; after which he told them "that his Sword was yet in the Scabbard (his own words) but "that if before he went thence there was not order taken, for the "security of the City, and Kingdom, by declaring the Queen "Regent, he foresaw (to his great grief) he must be compell'd "to draw it against the Enemies of the Crown, and to fill the "City with Blood, and Confusion: That he knew there were "some amongst them who would ask respite to deliberate upon "the thing propos'd; but that he must tell them beforehand, no-"thing was so dangerous as delay: That in many great occurren-"ces it was wisdom, not to be too precipitous, and to proceed "slowly, and by degrees to a final determination; but that here

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"it was quite otherwise, it being necessary in this Crisis of Affairs to cut off all difficulties, and immediately to resolve upon "the thing propounded: That what might to day be concluded "without danger, could not be done to morrow without Blood "and Slaughter; and indeed what pretense could any man have "to ask respite in this case? what was requir'd of them out of "the rule of Equity, and nature? To whom was the King's "Fortune more properly to be intrusted, than to her who brought "him into the world, or to whose care the safety of the Kingdom, than to her, who for the space of ten years, had with the "late King been a Coadjutrix in raising it to that degree of height, "and reputation, wherein it now stood. He told them that the "Queen was a Princess for whom his Majesty from the hour of "his Marriage had never had any reservation in his most weighty "and most secret Affairs: That he had made her his Companion "in all his Expeditions: That he had already deputed the Regency of the Kingdom during his absence into her hands; a preordination after which he could not believe any one would dare "to contradict the Judgment of a Prince so great in himself, and "so solicitous of the good and welfare of his Kingdom: That "therefore the most effectual means to preserve the Peace and "Tranquillity wherein *France* had been happy many years, was "to concur in the King's Judgment, and to justifie his Election: "That the discontents, which govern'd in the minds of many "men of very eminent condition, were very well known to all: "That those persons (it might easily be believ'd) wanted no adherents: That the impatient humour of the *French*, in hopes "to make their advantage of any disorder in the State, would be "apt to create more Mutineers, if things were not settled in due "season: That there was no time so fruitful in Sedition, nor so "proper for mischief, as when mutinous spirits were in suspense "whom to obey: That if ever this evil disposition was to be "fear'd it was chiefly now, when all the Forces of the Kingdom "were on foot: That they would doubtless soon be practis'd on all "hands; so that if by the prudence of that Assembly such temptations were not prevented, those noble Troops design'd for "the enlargement of the Borders of *France*, and for the glory of "the *French* name, would by an unhappy, and a sad revolution "be seen to employ their Arms to the ruine of their own Country: That they were therefore to take time whilst things remain'd "yet inviolate, and capable of the best impressions, to mould them "into the best form, which depended upon their immediate Election: That he had put the Regiment of Guards, all the King's

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"Servants, and his own particular Friends into Arms, that they "might at convenient liberty, and ſecurity deliberate of what he "then propos'd that he knew very well what he now advis'd them "to, was without Preſident; but that he hop'd an Act of ſo great "utility and importance to the publick good, would one day ob- "tain the Authority of Example, and add to the Dignity and Re- "putation of that Honourable Body; a priviledge, by ſo much the "more their due, by how much they had never till then poſſeſs'd "it: That they did not need to apprehend herein their Authority "ſhould be proſtituted to Arbitration, or be diſputed by any; but "that, how high and generous ſoever their reſults might be, they "ſhould infallibly be executed, and that he, and all his Friends "were ready to loſe their lives, or to cauſe them to be inviolably "obey'd. Anno 1610.

The Duke's Oration being ended, the whole Aſſembly re- main'd in a profound ſilence, and being equally aſtoniſh'd at the Accident had hapned, and ſurpriz'd at the Propoſition was made, not a man on the ſudden, durſt either by word, or action expreſs his thoughts: only Preſident *Harlay* in few words "Gave "the Duke thanks for the affection he had manifeſted to the Ser- "vice of the Kingdom, and to the Honour of that Aſſembly; "exhorting him to perſevere in a paſſion ſo worthy of his Vertue, "and ſo becoming the place and honour he poſſeſs'd amongſt "them. Whereupon the Duke perceiving their ſilence ſtill to continue, and unwilling to give them occaſion to complain that by his preſence he had extorted from them a reſolution contrary to their ſenſe and opinion, he retir'd himſelf: But at his depar- ture, that they might underſtand there was ſomething of neceſſity in the caſe, he told them aloud, "That what he had propounded "was the beſt courſe they could take, and that they were therefore "abſolutely, and ſuddenly to reſolve upon it. Upon which laſt words the *Sieur de la Gueſle* the Attorny General taking hold, began in a ſhort Speech to break the Ice, by repreſenting to the Aſſembly, "That though what had been propounded by the Duke of *Eſper-* "*non*, ſeem'd by the reſpect wherewith it had been deliver'd to be "a thing wherein they were free to determine; yet that what he "had laſt ſaid imply'd a kind of neceſſity: but a neceſſity by ſo "much the more, juſt, and honourable, by how much the Peace "of the Kingdom would not only be ſecur'd thereby; but alſo a "great advantage to their Body would certainly accrue: That it "was therefore in his opinion better immediately, and voluntа- "rily to declare the Regency to be in the Queen, than to ſtay till "their conſent ſhould be wreſted from them upon compulſion,

and

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"and perhaps in a season, when they should have no thanks for "their labour. Which being said, the whole Assembly forthwith concluded upon the business, by that Act not only securing the Peace of the Kingdom, but also introducing a great example to pitch upon the same, and an equally salutiferous resolution in our days, when our great Queen *Anne* of *Austria* was settled in the Regency, by virtue of the same Election.

The reasons that mov'd the Duke to press the Queen Mother should be declared Regent.

I have often heard the Duke discourse of this Transaction, wherein though he acknowledg'd his proceeding to be by an unusual, and something an irregular way; "Yet that the Queens "Regency being as yet not authorized by the Suffrages of any of "the Princes of the Blood (whose arrival also should it have been "expected, would probably have put all things into Confusion) "he thought it necessary to have it ratified by the consent of the "people: That to procure their consents, there was no way so "plausible and consonant to Law, as therein to interest all the "Parliaments of *France*, by prevailing with that of *Paris*, whose "whose Act would be a kind of Warranty to the rest: That "should they have staid the coming of the *Count de Soissons*, he "would by his presence infallibly have sway'd all things, accord-"ing to his inclination: That the Prince of *Condé* coming after "would have been impatient at his younger Brother's getting "the start of him in an Affair where the priority of Vote in the "Election was in him: by which means the variety of their in-"terests not permitting them to concur in an Act, wherein each "of them would be ambitious to precede, a faction betwixt them "must of necessity ensue: That for that reason he had us'd all "diligence in pressing the Parliament to a speedy resolution in fa-"vour of the Queen. In the carrying on of which Affair, it is in my opinion something hard to determine, whether the Stars of *France*, or the Duke's Prudence did most prevail: It is not to be denied but that both the one and the other contributed very much to the happy performance of this great work: But it is likewise most certain that the business had never been so fortunately effected, if the Duke had less prudently foreseen what was likely to ensue, or had proceeded with less diligence and vigour to the establishment of this Election, to the general benefit of the Kingdom: wherein if he perform'd a signal Service to the State, he did no less for the Prince, who would have met with no little impediments to his rising greatness, had he at his return, found the *Count de Soissons* settled, as it were a Co-partner in the Government, by being possess'd of some of the most important Employments of the Kingdom.

Thus

Thus was this buſineſs carried on, *France* being, from the higheſt ſtep of her Glory, precipitated into the greateſt extream of her Misfortune; and the King's Triumphs being in a moment overcaſt with the Funeral Black of his Obſequies: but the re-eſtabliſhment of the State, overthrown by ſo great, and ſo tragick a Revolution, and the publick happineſs in an inſtant ſecur'd without one drop of Blood; was it not an afternoons work of the Duke of *Eſpernon*? and can ſo great a ſucceſs without injuſtice, be attributed to any thing but to his prudent Conduct? In the Narrative whereof I have not added one ſyllable more than the truth: and doubtleſs there are many yet alive that can juſtifie all I have ſaid. I know very well that the Hiſtorians of that time have not mention'd all the particularities I have, as material to my purpoſe, inſiſted upon, and that thoſe who have been moſt exact have recorded but very few in their Relations; which is in part the reaſon why I have more willingly enlarg'd my ſelf in this diſcourſe, that I might impartially render, what is ſo juſtly due to Truth, and Virtue. *Anno* 1610.

The ſad accident of the King's Death was ſo ſuddenly ſpread all over *Europe*, that it ſeem'd, as if his perſon, rais'd to the higheſt pitch of Honour to which man can arrive, had fall'n in the ſight of all the world. The Prince of *Condé*, who (as has been ſaid) reſided then at *Milan*, receiv'd the firſt news of it from the *Condé de Fuentes*, which was immediately after confirm'd by a Courrier diſpatch'd purpoſely to him from the Queen Regent, to invite him back into *France*. The *Count de Soiſſons*, who was but two little days journey from *Paris*, was much ſooner inform'd, and at the ſame inſtant in all diligence repair'd thither, to ſee what this accident might produce; where he arriv'd the ſixteenth of *May*, two days only after the King's Death; but late enough notwithſtanding to find all things diſpatch'd to his hand. So that matters being already concluded, the Queens Authority eſtabliſh'd, the Parliament, People, Souldiery, and whole City ſettled in their Duty, and nothing left for him to do, but to approve what was already done (and which he could no ways hope to overthrow, had he diſlik'd it) he was fain whether ſincerely, or otherwiſe to concur in the Election, and thereupon went to preſent himſelf to the Queen, where he aſſur'd her Majeſty of his Faith and abſolute Obedience. The return of the *Count de Soiſſons* to Court.

The *Count* at his arrival at Court, obſerving the Duke of *Eſpernon* to be ſeated in that degree of Favour and Reputation, to which by his ſignal, and recent Services to the Queen, he might juſtly pretend, he forthwith reſolv'd to contract a ſtrict connexion with

Anno 1610. with him, as accordingly by making him a tender of his Friendship and assistance against all whomsoever, he endeavour'd to do: neither did he do it but upon very good consideration; for foreseeing that the Prince of *Condé* returning to Court (as he soon after did) would infallibly take upon him the preeminence, and degree due to his Quality, and Birth, he would by that means labour so to establish himself before his arrival, that it should not be in the Princes Power to shake him. To which end he could pitch upon none so proper to support his Interest, as the Duke of *Espernon*, who was, at that time, the most considerable person in the Kingdom. The Queen had appointed him Lodgings in the *Louvre*, not conceiving her self secure (as she was pleas'd to say) but under his Vigilancy and Valour; all dispatches were communicated to him; his Orders and Advice were in all things follow'd and observ'd, so that would he have stretch'd his Authority to the utmost, or had he been ambitious of favour, he might doubtless with great facility have made himself sole Master of Affairs: but so far was he from desiring to appear necessary (though effectually so) to the excluding those who had right to the Council, that on the contrary he entreated the Queen to call, and admit into it, all such as either by the priviledge of their Birth, or by the repute of their capacities, might reasonably pretend to that Honour; coveting no greater advantage, than to have a concurrence with worthy men for the publick Safety; and seeing he could not, without drawing great envy upon himself, possess alone that preeminence in the Administration, to which the King had design'd him, he was content with the rest to share that part, which could not equitably be denied to his approv'd Fidelity and Wisdom.

Though the *Count de Soissons* had the forementiond reasons to seek the Duke of *Espernon*'s friendship, he had yet therein a further and a more important design, and that was by the Duke's assistance to procure a Match betwixt *Madamoiselle de Montpensier* the Duke's Niece, and his own Son *Lewis* of *Bourbon*, since *Count de Soissons*: neither was the Duke so ill read in this Princes intention, that he did not very well perceive at what part he took his aim, which made him, though he receiv'd the offer of his friendship with the respect due to a Prince of the Blood, nevertheless accept it with such a gravity, and reservation as should no ways engage him to any partiality in his favour, nor in the least restrain the liberty of his proceeding in that concern. A coldness that so much disgusted the *Count de Soissons*, who expected a greater complacency and freedom from him, that his affection so violently begun, was not likely long to last. The first opposition he met with in the

Duke

Duke to his deſires, was in the propoſal he made him to give way that he might cauſe the Duke of *Sully* to be ſtab'd in the *Louvre*. He was their common Enemy, and the ſole cauſe of all the trouble had befall'n this Prince, and of his retirement from Court, wherein the injury he had receiv'd was ſuch, that although the King had laid upon him his poſitive command to be reconcil'd, he had notwithſtanding rather choſen to abandon the Court, than to do it. The Duke had alſo receiv'd from the Duke of *Sully* (a great Creature of the late King's) all the ill Offices could poſſibly have been done by the moſt implacable Enemy; which being not unknown to the *Count de Soiſſons*, he doubted not to have met an Animoſity in the Duke againſt him as great as his own, and to have found him as prompt to his revenge: but he was deceiv'd, the Duke excuſing himſelf by telling the *Count* he could by no means permit ſo great a violence to be offer'd in the King's Palace; beſeeching him to conſider, that the Guards which he had the honour to command, being principally deſign'd to preſerve the reſpect due to his Majeſties Perſon, and Preſence inviolate; and ſuch as it ought to be, he ſhould commit an irreparable offenſe to his Duty, ſhould he conſent to favour an act of ſo dangerous Example. An anſwer at which the *Count*, a man of a furious, and cholerick temper, was infinitely mov'd; yet his intereſt not permitting him to break with the Duke, he for that time with an extraordinary patience made the beſt ſhift he could to diſſemble his diſcontent. *Anno* 1610.

During theſe tranſactions at Court, there was ſomething paſs'd alſo at *Metz*, wherein the Duke was no little concern'd: you have already heard how *Arquien*, Lieutenant Colonel to the Regiment of Guards, had immediately upon the King's Death taken poſt to retire himſelf into the *Cittadel*, of which he was Governour, after whom the Duke had ſent *Mun*, to ſpoil his Deſign; ſo that *Mun*, who was much the younger man, having poſted in great diligence, overtook him ſome ſix Stages ſhort of *Metz*; where he found him ſo bruis'd with riding, that he was ſcarce in a condition to perform the reſt of his Journey: When *Arquien* who ſaw himſelf likely to be prevented, and in danger to be deny'd admittance into *Metz*, by the Duke's Servants, plainly told *Mun*, "That he made no doubt, but that his Journey was "occaſion'd by a juſt ſuſpicion the Duke had conceiv'd of his ſud- "den departure without his Order, and Command; that therein "he muſt needs confeſs he had been to blame; but that he had "been prompted to that diligence by a jealouſie the Duke might "perhaps have detain'd him by force in *Paris*, with an intent to

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"deprive him of his command in the *Cittadel*: That he therefore "had undertaken that journey simply, and for no other end, than "to keep his possession of that place, which was the most consi- "derable member of his Fortune, and the only reward of his "Service, but with no design to disserve the Duke: That he was "his Servant; neither did he desire to govern so much as in the "*Cittadel*, but under his Authority, and Command: That for a "testimony of his Candour, and good intention herein, he pro- "mis'd *Mun*, if he would slack his diligence, and let them go to- "gether, not to enter the *Cittadel*, till first he should by the con- "sent of the Duke's own Creatures be permitted so to do, sub- "mitting moreover, till it should be by them determin'd, that the "Garrison there should be divided betwixt them. A proposition that *Mun* conceiving to be as fair as the Duke could himself de- sire, he condescended to the condition, and accordingly in his company perform'd the rest of the Journey, arriving both toge- ther at the City. Where being come, they immediately assembled the Duke's Friends and Servants, which were *Tilladet*, and *Fro- migieres* Captains of the two Companies of the Guards, who were in Garrison at *Metz*, and *Momas* Camp-Master to the old Gar- rison; amongst whom it was concluded, that *Tilladet* the elder Captain should with an hundred men only of his Company en- ter the *Cittadel*, till the Duke's further pleasure could be known: a number that to the Duke's Friends seem'd sufficient to make good their Quarter, should *Arquien* intend any thing but fair; as *Arquien* thought his would be able to maintain his Authority, and to over-power the other, should the Duke be obstinately bent to exclude him absolutely from his Command.

Things then being thus concluded, *Arquien*, whilst yet in the City, sent order to his Lieutenant to receive *Tilladet* into the *Citta- del*, with such Souldiers as he should bring along with him, not naming any number, as not suspecting any foul play; a negligence which the Duke's Servants making use of to his advantage, they caus'd above fifty more, and those the best men they could chuse out of all the Companies, to be added to the hundred, that by Article were to be admitted; who being all without any difficulty receiv'd into the *Cittadel* it soon appear'd *Arquien's* was not the strongest Party, and that the advantage he had in number (his Garrison consisting of two hundred men) being balanc'd by the quality of the Souldiers, *Tilladet* was rather in a condition to give, than to receive the Law from him.

Arquien having thus, by an excess of faithful dealing, perform'd his promise, went himself last of all into the *Cittadel*, where he

was

was no ſooner come, but that his Lieutenant at the firſt word told him he was no longer Maſter of the place; to whom *Arquien* having reply'd, that an hundred men could not diſpute his Authority there, the Lieutenant gave him to underſtand, that almoſt twice ſo many were already got in, which he had not dar'd but to receive, not knowing the preciſe number of thoſe he was to admit; at which *Arquien*, now ſenſible of the overſight he had committed, was ſo enrag'd that he would preſently revenge himſelf upon *Tilladet*, and was ready to fall on, *Tilladet* alſo on his part preparing for the Encounter; when the Friends of both parties, who were in the City, came in at the firſt noiſe of the diſorder. At their firſt coming they found the Gates of the *Cittadel* ſhut; but being opened in the end to ſuch as pretended to endeavour an Accommodation, it was with much ado concluded, that for *Arquiens* ſatisfaction, *Tilladet*, to whom he chiefly laid the blame, as contriver of the Treachery, and Surprize, ſhould depart the place; but that thoſe Souldiers, already enter'd, ſhould continue there, and that *Fromigieres* ſhould come in to command them. Thus ended this diſpute, and thus was the Duke of *Eſpernon*'s abſolute Authority, though with ſome trouble, re-eſtabliſh'd in *Metz*, which from the time of *Sobole*'s dereliction, until now, he had altogether loſt. *Anno* 1610.

The Duke of *Eſpernon*'s Authority re-eſtabliſh'd in *Metz*.

Fromigieres being receiv'd into the *Cittadel* was ſtill more and more fortified by new Souldiers, which the Duke's friends continually ſlipt in from the City; ſo that *Arquien* ſeeing himſelf in a loſt condition, and alſo ſtung with the conſcience of his own fault, he return'd in all haſte back to *Paris*, at once to beg the Duke of *Eſpernon*'s pardon, and to implore the Queen Regents Juſtice. Where being come, and finding the Duke inflexible to his ſubmiſſions, and poſitively reſolute to hold what he had, ſeeing he was to expect no good accompt from him, he thought fit, as his laſt refuge to appeal to the Queen. Neither did he want intereſt at Court to ſupport, and countenance his cauſe, where beſides *de Montigny* his Brother (a man of great merit and eſteem, and afterwards *Mareſchal* of *France*) he had many Relations, and Friends, together with the Duke's Enemies, who could not, without great heart-burning, ſee him re-ſettled in ſo conſiderable a command. Of this number were the Lords of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, and their Family, who made up a great part of the Court, and who being all averſe to the Duke's greatneſs, endeavour'd by poſſeſſing the Queen, that the action of *Metz* was an intolerable affront to her Authority, to make her reſtore *Arquien* to his Command. "They repreſented to her that this was an Affair by the late King

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" conceiv'd to be of such importance to the State, that his Majesty " had made no difficulty to make a Journey thither in person, " and on purpose to retrive this place out of the Duke of *Espernon*'s hands: That his Fidelity ought at this time to be much " the rather suspected, by how much his Ambition was more in- " ordinate, and less easie to be cur'd: That having, under pretense " of some trivial Services to her Majesty in the beginning of her " Administration, committed a violence of this high nature, he " made it plain that his sole aim was in this new face of Affairs to " establish his own particular greatness: and that, instead of en- " deavouring to continue Subjects in their Duty, by the example " of a Subjects Obedience, he had himself committed the great- " est insolence imaginable against the Sovereign Power, by dis- " possessing one of the most ancient and faithful Servants of the " Crown, from a place wherein he had serv'd, without the least " blemish, or reproach. It is certain that the Queen, how well satisfied soever with the Duke of *Espernon*, was notwithstanding something stagger'd in her resolution at this Remonstrance: but the Duke having also given his reasons, and represented to her of what importance it was to have his Majesties Authority in the City and *Cittadel* of *Metz*, conjoyn'd in one man, that the emulation of two Governours might not produce mutiny, such as would endanger the introducing of Forein Power into the place; with how long, and with what Fidelity he had serv'd his Kings in that Government, the Authority being united in his Person; he found the Queen so well dispos'd to accept of his justification, that she was absolutely satisfied: so that from that time forward, nothing was more thought of in that business, save only how to content *Arquien*, in finding out for him some other command, that might hold proportion with that Employment.

In the transaction of this Affair, Fortune, as upon other occasions, would needs interest her self to appear in the Duke's Favour. *De Vic* Governour of *Calice* was one of the principal Mediators in this difference, who on the one side making profession of great respect to the Duke's Service, and on the other of a strict friendship with *Arquien*, labour'd with extraordinary passion, and diligence to satisfie both parties in their pretense, and had brought matters to so good an issue, that nothing remain'd to their mutual satisfaction, save only to find out a Government for *Arquien*, equal to that whereof he was now divested: but there was none at this time vacant of equal value, which was the only knot in the Affair. At last this poor Gentleman prov'd both the Mediator, and the price of their Accommodation, who had acted so vigo-

rously

rouſly in the Treaty, that, with poſting to and again in the moſt violent heats of Summer, he was ſurpriz'd with a Pleuriſie; whereof in ſix days he dy'd. With his Government *Arquien* was recompens'd, who after that quit claim to the *Cittadel* of *Metz*, leaving the Duke abſolute Maſter of it, as before; a poſſeſſion he afterwards kept, till that a few years before his death he demiſed it in favour of Cardinal *de la Valette* his Son. *Anno* 1610.

Amidſt theſe many important Affairs, the Duke was not unmindful of his particular Duties; whereof one, and to which he conceiv'd himſelf moſt particularly oblig'd, was to manifeſt his gratitude to *Henry* the III. his Maſter, and Benefactor. He had formerly after his death attended his Body to *Compiegne*, where the misfortunes of War, and the confuſion of Affairs, not permitting at that time a performance of his Funeral Rites; and the Queen now reſolving to begin the Regency with thoſe of the late King, he humbly begg'd of her to give him leave to make uſe of that opportunity for the interment of *Henry* the III. wherein her Majeſty, doing an Act worthy her Piety, would add little or nothing to the expenſe ſhe was already reſolv'd to make. The Queen readily conſented to his requeſt; ſo that the Duke, accompanied with a great number of Lords and Gentlemen, went to fetch the Body from *Compiegne*, from whence he convey'd it to St. *Denis*, where it was depoſited in the ancient Sepulchre of the Kings of *France*. Neither was this the ſole teſtimony the Duke gave of his gratitude to his old Maſter, the Records of his Bounty and Favour being ſo impreſs'd in his memory, that they periſh'd not, but in his Grave, where all things are buried in Oblivion. A little before his death, cauſing a Marble Pillar, one of the moſt celebrated pieces of Architecture of theſe late times, to be carried, and ſet up in the Church of St. *Clou*; wherein he was ſo curious, as to make it be wrought in his own Houſe, and almoſt in his own ſight; his deſign being to found a Revenue of a thouſand Livers yearly for the Service of the Chappel where it was erected; which was alſo adorn'd with Pictures, and pav'd with Marble at his own charge: but ſome difficulties ariſing about the ſettlement of that Foundation, which could not be clear'd before his death, the thing (to his great grief) remain'd imperfect.

The Ceremony of theſe Obſequies, perform'd in the end of *June*, was immediately follow'd by the return of the Prince of *Condé* to Court, where he arriv'd in *July*, and where all the men of condition contended who ſhould give him the greateſt teſtimonies of joy for his return. Amongſt whom, although the Duke of *Eſpernon* was none of the lateſt, yet was he not the beſt receiv'd.

The Prince of *Condé* returns to Court, where he appears diſpleas'd at the Duke of *Eſpernon*.

Anno 1610. receiv'd. The Duke of *Sully*, who had great need of this Princes Protection, had prevented others in the poſſeſſion of his Favour, and conceiving he ſhould make himſelf more acceptable by rendring the affection of other Grandees ſuſpected to him; he had (amongſt others) pointed out the Duke of *Eſpernon* for one of thoſe of whom he had moſt reaſon to complain. An ill Office, that having at firſt preferr'd in general terms, he afterwards purſu'd by particular circumſtance, telling the Prince that the Duke had doubled the Guards of the *Louvre* at his arrival, and put all the King's Family into Arms, as they had been to defend it againſt a common Enemy. Which impreſſion the Prince was more apt to receive, by how much he believ'd, that the Duke being already in a great degree of Favour with the Queen, and very intimate with the *Count de Soiſſons*, muſt needs be jealous of his return, which he could not conſider, but as a great power directly oppoſite to all his concerns; which made him at the firſt interview receive him, not only with apparent coldneſs, but alſo, not able to diſſemble his diſſatisfaction, reproach him for having endeavour'd to poſſeſs the Queen with ſome ſuſpicions to his prejudice. The Duke, ſurpriz'd at ſo unexpected an entertainment and ſo groundleſs a reproach (he having alter'd nothing in the uſual Guards that had been kept in the *Louvre* ſince the King's Death) and nettled with the ſenſe of ſo injurious an Office, gave aloud the *Lye* to all thoſe who had branded him with ſo falſe a Calumny. Yet would not this publick and generous profeſſion of the truth ſo ſatisfie and appeaſe the Prince, that there was not ſtill ſome remains of diſcontent in his mind againſt the Duke. He did not think him ſo affectionate to him, as to the *Count de Soiſſons*; and ſeeing him advanc'd to that height of Reputation with the Queen, could not expect he ſhould be favourable to him, in the deſign he had to aſſume that place in Court, and to ſhare that Authority in the management of Affairs, which were due to his Birth and Greatneſs. So that here the Court was divided, the Prince of *Condé* having his Faction, and the *Count of Soiſſons* his, amongſt whom the Duke of *Eſpernon* was the chief, and moſt conſiderable member.

The ſtate of Affairs at Court, during the Queens Regency.

Yet did not this diverſity of Intereſts produce any ſudden ill effect, the Princes paying a due reſpect to the Queen, and being by her admitted into the debate of Affairs, though the moſt important were carried on by other hands. The Cabinet Council at this time conſiſted of the Duke of *Eſpernon*, the Chancellour *de Sillery*, Preſident *Janin*, and *Mounſieur de Villeroy*; wherein the Duke's Vote had the greateſt ſway, and his Opinions did uſually prevail;

prevail; by whom it being conceiv'd neceſſary for the honour of the Nation, and the memory of the late King to purſue the Enterprize of *Juliers*, which had been the pretenſe of his Majeſties Arms, he propounded, and got it to be concluded that the *Mareſchal de la Chaſtre*, with an Army of 10000 Foot, and 1200. Horſe, ſhould be ſent to aſſiſt the intereſted Princes in the reſtitution of this Place. The iſſue of which expedition was as ſucceſful as could be wiſh'd; the places poſſeſs'd by the Arch-Duke *Leopold* were reſtor'd into the hands of the Marquis of *Brandebourg*, and the Duke of *Newbourg*; ſo that Affairs on that ſide remain'd in as good a forwardneſs as could be deſir'd to be ſhortly compos'd (as they were) to the ſatisfaction of the *German* Princes. *Anno* 1610.

As in the occaſion we ſpoke of laſt things were carried on for the honour, ſo was it no leſs neceſſary for the ſafety of the Kingdom to give ſome ſatisfaction, and aſſurance to thoſe of the Reform'd Religion in the beginning of this new Reign; it being very much to be fear'd this Faction (which at this time was very powerful) pretending a violation of the Edicts formerly publiſh'd in their toleration, might run into inſurrection, to the ruine of the publick peace. Wherein the Duke was of opinion to prevent either the real jealouſie, or elſe the evil intentions of thoſe who were likely to breed any Commotion, by Declarations to confirm the ancient Edicts granted in their favour. It is very true, that he had no kindneſs for their Religion; but he thought it nevertheleſs unfit to violate the publick Faith, where what he did then for reaſon of State, he has ever ſince obſerv'd in his own particular adminiſtration; ſo that though an enemy to new opinions, he was notwithſtanding ever very ſolicitous to maintain the profeſſors of them within his Governments in peace, and ſafety; and it has been obſerv'd, that although at *Metz* the beſt Families of the City were of that perſwaſion, that they abounded in *Xaintongue*, and *Angoumois*, and that *Guienne* was not free, it could never be perceiv'd, that he made any diſtinction betwixt them and other the Kings Subjects, except where he found them refractory and diſobedient to his Commands.

Theſe precautions, ſo ſeaſonably apply'd in this turn of State, ſecur'd the Peace of the Kingdom both within, and without to ſo fortunate a degree, that a more happy Government could not poſſibly have been wiſh'd. Which certainly if we conſider the great number of diſcontents within, before the King's death, the diſtaſtes many perſons of great Quality had taken, who breath'd nothing but revenge, with the Ambition that reigns in all Courts

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Anno 1610. able to overthrow the ſureſt foundations, is infinitely to be wondred at. To which may be added the envy of neighbouring Princes, who could not without anxiety, and apprehenſion ſuffer the height of proſperity to which *France* was already advanc'd; together with the Artifices of ſuch as uſually in the troubles of a State ſeek to repair the ruines of their own deſperate Fortunes: all which evil diſpoſitions could not, according to humane imagination have found a more favourable juncture, than during a Regency, to have produc'd their fatal effects; and yet never was *France* at greater peace within it ſelf, nor more reſpected of her Neighbours, than in all the whole time of the Queens adminiſtration. Wherein though I dare not, I confeſs, attribute the whole reputation of the good Government to the Duke of *Eſpernon* alone (who having call'd the moſt prudent and experienc'd Miniſters of the latter Reign into his Councils, they ought alſo to ſhare in the praiſe) yet can I not in equity deny him the firſt place of Honour, he having (without diſpute, the greateſt Authority, and conſequently having ever carried the greateſt ſway in the reſults of the moſt important Affairs.

Anno 1611. The beginning of the Princes diſcontent. This Power and Reputation being the ordinary objects of envy even amongſt men of equal condition, it is no wonder if the Princes of the Blood were jealous of the Duke of *Eſpernon*'s greatneſs; who (as they ſaid) unknown to them diſpos'd the greateſt Affairs of the Kingdom, wherein they particularly complain'd, that he had perſwaded the Queen to reſolve upon a match, betwixt the King and the *Infanta* of *Spain*; a thing which in his Minority was not to be done without the conſent of the Princes of the Blood, by reaſon of the intereſt which, by virtue of their proximity, they had in his Majeſties Perſon. But the Duke was ſo well read in their Priviledges, that it is not to be ſuppos'd he could commit ſo great an error; and he had divers times propos'd this Marriage to them, for the moſt honourable, and moſt advantageous match could be found out for the King in all Europe: although the Princes who began to ſuffer themſelves to be led away by the perſwaſions of thoſe who could no longer contain themſelves within thoſe bounds, which the virtue of Peace preſcrib'd to their Ambition, had ever oppos'd that propoſition, and would never conſent unto it. The Duke nevertheleſs, as if he had foreſeen the happineſs would accrue to the State by this Alliance, ceas'd not continually to fortifie the Queen Mother in the reſolution ſhe had taken to purſue that Treaty, and to bring it to a concluſion; which, becauſe it was carried on without their conſents, they pretended it to be without their knowledge; and this was all the ground of their complaint.

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In this point the *Count de Soiſſons* concurr'd with the Prince of *Condé*; he was already broken off with the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and that to ſuch a degree, that he appear'd now more implacable in his hatred, than he had before ſeem'd violent in his love. I have already ſaid, that amongſt the reaſons which induc'd him to ſeek the Duke's friendſhip, the chiefeſt was the Marriage of *Madamoiſelle de Montpenſier* with the Prince his Son: A Princeſs, who had been ſo far honour'd by the late King, that he had caſt his eye upon her for a Match betwixt her, and the Duke of *Orleans*, his ſecond Son, and had ſpoke to the Duke of *Eſpernon* to that purpoſe; ſo that it cannot appear ſtrange in him, if after being prepoſſeſs'd with the hope of ſo glorious a fortune for his Niece, and ſo great an honour to his whole Family he could not eaſily condeſcend to the *Count's* motion, wherein nevertheleſs he excus'd himſelf with all imaginable Civility and Reſpect: But this Prince, of a hot and violent nature, taking for injury the leaſt contradiction to his will, was ſo highly tranſported with fury at this refuſal, that there was no extreme to which he would not hurry his revenge, publickly threatning to aſſault the Duke in the Streets, in the *Louvre*, nay in his own Houſe. Thus do we ſee the Duke at once oppreſs'd with the open hatred of two of the Princes of the Blood; upon which occaſion, although he very well underſtood the deference due to their perſons, and upon that accompt declar'd he would ever give them way, and retire before them; yet did he not conceive it convenient to have the ſame reſpect, and conſideration for ſuch as under their countenance and protection ſhould make any attempts upon him. And it was in this occurrence, that the Reputation and intereſt he had at Court did moſt evidently appear; ſo many perſons, who by his bounty he had oblig'd (principally in the diſpenſation of thoſe offices depended upon his own of *Colonel*) ſo many others who expected their advancement from him, ſo many Lords of great Quality, who either by Relation or Friendſhip were united to him; and ſo many others out of the ſole regard of his Virtue flocking about his Perſon, that he has often been ſeen in the ſtreets of *Paris* with ſeven or eight hundred Gentlemen waiting upon him: And I have heard many of very good quality, who in thoſe times declar'd themſelves his Friends and Servants, affirm, that when he has gone on foot to the *Louvre*, as he would ſometimes purpoſely do, his attendance, marching in order, have taken up all the ſpace betwixt the *Hoſtel d'Eſpernon*, and the Court, which is at leaſt 2000 paces; inſomuch that the Van of his Train has reach'd the Barriers of the *Louvre*, before almoſt the Rear was

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out of his own Gates. Which (how ſtrange ſoever it may appear) is nothing more than truth; as an infinite number of perſons yet living can witneſs. Neither was the Queen (who had great intereſt in the preſervation of a man had merited ſo highly from her) ſorry to ſee him in ſo good a poſture, conceiving it of no little moment to her ſervice, to have a perſon at Court able to make a Power, that might otherwiſe have been turn'd againſt her, and her Authority: and indeed it was upon him ſhe principally rely'd, as the chief of all her Servants, and the moſt conſiderable perſon of her Party.

The favours the Duke receiv'd from the Queen upon the feuds betwixt him and the Princes.

The Queen made this moſt manifeſtly appear in a very remarkable occaſion that hapned at this time; of which take here the true ſtory. The *Baron de la Chaſtagneraye* after the Service he had ſo fortunately done the Queen in recovering her out of the River *Seine*, at the paſſage of the Port *de Neully* (relations of which you will find at large in many of our *French* Hiſtories) had been gratified for that action with the command of Captain of her Majeſties Guard, and was moreover very graciouſly receiv'd by the Queen; advantages that creating him much envy, either her Majeſties Favour, or his own Spirit, or both, engag'd him in many Diſputes with ſeveral perſons of the moſt eminent condition at Court; amongſt which he had principally one with *Mounſieur le Grand Eſcuyer*, ſince Duke *de Bellegarde*; wherein his paſſion one day tranſporting him ſo far, as to ſpeak unhandſomly of him in the Queens preſence, and before the Duke of *Eſpernon* who was his Couſin German, the Duke conceiv'd himſelf oblig'd to ſay ſomething in the behalf of ſo near a Relation, and thereupon gave *la Chaſtagneraye* ſome ſmart reply, which he, unable to endure, as briskly return'd upon the Duke himſelf; who with-held by the reverence of the place, ſaid to him only this, "That her "Majeſties preſence which had encourag'd him to that offenſive "language, ty'd his hands, and oblig'd him from taking any fur"ther notice of it; reſolving within himſelf to let the Quarrel alone at that time, and to call him to an accompt at fitter leiſure: but the Queen both to ſatisfie the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and to do her ſelf right, *la Chaſtagneraye* having violated the reſpect due to her Perſon and Preſence, committed him immediately to the *Baſtile*; from whence though he was the next day enlarg'd, yet the ſenſe of his diſgrace having wounded him to the quick, the common bruit went that he would revenge himſelf upon the Duke's perſon, and that he was countenanc'd in that reſolution by the protection of the Princes. A thing which above all other men he was the moſt fit to undertake, both for his courage which was very well

well known; and alſo having the command of the Queens Guards, he had better opportunity than any to execute his deſign, and to practice upon the Duke in the very *Louvre* it ſelf, than in any other place, who never went accompanied in her Majeſties preſence, as he did in all other places. The firſt intimation of this deſign the Duke receiv'd from the Queens own mouth, who, by a favour never before, or ſince granted to any, permitted him to take a number of ſelect Souldiers in his own Livery for the Guard of his Perſon, to attend him in all places, ſo much as into the *Louvre* it ſelf; which favour was highly improved to him, when for his greater ſecurity, ſhe moreover gave way that he ſhould chuſe ſome Gentlemen of Quality of his moſt confident Friends to enter with him arm'd, even into her own Cabinet. Thoſe whom the Duke made choice of for this purpoſe were *Chetin*, Brother to the *Mareſchal de St. Geran*, *Sauue-Bœuf*, *Bonneval*, the *Count de Maillé*, *Caſtelbaiart*, and *Marillac*, all men of approved Valour: a Grace which though it gave great jealouſie and diſtaſte to the Princes and Grandees of the Court, who were the Duke's Adverſaries, her Majeſty thought it fit notwithſtanding, to give him leave to defend his own life againſt whomſoever would make any attempt againſt it. *Anno* 1612.

Amongſt theſe many and great diſputes wherein the Duke ſaw himſelf involv'd, he forgot not the care of his Childrens Education; whom he brought up to the moſt laborious Exerciſes, and for whom after a foundation of Letters, not only of a bare knowledge in the Latine Tongue, but in the Principles of Philoſophy alſo, he took care to provide the greateſt man, without contradiction, in Europe, for the Exerciſes of the Body, eſpecially that of Riding, which was the *Sieur de la Broüe* formerly in the Conſtable *de Montmorencies* entertainment; afrer whoſe Death, the Duke gain'd him to himſelf by ſo great Benefits, that he gave him at one clap ten thouſand Crowns in Gold, with an Annuity of a thouſand Crowns iſſuing out of the *Hoſtel de Ville* of *Paris*, the moſt certain Revenue at that time in *France*: Neither did he here limit his Bounties. Under this Gentleman's excellent Diſcipline, his two eldeſt Sons arriv'd to ſuch a perfection in their exerciſes, that no young Lords of their condition in the Kingdom went before them. The Education of the Dukes three Sons.

When they had acquir'd as much by precept as ſeem'd neceſſary, he conceiv'd it time they ſhould eſtabliſh that knowledge by experience, and by obſerving the manners and ways of living of other Countries; to which purpoſe having put them into an Equipage ſuiting their quality, he ſent them into *Germany*, to the

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end that by the different Governments of the ſeveral little Republicks of which the vaſt body of that Empire is compos'd, they might be better enabled to judge of good and evil cuſtoms, and extract a more certain knowledge for their own future conduct in the Employments to which they were by him deſign'd. They arriv'd in that Country in a very troubleſome time, when all ways were very difficult, and unſafe; but the illuſtrious name of the Father, in greater repute in any part of Europe, than in *France* it ſelf (preſent vertues being for the moſt part leſs conſider'd) did not only open all ways, and ſecure all paſſes to them; but made them alſo receiv'd with great reſpect, and honour'd with many civilities, and favours by all the Princes, and Republicks of both parties. After having ſtaid ſome time in *Germany*, and viſited at leiſure the Cities, and moſt eminent places there, they went from thence into *Italy*; where they made a conſiderable ſtay, and where for the greateſt part they made their reſidence at *Rome*, continuing ſtill their Exerciſes; from whence they went to viſit the moſt eminent Cities of that ſweeteſt part of Europe; where having made an acquaintance with moſt of the Princes and Lords of that Nation, they return'd into *France*.

Whilſt the two eldeſt were thus forming their minds and bodies to ſuch qualities as were either neceſſary, or at leaſt becoming their condition; *Lewis* the youngeſt of the three, deſign'd for the Church, was with no leſs care brought up in the knowledge of Letters; whom ſo ſoon as the Duke his Father conceiv'd to be of a fit age, he ſent him to *La Fleſche* to the Colledge of the Father Jeſuits, where the diſcipline requiſite for the profeſſion he was to take upon him, was in very great repute. He there continued ſeveral years, and came not thence till he had firſt run through all the degrees, by which men climb to the higheſt pitch of knowledge; and in effect, when he was call'd thence to come to Court, he had made ſo happy a progreſs, that Cardinal *Perron*, a great friend of his Fathers, having been by him intreated to diſcourſe with his Son, had an exceeding great opinion of him, and believ'd him likely to make one of the greateſt men of that age, if he proceeded in his profeſſion with a diligence proportionable to the great parts wherewith he enter'd into it.

The three Brothers arriving almoſt all at the ſame time at Court, the Duke their Father began to think of eſtabliſhing the greatneſs of his Family upon the ſureſt foundation, and thereupon conſider'd each of them by himſelf, for the dividing his Eſtate amongſt them: wherein though they were all embelliſh'd with ſo many excellent qualities, that it could hardly be diſcern'd which had

had the greateſt merit; yet the Duke having deſign'd to confer his own name upon the ſecond, that conſideration enclin'd him a little more to him than the other two. By Article at his Marriage with *Margaret de Foix*, Counteſs of *Candale*, his eldeſt Son was to carry the name of *Foix*, and to inherit his Mothers Eſtate, clear'd, and augmented by the Duke's mony: and his own name was alſo ſo great, what by the vertue of his Anceſtors, and what by his own, that he would not leave him on whom it was conferr'd, inferiour either in Reputation, or Eſtate to any whomſoever of his condition, in the Kingdom. He had already by his Service obtain'd from the Queen Regent the Reverſion of all his Offices; *viz.* of that of Colonel General of the Infantry of *France*; of firſt Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, an Office he had ever kept ſince his firſt Favour; of Governour of the City, and *Cittadel* of *Metz*, and of the *Meſsin* Country; of the Provinces, Cities, and Caſtles of *Xaintes*, and *Angouleſme*; of the City and Government of *Rochelle*, the Country of *Aulins*, with the higher and lower *Limouſin*; of the City, Caſtle, and Territory of *Boulogne*, and of the City, Country, and Caſtle of *Loches*: all which he at this time thus divided amongſt his three Sons. To his eldeſt, the *Count* of *Candale*, he aſſign'd in preſent (cauſing him forthwith to be admitted into it) the Office of firſt Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, with the Governments of *Angoumois*, *Xaintonge*, *Aulins*, and *Limouſin* in Remainder; to which he added the whole Eſtate of the Houſe of *Candale*, amounting to above fourſcore thouſand Livers yearly revenue in goodly Lordſhips; as alſo the Dutchy of *Eſpernon*, with the Earldom of *Montfort*, together with other Lands ariſing to above fifty thouſand Crowns a year: to which the Duke having obtain'd an aſſurance of a *Mareſchal's* Staff for this Son, ſo ſoon as a more mature age and experience ſhould render him capable of that Employment, he conceiv'd that a high Spirit, as his was, ought to reſt very well ſatisfied with ſo fair a Fortune. *Anno* 1612.

To the Marquis *de la Valette*, his ſecond Son, he aſſign'd his Office of Colonel, and the Government of *Metz* in reverſion, with the reſt of his Eſtate whether hereditary or purchas'd; which made up a Revenue equal to the firſt, together with his ſhare of the Rents, and perſonal Eſtate.

For his third Son alſo he provided to the value of fifty thouſand Crowns a year at leaſt in Church preferments; of which he was not content only to put him into preſent poſſeſſion, but gave him moreover a years Revenue advance, that he might have wherewithal to maintain a port ſuitable to his condition: to which he further

Anno 1612. further added the ſurvivancy of the Government of *Boulogne*, and *Loches*, with the Office of chief Almoner to the King, which was a leading ſtep to that of great Almoner of *France*.

In this diſtribution of his Fortune, the Duke's paternal care and liberality, might (a man would have thought) have amply ſatisfied the moſt aſpiring Ambitions, and the moſt avaritious Natures; neither could the two youngeſt enough magnifie the bounty of ſo good a Father, who by his Induſtry, and his Blood had rais'd them to ſuch a height of Riches and Honour: but ſome malevolent Spirits, enemies to the peace and happineſs of the eldeſt, by a violence upon his nature, perſwaded him he had not been kindly us'd in this partition; that therein his younger Brother had the beſt, and moſt ſolid Employments aſſign'd to him; whereof * one was a Command of it ſelf ſufficient to oblige all the Gentlemen of *France*, together with a Frontier much more conſiderable, than the beſt Province of the Kingdom; whereas what was conſign'd to him, was only an Office of little value, and no great repute at Court, with the expectation of a *Mareſchal*'s Staff, conſiderable 'twas true, but a great way off; and that for his Governments, they lay ſo in the heart of the Kingdom, that his Authority would be very little, or nothing at all; by which means making him at firſt undervalue the benefits he had receiv'd, they ſo debauch'd his gratitude at laſt, as to make him publickly complain of his Fathers proceeding, and to deſpiſe all he had, ſeeing he had not all he deſir'd.

* Meaning that of Colone'.

The Duke, advertis'd of his Sons diſcontent, labour'd all he could to reclaim him, and make him ſee his error, which he afterwards did; neither could any thing be more grateful, and obedient, than he ever carried himſelf, ſo oft as he ſuffer'd himſelf to be govern'd by his own natural inclination.

Even before the King's death, the Fortune and Greatneſs of the Father, with the merit, and Riches of the Sons, had rendred their Alliances ſo conſiderable, that there were few perſons of great Quality at Court, who had not been offer'd to the Duke in Marriage with them; but amongſt the ſeveral Matches propos'd for the *Count de Candale*, his eldeſt Son, the Duke preferr'd that with the Dutcheſs of *Haluin*, Grand-child to the Duke of *Haluin*, and Daughter to the Marquis *de Megnelay*, the inheritrix of a rich and illuſtrious Family, before all the reſt. Whereupon a Marriage betwixt them ſhortly enſu'd, though diſcontents ſoon after ariſing, grew at laſt to that height, that in a few years they came to an abſolute ſeparation. Thoſe who had the power to ſow diviſion in the Marriage-Bed, had the ſame to perſwade the *Count de Candale* into

The Marriage of the *Count de Candale*, the Duke's eldeſt Son.

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an open breach with the Duke his Father; the grief whereof (the moſt ſenſible of any he had ever met with in the whole courſe of his life) as it was the cauſe of infinite others, which befel him afterwards, had like to have brought him to his Grave. Yet did the Duke (as if he had already foreſeen what did after fall out) all an indulgent Father could poſſibly do, to reconcile himſelf to his Son, and his Son to his Duty: wherein though *Le Pleſſis* (the uſual mediator of all differences in that Family) did as much as could be expected from an extraordinary prudence, and a ſincere affection, it proved all to no effect; the *Count* either unable to ſupport the injury he believ'd had been done him in the partition of the Offices, or not well enduring the preſence of a Father, he was conſcious to himſelf he had not kindly us'd, being reſolv'd by a voluntary Exile, to ſeek ſome repoſe for his troubled mind. He determin'd therefore to forſake *France*, but the end of his Travel was not ſimply for diverſion; neither could he ſatisfie himſelf with the meer exerciſe of ſome Vertues only to be practis'd in the obſcurity of retirement, and in the privacy of a Cloſet; it was by painful, and perillous actions, and by expoſing his life to the uncertain event of great Enterprizes, that he would qualifie and ſweeten his diſcontents. Spurr'd on therefore by this generous reſolution, he took the ſecond time the way of *Italy*, where arriving at the Court of the great Duke of *Tuſcany*, at a time when he was equipping ſome Gallies for the *Levant*, he entreated that Prince to permit him with his friends to put himſelf aboard thoſe Veſſels. There had not any perſon of his condition, for many years, gone out of the Kingdom with ſo honourable a Train of Gentlemen, and thoſe in ſo handſome an Equipage, as the *Count* did; having above fifty Gentlemen of good quality in his company, whom either their reſpect to the Father, or the eſteem of his own perſon, had prevail'd upon to run the ſame fortune with him: *Loziere*, *de Themines*, *Monberaut*, *Calonges*, *Magnas*, the two Brothers *de la Tour*, *Villandry*, *Cipierre*, *Vernegue*, *Monplaiſir*, *de Vic*, *la Boiſſiere*, with many other Gentlemen of note, were of this number; when the Duke his Father, how afflicted ſoever at his reſolution, yet unwilling he ſhould be expos'd to ſo infinite, and almoſt inevitable dangers, without ſome prudent and faithful perſon to ſtand by him in all hazards, permitted *Le Pleſſis* likewiſe, who had been very uſeful to him in his former Travels, to attend him in this ſally alſo; not doubting but he would by his conduct be as ſerviceable to him in his military undertakings, as he had formerly been by his dexterity in other Affairs. *Anno* 1612.

The

Anno 1612.

The *Count de Candale's* Voyage into the *Levant*.

The Duke of *Florence* having consented that the *Count de Candale* with his Companions should embarque in his Gallies, they cours'd up and down the Coasts of the *Levant*, performing some exploits by Sea, and making some attempts by Land, and always with good success: but the particular design of this expedition being upon the Fortress of *Aglimant*, the most important of all *Caramania*, they were to steer their course that way, and to prepare themselves to assault it. This Fortress, favour'd by a good Harbour, was man'd with six hundred *Turks*, and moreover furnish'd with Artillery, Ammunition, and all things necessary for its defense; which, as it lay expos'd to the inroads of the Christians, those who had the Guard of it, were so vigilant to its preservation, that there could be no hope of effecting any thing by surprize. Neither could the Admiral of the *Tuscan* Gallies (*Signior Enguerrany* by name) who was to answer for any miscarriage in the Enterprize, resolve to hazard an attempt, in which he evidently saw so many, and almost invincible difficulties: but the *Count de Candale*, having generously desir'd the greatest danger might be conferr'd upon him, and his, his noble resolution cut off all disputes, and the assault was forthwith concluded.

If in the proposition of this Enterprize the *Count* had evidenc'd the bravery of his Spirit, he made it in the execution more manifestly appear. *Don Pedro Medici* of the Duke's own Family, having resolv'd to make one in this Voyage, would do the *Count de Candale* the Honour to fight in his Squadron, which having had the precedency in landing, had the same deference continued to them throughout the whole Action; which so succeeded to the *Count's* glory, that after a stout resistance he forc'd the place by Petards, and took it; yet not without the loss of some Christians, whereof some Gentlemen of Quality in his own Squadron there lost their lives. *Pedro Medici* was himself desperately wounded, *Le Plessis* more slightly; as also *Monberaut*, and some others: but *Villandry*, *la Boissiere*, and *Vernegue* were laid dead upon the place A loss however soon recompens'd by that of the *Turks*, who had above 300. men slain in the Fight, with two hundred and fifty of them made slaves, as two hundred and forty Christians were set free: So that the *Florentine* General having seiz'd of all the spoil, the *Count de Candale* contented himself with the bare Honour of the Victory. The Fortress was set on fire, and in a short space totally consum'd; the chiefest the *Turk* had upon that Frontier, and that serv'd as a Port to being but five Leagues distance thence.

This action carried on with so great prudence, and perform'd wtih

with ſo admirable Valour, was crown'd with an univerſal applauſe: So that the *Count de Candale* return'd into *France* loaded with Glory and Praiſe, and *Le Pleſſis* having whilſt he was abroad ſweetned his temper, and given him a better taſte of his Fathers Affection, at his return home, he alſo return'd into his Duty and filial Obedience; which made the Duke with an exceſs of joy receive him with open arms into his boſom; a re-union that continuing ſome years, the *Count* liv'd at Court in great Honour, and as high Reputation as any Gentleman of his condition in the Kingdom. *Anno* 1612.

At this time there likewiſe hapned an abſolute and perfect reconciliation betwixt the Duke and the Houſe of *Guiſe*; for as the refuſal of the Marriage of *Madamoiſelle de Montpenſier* had loſt him the *Count de Soiſſons* friendſhip, ſo did the conſummation of that of the Dutcheſs of *Montpenſier* her Mother with the Duke of *Guiſe*, acquire him that of that Duke, and all his Family.

This great Alliance in the revolutions, that after hapned, was of no little importance to the Duke of *Eſpernon*. The favour of *Concino Concini Marquis d' Encre* began at this time to ſhew it ſelf, and to appear out of the conceal'dneſs, and obſcurity, where it had till now lain hid, and to raiſe it ſelf to ſuch a prodigious ſtature, as drew upon the Marquis the envy of the whole Court. I do not here pretend to ſpeak of the Birth of this Favour, nor of the degrees by which it roſe to that exceſſive height, to which it was ſo ſuddenly advanc'd. I ſhall only ſay that this Marquis, finding himſelf too weak to bear the great weight of Envy with which he found himſelf oppreſs'd, ſought the friendſhip and ſupport of the Duke of *Eſpernon*; who he knew was alone ſufficient to protect him againſt all the reſt, and to whom, how ambitious ſoever he might be in his own nature, he made no difficulty to ſubmit. He had in the ſpring of his favour receiv'd ſeveral good Offices from him, in acknowledgment of which, or to intereſt the Duke further in his preſervation, he caus'd the Marriage of his only Daughter with the Marquis *de la Valette* the Duke's ſecond Son, to be propos'd unto him; offering with her in Dowry the Office of Conſtable for the Duke himſelf, ſo ſoon as the King ſhould come out of his Minority, of which the time was near at hand; and for the Marquis, Mony and Offices, as much, and as many as they could expect by the means, and through the mediation of a Favourite, who, through his Wife, poſſeſs'd an abſolute Empire over the Queen Regents will.

Would the Duke have taken the advice of many of his Servants, he had not perhaps, as he did, rejected this propoſal: but he

Anno 1612.

The *Mareschal d' Encre* seeks the Duke of *Espernon's* Alliance, and is rejected.

would never suffer himself to be overcome, either by the importunity of his Friends, or the consideration of his own peculiar interest, as to that motion; insomuch that instead of receiving so advantageous offers with some shew of civility and respect, he fail'd little of rejecting them with injury, and contempt, as he did with great disdain: nay he express'd great offense, and unkindness against those who press'd him to it. An obstinacy that I have often heard condemn'd by some, who believ'd the Duke had never fall'n into those disorders, whereinto he saw himself afterwards plung'd by the Marquis *d' Encres* excessive favour, had he made himself Moderator, that is Master of Affairs, as he might with great ease have done: but as he would pretend to no favour himself, so could he endure no other Favourites; insomuch that he would rather make it his business to pull this down, than by his interest to serve himself in doing his own work.

Though by this repulse the Marquis *d' Encre* (upon whom all things depended at that time) was infinitely cool'd towards the Duke; yet did he not manifest any disgust at all: The Duke was so necessary at Court, the Queen could not be without him; he had propounded, and caus'd the Match with *Spain* to be resolv'd upon, contrary to the opinion of the Princes of the Blood, and divers others of great condition, who follow'd their interests; yet could not the busines be carried on to the Queen satisfaction, if he did not remain at Court, to fortifie such in their first resolution, as otherwise might perhaps be taken off by the consideration of the great power of those, who so stiffly oppos'd it. It was therefore necessary to make use of him in this occasion for the accomplishment of what had been first propounded by him: and in the end the conditions of the two Marriages having been mutually accepted of in both Courts, there was great demonstration of joy in both Kingdoms, *France* particularly pouring out it self in magnificences to a degree almost of profusion, could too much gratitude have been express'd for a blessing that has already produc'd so much happiness, and that is likely to bring much more to the Kingdom.

Whilst the Court was busie about the preparation for these solemnities, the Prince of *Condé*, and the *Count de Soissons*, suddenly withdrew from Court; whose retirement, together with some discontent those of the Religion made shew of at the same time, gave great apprehension, that matters were likely to come to a speedy rupture: but the wisdom of the Queens Council having apply'd seasonable remedies to this disorder, if they did not absolutely take away the effect of what they fear'd, they at least deferr'd

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deferr'd it; ſo that the publick Peace was for this time ſecur'd. The Queen caus'd the Princes to be treated with, who were at laſt content to return to Court, and to ſign the conditions of the Marriage; and thoſe of the Religion, having by this little diſorder procur'd ſome inconſiderable conceſſions, referr'd to a fitter opportunity the deſign they had to interrupt the main work, which they conceiv'd would be infinitely prejudicial to their Intereſt, and Safety. *Anno* 1612.

I cannot in this place forbear another digreſſion from my Subject, to ſpeak of the acquiſition the Duke made at this time of one of the principal Servants he ever had in his Family, and one whoſe merit made him afterwards very eminent at Court, where he obtain'd no little Favour and Eſteem with the King himſelf; and this was the *Sieur de Marſillac*, a Gentleman of as great valour, and as graceful a preſence as any whatſoever of his time. This man had formerly had a dependence upon *Balagny* (call'd the Brave of the Court) whom *Balagny* had taken out of the Regiment of Guards, where he trail'd a Pike, to put him upon one of the boldeſt, and moſt honourable Actions a Gentleman of his condition could poſſibly undertake, and that was to carry a Challenge to the Duke of *Eguillon*, ſince Duke of *Mayenne*. This buſineſs hapned in the Reign of *Henry* the great, who did not condemn him for it; and, though it was the firſt of this nature that perhaps had ever been known in *France*, gave notwithſtanding the Duke of *Mayenne* his Father no ſatisfaction therein, what complaints ſoever he could make. I have heard *Marſillac* himſelf tell the ſtory: He adventur'd a poor younger Brother as he was, to go execute his Commiſſion even in the Duke *d' Eguillon's* own Bed-Chamber, whoſe generoſity and freedom he could never ſufficiently commend, he doing him the honour to go out with him alone to give his friend ſatisfaction, without other caution, than his own bare word, though he could by no means prevail with him, to let him be further concern'd in the Quarrel, being reſolute to end the diſpute without a Second; the only thing whereof he could complain in the Duke's behaviour towards him; though he gave him at the ſame time as much reaſon, to magnifie the extraordinary, and noble care he took to conceal the action from the Duke of *Mayenne* his Fathers knowledge. He was in the houſe when the Challenge was brought, and has often been heard to ſay, that had he known his temerity, he would have caus'd *Marſillac* to have been toſt out of the Windows, to have taught him what it was to bring a Meſſage of that nature to a Prince, from a private Gentleman: and doubtleſs he would *Anno* 1613.

A Challenge carried by *Marſillac* from *Balagni* to the Duke of *Eguillon*.

Anno 1613. have been as good as his word, he was so highly incens'd at the affront; which perhaps serv'd for an example shortly after to the Baron of *Luz*, in his challenge to the *Chevalier de Guise*. As for *Marsillac* after the death of *Balagny* (who was kill'd in a Quarrel) being entertain'd into the Duke of *Espernon*'s Service, he obtain'd under him in the command of his Guard, which he bestowed upon him, so high a reputation, and esteem, that he was at last desir'd by the King; where his Majesty gave him a Company in his own Guards, and his deserts were infallibly raising him to a much higher fortune, if at the same time the King expres'd the greatest esteem and affection for him, he had not at the Siege of *Privas* receiv'd a Musquet-shot in his head, which as it determin'd his hopes, was also the reward of all his Service.

Anno 1614. New disorders in the Kingdom. We here with a new year enter upon a new disorder, of which the immoderate greatness of *Conchini* was either the effectual, or at least the pretended cause; and doubtless his savour and insolence were rais'd to that excess, as rendred him intolerable; either of which are sufficiently odious in whomsoever they happen to be found; but being united in him, pull'd upon him the hatred, or envy of all sorts of men. The most part of the great ones seeing themselves excluded from all knowledge of Affairs (neither is it possible to satisfie all who will pretend to that priviledge) cast their eyes upon the Prince of *Condé*, to intereft him in their discontents; and the *Hugonot* Faction not being able without great jealousie to see the Marriage accomplish'd, was no less ready than those Grandees to break into open arms: The one and the other then being in such a disposition, had joyntly by the negotiation of the Duke of *Boüillon* recourse to the Prince of *Condé*, perswading him to oppose himself to *Concbini*'s greatness, to demand punishment for those evils of which he had been the cause, and a Reformation in the State; the old and common pretense of all such as would infest the publick peace. The Prince had ever since the death of the *Count de Soissons* been in high consideration, not only by reason of his quality as first, but also as it were sole Prince of the Blood; to which his admirable endowments rendred him no less conspicuous, than did the preeminence of his Birth: He was knowing, dexterous, and intelligent in all sorts of business, beyond what could be expected from his age: notwithstanding all which great qualities, something yet being wanting, that some conceiv'd was requir'd in a person of his eminent condition, they had not allow'd him that share in the management of Affairs he either merited, or at least desir'd; an injury that he very much resneting, and moreover animated by the perswasions not of the Duke

Duke *de Boüillon* only, but alſo by the Dukes of *Longueville*, *Mayenne*, *Nevers*, and *Luxenbourg*, who had every one a particular pretext for his defection, made him ſuddenly depart from Court, and retire himſelf to *Mezieres* in *Champagne*, from whence, ſhould he be ſmartly laid to, he might conveniently retreat to *Sedan*. To this place he was follow'd by all the other diſcontented Lords: as for the Duke of *Vendoſme*, who had likewiſe promis'd to do the ſame, not being able to get clear of the Court ſo ſoon as he intended (having been detain'd priſoner in a Chamber of the *Louvre*) he nevertheleſs finding means to deceive his Guards, eſcap'd ſoon after to his Government of *Bretagne*, where he did what he could to fortifie the Faction by the intereſt he had in that Province. *Anno* 1614.

This great number of diſcontents put the Court into ſtrange diſorder, the old Miniſters of State, who had ſeen nothing of a Civil War for many years, apprehending this would certainly involve the Kingdom in a deſperate confuſion: but the Duke of *Eſpernon* having conſider'd that the Princes for the moſt part had neither mony, nor credit at home, nor no intelligence abroad, few places to retire unto, and fewer friends amongſt the people, whom the ſerenity of the preſent Government had rendred very well ſatisfied with their condition, was of a quite contrary opinion. He therefore advis'd the Queen Regent to cauſe them by the Regiments of *French*, and *Swiſſe* Guards, with ſuch Horſe as were ready at hand to be ſuddenly purſu'd; aſſuring her, that if the King would pleaſe to put himſelf into the head of this little Body, he might with the greateſt eaſe imaginable, and without reſiſtance ſuppreſs a faction that had inconſiderately engag'd in a Rebellion without other ground than the meer inſtigation of ſome mutinous ſpirits, and no other ſupport at all. It was the ſame advice he had formerly given *Henry* the III. in the time of his favour, and in the firſt commotions of the League; which not having then been hearkened to, had coſt the King and the whole Kingdom ſo dear: but the ſame Counſel had here the ſame ſucceſs, the wiſdom of the Miniſters of State could not give ear to an advice, wherein they apprehended ſo great a danger; ſo that for want of having obſerv'd what the preſence of a King does in a Kingdom, where the reſpect to the Sovereign Authority has ever been ſo inviolate, as that it ſeems to be a quality inherent to that people, they loſt the moſt favourable opportunity to have ſecur'd the preſent peace, and to have prevented the miſchiefs that enſu'd, could poſſibly have been wiſh'd. An overſight that the Prince of *Condé* very well obſerving, as I have heard him ſay himſelf,

The Duke of *Eſpernons* advice.

Not followed, to the great diſadvantage of the Royal Affairs.

Anno 1614. ſelf, he of that obſervation (as we ſhall ſee hereafter) made a great advantage for the King's Service in the Queen Mothers Affairs.

The advice of taking Arms being thus rejected, the Duke of *Eſpernon* refus'd to have any hand in the inſuing Treaty, wherein he ſaw they were to purchaſe a Peace he neither thought honourable, nor likely long to continue. It was nevertheleſs ſoon concluded, and the Princes having at this time found no diſpoſition in the people to follow the humour of their priuate diſcontents; nor being able of themſelves to raiſe any conſiderable force, made no great difficulty of ſelling a Peace, they would undoubtedly have bought at any price, had they once been made to feel the ſmart of War. But for this they had great ſummes of mony, that furniſh'd them for another Rebellion, with ſome other conditions, as that there ſhould be a Convocation of the Eſtates General for regulating ſuch diſorders as (they ſaid) were introduc'd into the Kingdom. And this was that call'd the Peace of *Saint Menehou*, according to the Articles of which, there follow'd after a Convocation of the Eſtates, but not till the Declaration of the King's Majority had firſt been ratified in the Parliament of *Paris*; that Act having been thought convenient to precede the Aſſembly, to the end that whatever they ſhould there conclude, might be more authentick, and admit of no diſpute for the time to come.

During this Seſſion of the Eſtates, and in the ſight as it were of all *France*, which in the perſons of their Deputies ſeem'd to be then preſent at *Paris*, the Duke did an action which made a great buſtle, and noiſe in the beginning; but that in the iſſue, through the high conſideration and eſteem of his Authority and Vertue, was paſs'd over well enough. I have already ſaid, when ſpeaking of the erection of the Duke's command of Colonel General in Title of an Office of the Crown, that the King annex'd thereto a Sovereign Juſtice, or Court Martial over all the *French* Infantry. In any difference betwixt Souldier and Souldier, the Duke, together with the Officers of that Body to which the Souldier did belong, was abſolute and ſovereign Judge of the Offenſe; but if the difference hapned to be betwixt a Souldier and a Citizen, there he was to call ſome Officers of Juſtice, together with the Officers of the Regiment to aſſiſt him. Rules that, being enter'd amongſt the Statutes of the Crown, are at this day part of the Law, as they make up the moſt noble part of that braye command. It hapned that at this time, two Souldiers of the Regiment of Guards fighting a Duel in the *Pré-au-Clercs*, a place within the

the Juriſdiction of the Abby of *Saint Germans*, the one being ſlain, the other was taken, and delivered into the hands of the Prevoſt of *Saint Germans*, who detain'd him in the Priſon belonging to the Abby. Whereupon the Duke conceiving this had been ignorantly done by the Officer, who perhaps might not know how far in this caſe his Authority did extend, ſent the Prevoſt-Martial of the Regiment to the Bailiff to make him underſtand the right the Duke had to demand his Priſoner, and withal civilly to entreat him to deliver him up, that he might be brought to his Trial: But this entreaty was anſwer'd with a ſurly and poſitive denial, which being, in the terms it was deliver'd, carried back to the Duke, made him infinitely impatient, that the Laws eſtabliſh'd in favour of his command, ſhould ſuffer ſo great a contempt: neither could he on the other ſide ſubmit to purſue all the due Forms, by which he was by order of Law and Juſtice to retrive his man. Thinking it therefore the moſt expedite way to make uſe of his own Authority in the caſe, he commanded the Lieutenant of the Company of which the Priſoner was, to take a Squadron along with him, and by fair means or foul to bring him away; which was accordingly executed: and upon a ſecond refuſal the Priſon of *Saint Germans* broke open, and the Souldier carried away to be puniſh'd according to the rigour of the Law, but by thoſe nevertheleſs who were his proper and natural Judges. *Anno* 1614.

Hereupon the Bailiff goes to the Parliament to complain of the contempt had been offer'd to the Court by a violence upon their inferiour Officers: upon which complaint, and an Indictment *Viva voce* preferr'd by the Bailiff himſelf; the Parliament iſſued out a Warrant to apprehend the Lieutenant for executing his Colonels Order, with a Citation of perſonal appearance againſt the Colonel himſelf: A proceeding, that as it could not certainly be approv'd by all, ſurpriz'd and nettled the Duke to the laſt degree. He complain'd of it to the King, repreſenting at the ſame time his reaſons to juſtifie the Act, and not being able to ſupport the contempt he conceiv'd was caſt upon his perſon, by a body he had ever honour'd, and ſometimes oblig'd, he would give the world an accompt it was no eaſie matter to ſerve a Proceſs upon him. That from the Parliament had been granted out the ſixteenth of *November*, and on the ninteenth the Duke went thither in perſon, accompanied with five, or ſix hundred Gentlemen, beſides whom there alſo crowded as many more young Souldiers of the Regiment of Guards into the Palace; inſomuch that all the Baſe-Court, Galleries, and the very Hall it ſelf

was

Anno 1614. was full of them. The Duke pretended he went to present himself in obedience to the Process had been issued out against him, though no one could believe he went in such a posture with any intent of submission: So that the Parliament advertiz'd of his coming with so great a Train, and not knowing his design, nor to what his passion might transport him, suddenly adjourn'd, retiring every man his own way before their usual time.

As it is hard to govern a confus'd, and unruly multitude, a sort of young hair-brain'd fellows, who attended the Duke, offer'd some indignities, and affronts to some of the inferiour Officers of the Court; and being most of them in Boots, purposely intangled their Spurs in the Ushers, and Proctors Gowns, thinking thereby the more to oblige the Duke, as they appear'd more sensible of his offense. An insolence that infinitely aggravated the business, which without that had been foul enough of it self. A great complaint whereof was made against the Duke, as responsible for all that hapned at the Palace, every one believing that, in the design he had to brave the Parliament, all things were done by his order, which had pass'd in his presence.

If the Duke had manifested a resentment of the injury he had receiv'd from the Parliament, the Parliament express'd no less for what the Duke had done to the contempt of their Dignity; yet did they make no complaint thereof to the King; but remaining in a profound silence (the truest sign of a violent affliction) order'd a cessation of Justice, with a determinate resolution never to meet again, till first a publick and solemn reparation should be made.

This business, proceeding to such a height, put the King and Queen into a very great confusion; they thought it neither convenient nor safe in this juncture of Affairs, which seem'd to threaten some sudden mischief, to disoblige the Duke of *Espernon*; neither did they think it an easie matter to perswade him to pay the Parliament any great submissions; who, on the other side, would in such a case as this accept of no ordinary satisfaction. At last the King sent the Duke *de Vantadour* to the Palace, to tell the Parliament from him, That by their Body his person being repre-
"sented, all the injury they pretended to have receiv'd from the
"Duke of *Espernon* reflected immediately upon him: That his
"Majesty also took it to himself, to whom it did belong, to vindi-
"cate his own Honour, which he should be sufficiently able to
"do without any necessity upon them of espousing his Quarrel:
"but that because the business had made some noise, that might
"perhaps have given some offense to the publick, he therefore de-
"sir'd they should receive a publick satisfaction, and such a one as

should

"ſhould ſatisfie the world of the great reſpect he had to Juſtice. Anno
"That in order thereunto it was his pleaſure the Priſoner ſhould 1614.
"be return'd to the ſame place from whence he had been taken,
"and by the ſame perſon by whom he had been fetch'd away;
"and as for what concern'd the Duke, who proteſted he had no
"intention to offend the Parliament in what he had done, he
"ſhould be deſir'd in his own perſon to make the ſame proteſta-
"tion before them.

Things being thus order'd, the Duke of *Eſpernon* the nine and twentieth of the ſame month went to the Palace; when, though with no extraordinary Train about his perſon, ſo many nevertheleſs of his Friends had convey'd themſelves into the Palace, as were ſufficient to make head againſt his Enemies, ſhould they, by taking advantage of the place, or by pretending to do a right to the Aſſembly, have attempted any thing againſt him. Being come into the great Chamber, and having taken his accuſtomed ſeat, he, ſpeaking with his hat on, in few words Remonſtrated:
"That having never had other intent, than to pay all due reſpect
"to an Aſſembly in which he had had the honour for many years
"to have ſome place, he could not but admire they ſhould inter-
"pret what was an effect of that due honour and reſpect, for a
"premeditated offenſe: That he was not altogether ſo unthrifty
"of his own Intereſt, as to offer an injury to them, which he
"could not but know would rebound upon himſelf: That he
"had, for two and thirty years paſt, been a Member of that Ho-
"nourable Body; during all which time there had not been per-
"haps a man of his condition, more paſſionate for their Service,
"than himſelf in the Kingdom: That he had ſet down amongſt
"the good fortunes of his life, the opportunity he had happily
"met withal of expreſſing his good Affection to the Dignity of
"that Aſſembly, when after the death of *Henry* the Great, of
"Glorious Memory, he had firſt advis'd them to make uſe of
"their own Authority in providing for the Regency of the King-
"dom: That he had tendred them his Service upon that occaſi-
"on, which had not been altogether ineffectual to the putting
"them in poſſeſſion of a priviledge which would doubtleſs be ta-
"ken notice of in ages yet to come: That if any indiſcreet per-
"ſons had made uſe of his name, either for the pretenſe of their
"inſolencies, or in the proſecution of their own private revenge,
"he ſeriouſly demanded their Juſtice, as the perſon moſt con-
"cern'd in the offenſe: That he very well knew his enemies
"would lay hold of that occaſion, to make him appear in all the
"fault; but that he did humbly beſeech them to judge more fa-

Anno 1614.

"vourably of his intentions, and that all things past might be "forgot (concluding his speech with these very words) That he "did intreat to be excus'd, if in a rude and unpolish'd discourse, "he had not given that satisfaction he could have wish'd to their "Learned Ears, who having been all his life a Captain of Foot, "had ever made it more his study to do, than to speak well. To which the first President *Verdun*, after having gather'd the Votes of the Assembly, return'd this Answer: "That since the King "was graciously pleas'd to incline more to Clemency than Ri-"gour, the Court by his Majesties express Command, and in con-"sideration of his many brave Services, as also willing to make "the best interpretation of what had pass'd, accepted of his ex-"cuse; hoping thereby for the future, to engage both himself and "his Sons to pay those Services to the King and Kingdom to "which they were in gratitude oblig'd; and to that Court the "Honour and respect was due unto them. Of which he never af-ter fail'd; neither at the hour of his death, was there any person "of his condition in the Kingdom, who had more friends than he in that honourable Assembly, nor that had more reason upon several occasions to magnifie their Justice.

The end of the Sixth Book.

THE

THE HISTORY Of the LIFE of the Duke of Eſpernon.

The Seventh Book.

SOon after the forementioned diſpute betwixt the Parliament, and the Duke, the Aſſembly of Eſtates broke up; which, inſtead of the happy Reformation was expected to enſue, was immediately follow'd by a War; upon which the Council (after having long waver'd in the uncertainty of the Peace ſo lately and ſo dearly bought) ſaw it neceſſary at laſt to reſolve. The diſcontents of the Prince of *Condé* was again the cauſe of this, as it had been of the late Commotion, and thoſe diſcontents again founded upon the greatneſs of *Concbini*, now advanc'd to the honour of *Mareſchal* of *France*. The *Mareſchal* therefore finding the Prince had conceiv'd an implacable animoſity againſt him, and very well foreſeeing, that unleſs he freed himſelf from the difficulties he would eternally ſtrew in his way, he could never raiſe himſelf to that pitch of greatneſs, to which he did aſpire; he reſolv'd to come to a publick Rupture with him, and to remove him from the King's Preſence by a War that ſhould for a ſufficient time ſecure himſelf from thoſe obſtacles

Anno 1615.

The Commotion of the Princes to hinder the Marriage with *Spain*.

Anno 1615. he was otherwise certain to receive from so powerful an Enemy. The Prince was already retir'd in great discontent from Court; having as before, taken the way of *Champagne*, that he might be near *Sedan*, his surest refuge, should he be overmatch'd by the Royal Power: where after *Conchini* had long amus'd him with the hope of some advantageous Accommodation he at one blow cut him off that expectation, by causing a Summons to be sent him to be in readiness to attend the King in his Progress into *Guienne*, whither his Majesty was resolv'd shortly to take a Journey for the consummation of his Marriage; an Affair that having ever been oppos'd by the Prince, he very well understood the meaning of that Summons, and now plainly saw how he was to trust in the strength of his own Arms. He had ever since the last breach been so solicitous to continue his intelligence, and to maintain the League he had contracted with the Lords of his Party the precedent year, that it was no hard matter for him to engage them in this new Quarrel: the Dukes of *Longueville*, *Mayenne*, *Vendosme*, and *Nevers* declar'd highly in his favour, and the Duke of *Bouillon* (whose interest carried the whole *Hugonot* Faction along with it) did the same; so that all things were apparently dispos'd for an intestine War, in all the best Provinces of the Kingdom.

So many discontented persons, and those so considerable in themselves, put the Court into no little disorder; the Kings Journey in order to his Marriage had been resolv'd upon, and the time with the *Spanish* Agents concluded; which was every where so publickly known, that the Honour of the King and the Queen Mother was not a little concern'd in the consummation of a thing, to which they were so solemnly engag'd: but there was scarce any who durst undertake to overcome the difficulties were prepar'd to hinder that great Affair. For after the retirement of all the forenam'd Princes, there was not any remain'd at Court, except the Dukes of *Guise* and *Espernon*, who were capable of serving the King in so dangerous an occasion; and of these the Duke of *Guise*, though in shew well enough with the Queen, stood nevertheless so suspected to her, that she durst not trust an Army in his hands, lest by joyning with the discontented Princes (whereof the greater part were his Kindred, or nearly ally'd to him) his Majesties Person might be left wholly to their discretion; and although she had not the same jealousie of the Duke of *Espernon* (no body doubting his Fidelity) yet could not that command be conferr'd upon him, without giving offense to the Duke of *Guise*.

In

In this anxiety then how ſhe might ſatisfie them both, the Duke of *Eſpernon* went one day to attend the Queen, where he made it his humble requeſt to her Majeſty, ſhe would not in the leaſt conſider his particular ſatisfaction in this occurrence: "Telling her he ſhould ever be very well ſatisfied, provided their "Majeſties were ſerv'd as they ought to be: That he did hope "they would, and that he was doing ſomething in order to ſecuring their Journey ſo far as *Bordeaux*; wherein he nevertheleſs pretended to no other Command, than barely to ride in the "head of thoſe Friends, which he ſhould make ready for that Service: That perhaps a greater Authority might give diſtaſte to "ſome, who at this time were by no means to be diſoblig'd: "That for what concern'd the Princes, a good Army interpos'd "betwixt them, and *Paris*, under the command of ſome man of "Quality and Experience would be ſufficient: and that for any "thing could be apprehended from thoſe of the Religion, whoſe "greateſt ſtrength were in *Poitou*, *Xaintongue*, and *Rochelle* upon "the way to *Bordeaux*, he himſelf would undertake; his Governments in thoſe parts giving him ſufficient power ſo to do. *Anno* 1615. The Duke of *Eſpernon's* Service upon this occaſion.

The Queen Mother, by this aſſurance being confirm'd in her firſt deſign, told the Duke that ſhe abſolutely reſign'd the King's Perſon, and her own to his care and protection; that ſhe therefore deſir'd him to order all things, as ſhould ſeem to him the moſt convenient, as ſhe abſolutely left them to his Valour and Wiſdom: A Commiſſion the Duke had no ſooner receiv'd, but that ſeeing himſelf authorized ſo to do, he caus'd the King's departure the ſeventeenth of *Auguſt* to be proclaim'd, perſwading the Queen to confer the Command of the Army which was to attend the Princes motion upon the *Mareſchal de Bois-Dauphin*; adviſing her Majeſty further, and in the firſt place to provide for the ſecurity of *Paris*, that the Princes Servants, who had great Authority in the City, might raiſe no commotion there in their Majeſties abſence.

After therefore that had been taken order for, by the ſecuring of ſome eminent and ſuſpected perſons, the Court departed from *Paris*, happily arriving in a few days at *Poictiers*: and had not Madam the King's Siſter fallen ſick of the Small Pox delayed their Journey, their Majeſties had been upon their return before the Princes could have got their Forces together; but that unhappy accident, having conſtrain'd them to ſtay near two months at *Poictiers*, gave their Enemies leiſure to put them into great apprehenſions: which was alſo the only harm they received from this inſurrection.

At

Anno 1615. At the same City of *Poictiers* there hapned another disorder at this time, wherein had not the Duke of *Espernon*, who was principally concern'd in the Affair, rendred himself unusually tractable, another obstacle to that Progress had infallibly ensu'd. The Duke of *Guise*, from the time of his Marriage with the Dutchess of *Montpensier*, had pretended to the Wardship of *Madamoiselle* her Daughter; who was Inheritrix to such a Fortune, as might reasonably induce any man to covet the management of so brave an Estate, which nevertheless he could not obtain, without the consent of the Duke who was great Uncle to the young Princess: and he, having very good reason to believe the Duke of *Guise* did in this claim, more consider his own interest, than that of the Dutchess of *Montpensier* his Niece, would never gratifie him in that particular. But the Duke of *Guise* conceiving his Service to be altogether necessary at this time, took this opportunity to importune the Queen, either to cause the Duke of *Espernon* to satisfie him in this point, or to give him leave to retire. Whereupon the Queen spoke of it to the Duke, whom she found very averse to any such motion; he humbly entreating her Majesty to dispose absolutely of all his own concerns, but not to command him to neglect his Nieces interests: though in the end, the Queen, who could promise to her self no good issue of that Journey, without a good intelligence betwixt these two great persons, so far prevail'd upon the Duke, that he was content to satisfie the Duke of *Guise*; by which means their friendship upon the point for ever to be dissolv'd, upon this little occasion, grew greater and more firm than ever.

As it had been no hard matter to foresee how advantageous the long Sickness of *Madam*, and their Majesties stay at *Poictiers* would be to the designs of those of the Religion, and others who were engag'd in the Princes Quarrel: So had the Duke of *Espernon* omitted nothing that might any way serve to divert the dangerous effects of that untoward accident. And herein he had been especially solicitous to put his Governments of *Xaintonge*, and *Angoumois* into a posture fit for his Majesties Service, upon that the security of that Voyage chiefly depending. To this purpose therefore he had sent thither the Duke of *Candale*, his eldest Son (already establish'd in the succession of those Governments) to keep them in Obedience: Nevertheless what he did for so good an end, succeeded otherwise than he expected, news being brought him, that this Son had entertain'd resolutions much contrary to his own, and having suffer'd himself to be misled by certain ungovern'd passions, was fall'n off from

from his duty to embrace new Counſels, and to follow new Deſigns. *Anno 1615.*

Whether it were the ſenſe of this miſcarriage in his Son (which alſo occaſion'd a new, and a wider breach betwixt them) or the apprehenſion of being by this means made incapable of performing his word with the King and Queen, that put his mind into that diſorder whereinto he ſoon after fell; ſo it was that he fell ſick of ſo violent a grief, as every one expected would carry him to his grave. Things nevertheleſs ſucceeded in his Government according to what he had undertaken; their Majeſties after the recovery of Madam, having left *Poictiers*, proceeded in great ſecurity to *Angouleſme*; neither there, nor in any other place throughout the whole Journey meeting with any impediment at all. But the Duke wounded to the ſoul with the violent ſorrow of his Sons untoward carriage was now no longer able to bear it out; but having convey'd their Majeſties to the utmoſt bounds of his Government (that is to ſay out of all danger, they there entring upon *Guienne*, where the way was clear to *Bordeaux*) fell ſuddenly into ſo great a weakneſs, that he was carried back for dead to *Angouleſme*: He lay above forty hours (a very extraordinary thing) without ſpeech, pulſe, or any kind of motion; inſomuch that not a perſon about him, but concluded him abſolutely dead: but at laſt his Spirits, which had been ſo long overcome with grief, and his ſtrength weakned by a very long abſtinence, being ſtirr'd up by a glaſs of Water (his ordinary and beſt Remedy, and which he ever made uſe of in all diſtempers) he began a little to come to himſelf, with ſo great an aſtoniſhment nevertheleſs, that he continued a great while without any kind of knowledge; his ſighs, which were the iſſue of his grief, being the only evidence almoſt he gave that he was yet alive. Yet could he not, in this great and total neglect of himſelf, forget the care of his Maſters Affairs, he being no ſooner return'd to a new life, but that he diſpatch'd away the Marquis *de la Valette*, who had continued about him, during his Sickneſs, to attend the King, and Queen; that the Friends he had engag'd in this Voyage, having himſelf as it were preſent with them, in the perſon of ſo dear a part of himſelf, might continue more diligent in their duty.

The Duke of *Eſpernon* falls deſperately ſick.

The Duke had the honour, during this Sickneſs, to be viſited by ſeveral perſons ſent purpoſely by the King and Queen to ſee him, by whom he receiv'd very obliging Letters, under their Majeſties own hands; and when ſomething recover'd, others of the ſame ſtile and kindneſs. *Mounſieur de Villeroy* alſo, after their old animoſities, being become his very great friend, writ very often

to

Anno 1615. to him; wherein he ſtill gave him an accompt of all Affairs, conjuring him to make all the haſte he could to Court, where he ſaid his Preſence and Service was never more neceſſary than at this time. Two of which Letters I have ſeen, bearing date the twentieth, and four and twentieth of *October* 1615. Not that the Duke was nevertheleſs upon ſo good terms at Court, as he had formerly been: neither did thoſe Letters imply any ſuch thing, it being hardly to be expected he could be in any eminent degree of favour with the Queen Mother (upon whom, at that time, all things depended) being out with the *Mareſchal d' Encre*, whoſe Wife had ſo ſtrange an aſcendent over her Majeſties inclinations; but that his Service could, in this juncture, by no means be ſpar'd: neither did he, how evidently ſoever he ſaw his favour decline, fail, out of that conſideration, in any part of his Duty, being reſolute rather to periſh, than that their Majeſties ſhould ſuffer the leaſt inconvenience. So ſoon therefore as he was able to Travel, he went to *Bordeaux*, where he arriv'd the twelfth day of *November*, and a few days after attended the King to *Caſtres*, a little Village upon the great Road from *Bayonne* to that City; where the King would the firſt time ſee the Queen his Spouſe, and where the Duke, who was very perfect in the *Spaniſh* Tongue, had the honour to entertain her at the Boot of her Coach, whilſt his Majeſty, in a crowd of ſome young Lords and Gentlemen on Horſeback paſs'd by *incognito* to view her.

Queen *Anne* of *Auſtria* arrives at *Bordeaux*.

The young Queen, arriving at *Bordeaux* the 25th. of *November*, found the Court in a very great Alarm at the news of the Princes being advanc'd on this ſide the River *Loire*; whoſe Forces being by this time united, and moreover re-inforc'd with ſome Forein Troops, were likely to make their Majeſties return to *Paris* very difficult, and dangerous. An occaſion wherein the Duke of *Eſpernon*'s Services were again of very great moment, who, during his abode at *Angouleſme*, after his recovery, had made many Levies, which were all ready at *Ville-Bois*; a recruit that conſiſting of 5000. Foot, and 400. Light Horſe, and joyn'd to the Forces their Majeſties already had, abſolutely ſecur'd their return through the Countries of *Xaintonge*, and *Poictou*, poſſeſs'd by thoſe of the Religion, and without any difficulty made good their way to *Poictiers*, and ſo to *Tours*, notwithſtanding whatever the Princes could do to oppoſe them.

In this return of the King to *Paris*, the Duke of *Guiſe* was made General of the Army, which had hitherto ſerv'd under the *Mareſchal de Bois-Dauphin*, and the Duke of *Eſpernon* had alſo the abſolute Authority of their Majeſties Conduct conferr'd upon him;

him; who, for fear of diſtaſting the Duke of *Guiſe* would never till then pretend to any command: an undertaking wherein he ſo acquitted himſelf, as might give him reaſonable expectation of a grateful return: But who can promiſe to himſelf any fruits of his ſervices, eſpecially at Court, where the beſt are uſually rewarded with hatred, or envy? nor had the Duke's a better acknowledgment, when having perform'd all that could be expected from a Loyal Subject, and a brave Gentleman, and that their Majeſties by his vigilancy and valour were once ſettled in ſafety, there was nothing more thought of, than how to revenge the *Mareſchal d' Encre*, even at the price of ſo good, and ſo faithful a Servant. *Anno* 1615.

The firſt evidence the Duke met withal of any manifeſt diſgrace, was upon the occaſion of a vacancy that hapned in the Company of *la Courbe*, one of the Captains in the Regiment of Guards: a Gentleman that having ſerv'd long, and with great Reputation in that Command, and hapning to die in this Journey; and his Son a young and hopeful Cavalier, having before his Fathers death been admitted Enſign to that Company, the Duke, who had been a great lover of the Father (whoſe brave and late Services ſeem'd likewiſe to plead in behalf of the Son) had mov'd their Majeſties in his Favour, that that Command might be conferr'd upon him. Since the death of the late King, nor of long before, had the Duke ever appear'd zealous in any requeſt he had not, without any great difficulty, obtain'd; neither had he leſs, but more reaſon now, than ever to expect the ſame favour, his recent Services having been of that importance to the Kings Affairs: all which nevertheleſs being either not regarded, or forgot; and the deſign had before been concluded to diſoblige him, prevailing above the merits of the Father, the pretenders Right, and the Duke's Intereſt who interceded for him, *la Beſne*, Lieutenant to the ſame Company, was preferr'd before young *la Courbe*, how diſpleas'd ſoever the Duke ſeem'd to be at that Election. Yet did he not reſent this ill uſage ſo high as to leave the Court, ſatisfying himſelf at preſent with manifeſting his diſcontents by many and publick complaints, though in vain, the Court now no more caring to offend him: but on the contrary taking this occaſion to exclude him from the Council, where his candid, and unbyaſs'd opinions did nothing reliſh with ſuch as would have all things give way to their own private intereſts (and doubtleſs had he at this time in the leaſt bandied with his enemies, they would immediately have attempted upon his perſon) that the *Mareſchal d' Encre*, and his Wife might by ſo powerful an oppoſes be no longer travers'd in their deſigns. The beginning of the Duke of *Eſpernon's* diſgrace.

Anno 1615. The Duke's Affairs were in this posture, when their Majesties having first recover'd *Poictiers*, and afterwards *Chastellerant* (where the Peace concluded at *Loudun* was sign'd) arriv'd in the end at *Tours*; neither did the Duke there fail, how ill soever he saw himself entertain'd, continually to pay all due reverence to the Queen, when coming one day into her Chamber with a great many other Lords and Gentlemen, one of the beams that supported the floor suddenly broke; insomuch that all that side of the Room fell down with a sudden ruine, overwhelming all those that stood upon it, to their exceeding great peril. Many persons of very eminent quality were engag'd in the danger of this fall, amongst whom the *Count de Soissons*, then very young, was one, as also the Duke *Bassompierre*, *Villeroy*, and some others: The Duke being always very well attended, his Servants suddenly leap'd into the midst of the ruines, to relieve him, where, though himself was dangerously engag'd, and very much hurt in several places, especially in one shoulder, he nevertheless call'd out to his Friends to run and save the *Count*, himself also assisting as much as in him lay to disingage him from the rubbish, and to put him out of danger by the Window of a low Parlour; being much more solicitous of this Prince's safety than his own: who, being by his own, and his Servants diligence secur'd, he afterwards disingag'd himself from the ruines, and wounded, as has been said, was convey'd to his own Lodgings. The Queen Mother, who, by good fortune had escap'd the danger (that part of the Chamber where she sate, being supported by the more faithful strength of the other Beam that remain'd entire) sent very graciously to visit all the persons of Quality, who had receiv'd any hurt by this accident, the Duke only (who was design'd for the worst usage) excepted. It is not to be doubted, but that the Duke must needs highly resent so manifest a preterition, by which he evidently perceiv'd they intended to make him sensible of his disgrace; so that fearing, should he continue at Court after so clear a testimony of disfavour, something of a ruder nature might be put upon him, he forthwith resolv'd to retire himself, as he did, but with high and publick complaints of the injustice was done him, and of the unworthy recompense he received for all his Service. He spent two days before his departure in visiting, and taking leave of his friends, forbearing nevertheless that Ceremony to all he conceiv'd not to be such, in what degree of favour soever they might be at Court; he either having never understood, or having never been willing to learn those mean Court Maxims that oblige men to dissemble their resentments, and to give thanks for injuries receiv'd: declaring

The Duke in great danger.

claring on the contrary to all the world, that he went away with the diſſatisfaction an honeſt man ought to have for the loſs of his time, and ſervice. Notwithſtanding at laſt, taking his leave of their Majeſties, he was by the King and Queen very civilly diſmiſt, though the Queen Mother receiv'd his laſt complements with the uſual coldneſs ſhe had already begun to diſcover upon ſeveral occaſions. *Anno* 1615. The Duke of *Eſpernon* retires from Court.

After this manner the Duke retir'd back to *Angouleſme*, his old, and ordinary refuge, in all his diſgraces, whilſt their Majeſties continued their Journey to *Paris*, where they arriv'd in *June*; and whither the Prince of *Condé* alſo (imagining he had by the Treaty of *Loudon* eſtabliſh'd his Affairs in ſo ſure a condition, that it was not in the power of event to work any alteration to his diſadvantage) came preſently after; but he ſoon found that nothing is more unſtable, than a power, how great ſoever, that depends meerly upon its own ſtrength, the ſole name of a King (though a Child, and the publick adminiſtration managed by a man hateful to all) being ſufficient to arreſt him in the very arms of all his Confederates, and even in the City of *Paris*, where he believ'd his perſon, through the affections of the people in greater ſecurity, than in any other place of the Kingdom. The Prince of *Condé* confin'd.

All the Princes, and Lords, not only thoſe then preſent at Court, and who had engag'd with the Prince in the late commotions, but alſo all the reſt of their party, aſtoniſh'd at ſo extraordinary a proceeding, and believing that after an example like this, neither reſpect of perſons, nor any ſecurity in general was to be expected, they ſuddenly retir'd from Court; to whom the reſt almoſt as ſuddenly re-united themſelves for their common ſafety. The *Mareſchal*, who thought that by ſecuring the Head of the Faction, he had likewiſe ſecur'd himſelf from the danger of the reſt, was infinitely ſurpriz'd when he ſaw them now united in more formidable numbers than before, and that the Lords of the Houſe of *Guiſe* alſo abſented themſelves upon this occaſion; wherein nevertheleſs he had this hope, that ſo many perſons of equal quality would not long agree together, eſpecially if preſs'd home by the Royal Arms: An opinion that made him reſolve to ſet immediately ſuch Forces on foot, as ſhould be ſufficient to encounter, and ſuppreſs them in ſeveral places at once. Neither did he care to reduce any by Treaty, ſave only the Duke of *Guiſe*, conceiving an Accommodation with him would be more eaſily effected, than with any of the other, by how much he had ever obſerv'd a greater moderation in him, and his Brothers towards himſelf, than the reſt; to which likewiſe the complacency the

Anno 1615. Duke had ever manifested for the Queen in other occasions, gave him greater assurance of a flexibility in him to her Majesties desires in this, and that without much difficulty a good intelligence might be establish'd betwixt them; as there afterwards was, the *Guises*, having receiv'd caution for their security, being content to return to Court.

The *Mareschal d' Encre* takes arms against the Prince of *Condé*'s Partizans.

This little negotiation being so happily dispatch'd, the *Mareschal* immediately betook himself to Arms, and so vigorously, that in a very few days, three great Armies were set on foot, whereof one was sent against the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was retir'd to *Soissons*; another against the Duke of *Nevers* in *Champagne*; and the third against the Dutchess of *Nevers*, who with a generosity (something extraordinary in her delicate Sex) was resolute to defend the Dutchy of *Nivernois*, which was the Inheritance of the Duke her Husband.

Anno 1616. In this disorder of Affairs, the Duke of *Espernon*, apprehending that the hatred the *Mareschal* had conceiv'd against him, was no less than that he manifested against the rest, and that he would infallibly fall upon him, so soon as he had dispatch'd with them, he had no mind to be surpriz'd, nor to suffer himself tamely to be oppress'd; considering therefore that alone he should not long be able to resist the power of the King, whose name his enemy had usurp'd in all his Affairs, he address'd himself to the Duke of *Montmorency*, to engage him in his Quarrel; by whose mediation he made no doubt to draw over *l' Esdiguieres* also. The Duke knew those two to be no better satisfied with the present Government than himself; who, although they were not openly persecuted as he was, yet the example of the other persons of the same condition, making them reasonably to apprehend for themselves, what they already saw others suffer; he doubted not, but that without much difficulty they would be perswaded to embrace the union; neither was he mistaken herein, the Duke of *Montmorency*, as also *l' Esdiguieres*, absolutely engaging with him. So that these three Confederates, having opportunity to concur in the work, through the mediation, and by the assistance of several powerful friends the Duke had in *Guienne*, nothing could hinder them from uniting, in so necessary a defense, and so just a Quarrel.

Anno 1617. The Duke, notwithstanding he had thus wisely play'd his game, and that he was certain to receive very great assistance from his Confederates, did nevertheless very well understand, that as he was nearest to the approaching danger, so it would be very necessary for him to put himself soonest into a posture of defense, that

that the *Mareſchal* might not ſurprize him. His thoughts therefore were fully intent upon the reſolution of Arms; but he wanted not only a cauſe, but even a pretenſe to colour his preparation; without which only to go about it, was to make himſelf Criminal in the higheſt degree: neither (the Court Minion being abſolutely his enemy) could he reaſonably hope, either for a Commiſſion from thence for the raiſing of men in the King's name, and at his expenſe; or ſo much as to be permitted to do it at his own charge. In this ſtrait and anxiety, what courſe to take, the *Rochellers* gave him as fair a pretenſe, as he could poſſibly deſire, to do that under the vail of Duty, and Obligation, which he could not otherwiſe have undertaken, without incurring the higheſt cenſure. They had at this time ſurpriz'd a little Caſtle, near to their City, and ſituate upon the Sea-coaſt, call'd *Rochefort*; an enterprize condemn'd by all the world for the moſt ſenſleſs, and unadvis'd, that could poſſibly have been undertaken, to begin a War by an action of ſo little importance, in a time when themſelves, and their whole party were priviledg'd by ſo abſolute, and inviolate a Peace. The Duke, who had been at ſo great a loſs before, and that could not then have wiſh'd for a more ſpecious pretenſe, it may eaſily be imagin'd was very ready to lay hold of this occaſion now; neither did he fail herein to aggravate the miſdemeanour to the height: but repeating all the Accuſations he had formerly preferr'd againſt the Ambition, and Infidelity of thoſe of the Reformed Religion, and particularly againſt thoſe of *Rochelle*, he of them drew up a kind of *Manifeſto*, which he caus'd to be publiſh'd in all parts of the Kingdom. "In this Declaration he forgot not to "reckon up the ſeveral inſurrections thoſe of that Faction had "broke into, to make their advantage of every diſorder, had at "any time hapned in the Kingdom, notwithſtanding all ſatisfa-"ction had been given them by the inviolate obſervation of ſeve-"ral Edicts granted in their favour: That they had been obſerv'd "for many years to call together Aſſemblies in *Rochelle*, without "either his Majeſties Order, or Royal Aſſent; from which ſuch "unjuſt and unreaſonable Propoſitions, and demands were uſu-"ally ſent to the King, as made it appear they did not Treat with "his Majeſty in the quality of Subjects, but like Free-States that "were nothing ally'd to his Sovereign Power: That by ſuch a "behaviour it was plain enough, the City was arriv'd to the ut-"moſt degree of Licence, and that the *Rochellers* could never ſatiſ-"fie their Ambition, till they had introduc'd a popular Govern-"ment amongſt them: That if hitherto his Majeſties Council "had (contrary to his Judgment, and Advice) wink'd at the pro-

Anno 1617.

The Duke of *Eſpernon's* pretenſe for the taking of Arms.

greſs

Anno 1617. "greſs of ſo dangerous a deſign; that nevertheleſs he, to whom "the Government of their City was entruſted, and who there- "fore was more concern'd, than any other to keep ſuch in their "obedience, as were committed to his care, was reſolv'd to cha- "ſtiſe their inſolence; which he nothing doubted, but by the aſ- "ſiſtance of his own friends he ſhould be able to do, and to make "them know they had hitherto been only ſtrong in the weakneſs "of our own Counſels. This had in truth ever been his ſaying, and the effects made it appear he had made a right judgment; ſo that under this pretenſe he took Arms; which, as it was colour'd by a deſign that immediately pointed at his Majeſties Service, ſo did he not ſcruple to make uſe of the King's mony in the Levies he made upon this occaſion.

With theſe ſummes, though very ſmall, and ſome mony of his own, he rais'd four Regiments of Foot, conſiſting of above four thouſand five hundred men, and betwixt five and ſix hundred Horſe; to which were added ſixſcore Guards on Horſeback in his own Livery: a force, which though not very conſiderable for their number, were yet ſuch as he conceiv'd ſufficient to keep the Field againſt any he had a mind to offend.

The *Rochellers* (who formerly had by many injuries highly incens'd the Duke) no ſooner ſaw him reſolv'd, and ready to advance in a poſture of War, even to the Gates of their City, but they began now to examine their Forces, which they had not ſo well conſider'd before the danger, and which the more they examin'd, the weaker they found them to be: This City the Capital of a powerful Faction, and that had ſo often diſputed the King's Authority, enrich'd by an extraordinary Traffick, and confederated with all the Proteſtant Princes of Europe, finding it ſelf in ſo weak a condition, that it could not in this neceſſity muſter 2000. men, to ſally out of their Walls; utterly without Horſe, or the leaſt aſſiſtance from any of their Confederates and Friends: So that converting their uſual Rhodomantades, and Menaces into the moſt ſubmiſs terms of Humble Supplication, addreſſing themſelves by their Deputies to the King, they humbly, and with all importunity beſought his Majeſty to interpoſe his Royal Authority betwixt the Duke of *Eſpernon* and them, that he might not commence a War againſt them.

Had the *Rochellers* made this confeſſion of their weakneſs at another time, it would doubtleſs have very well pleas'd the Council; and 'tis likely the Duke of *Eſpernon* would have been countenanc'd in his deſign, to the end that City might have been made to know, what they were one day to apprehend from their

Princes

Prince's indignation: but the *Mareſchal d'Encre* unable to endure that his Capital Enemy ſhould be in Arms, and conſequently in a poſture fit to fruſtrate the deſign he had long projected of his ruine, made the Council reſolve to diſpatch away *Boiſſize*, one of the Council of State, to the Duke with a poſitive command to lay down his Arms. *Anno* 1617.

Boiſſize at his arrival found the Duke with his Forces, quarter'd at *Surgeres*, but four Leagues only diſtant from *Rochelle*, and ready to march up to the City; neither did he fail with all the Rhetorick he had to diſſwade him from that reſolution: "Repreſenting to "him the danger of what he was about, leſt the noiſe of the en- "terprize in hand ſhould alarm the whole *Hugonot* Party, whom "the King would by no means ſhould be provok'd; and in "which caſe, of a particular Quarrel, he would be the cauſe of "a general War. With which commands from the King, and Queen, he moreover mix'd menaces of their higheſt indignation, ſhould he diſobey; with many promiſes on the contrary of all ſatisfaction from the Court, and the *Rochellers* if he would deſiſt; all which, wanting force to divert him from his purpoſe, the Duke gave order in the preſence of *Boiſſize* to ſound to Horſe, and nettled to the laſt degree, at the difficulties he ſaw ſtrew'd in the way of his deſigns, march'd directly towards *Rochelle*. *Boiſſize* ſeeing his endeavours altogether ineffectual, and that the Duke was obſtinate in his firſt determination, after having highly proteſted againſt his proceeding, went, and put himſelf into the Town, giving the Inhabitants thereby to underſtand, that their Majeſties had no hand in the Duke's Enterprize, that it was abſolutely contrary to their order, and that therefore they were at full liberty to arm themſelves for their own defenſe. But this conſent, though it warranted their Arms, gave them nevertheleſs no other power, ſo that they were to ſuffer whatever the Duke was pleas'd to inflict upon them: He quarter'd his men in their beſt Farms, made his approaches up to the very Gates of their City, and defeated ſome who (under the protection of their Counterſcape) attempted to oppoſe him; till in the end, after having maintain'd his Army, for almoſt a month, at their charge, and that his fury was a little abated by that little revenge he had taken in ſome inconveniencies he had put them to, he grew more flexible to a new Order he receiv'd from Court, and was at laſt content to let them alone.

It was by *Vignoles*, that the Duke receiv'd this laſt Command, a man for many years, well known, and highly eſteem'd by him, which rendred the Duke more flexible to a Treaty with him, than the

Anno 1617. the other; from whose mouth having receiv'd his Majesties pleasure, he made answer; "That having now made a discovery to "the whole Kingdom of the *Rochellers* weakness, the dis-union "of their Faction, and with how much ease they were to be re-"claim'd when ever his Majesty should think fit, he was content "to let them rest in peace: but that, if the King had pleas'd, he "might at this time have punish'd their insolence, as it was in his "power easie to do, he could without much trouble have done his "Majesty a very important Service; but he saw (to his great af-"fliction) his Enemies, who were prevalent with his Majesty, "envy'd him the honour of this Action; but that he must how-"ever give place to their malice in obedience to his Royal plea-"sure, though in a thing very prejudicial to his Majesties own "peculiar Interest: That therefore he would retire so soon as the "*Rochellers* should surrender the Castle of *Rochefort* into his Maje-"sties hands and; that after that act of their Obedience, having no "other particular concern, he had nothing more to desire of his "Majesty for his own private satisfaction, than that his Majesty "would please to assert, and avow what he had only undertaken "for his Service in the past occasion. Which being accordingly in another dispatch brought him by *Vignoles*, and all those who had assisted, and serv'd him in this occasion compriz'd, he rose from before *Rochelle*; dismissing his Army nevertheless in such sort that most of the Commanders (most of them having relation to him) might be ready upon the least warning to re-unite in the same equipage as before.

What the Duke had expres'd to *Vignoles* of his discontents by word of mouth, did not nevertheless save him the labour of writing to Court in such a style, as manifested he still retain'd the honest liberty his great spirit had ever suggested to him, during the Reigns of his two former Masters. He therefore sent a Letter to the King, in the beginning whereof having excus'd himself in that he had not paid so prompt an Obedience to their Majesties first Orders, deliver'd by *Boissize*, and given reasons for it, that directly pointed at the Honour of the King himself, which as he said he conceiv'd to be very much concern'd in the business of *Rochelle*, he continued in these words: "*I have hitherto, Sir, preserv'd* "*my Hands clean, my Conscience uncorrupt, my Reputation entire, and* "*my Fidelity without reproach; I have never conspir'd but to do you* "*Service, neither do I find my self guilty of the least thought disconso-*"*nant to the Duty I owe to your Majesty, and your Crown: And al-*"*though I am not us'd with that Equity, nor rewarded with that Grati-*"*tude, that (without presumption) I conceive I have deserv'd, and that*

every

"*every day I find ſomething attempted upon my Offices, by the diminution,* Anno
" *and cutting off their juſt, and lawful priviledges (which were ever* 1617.
" *preſerv'd inviolate to me during the Reign of the late King your Fa-*
" *ther) yet nothing, Sir, can prevail with me above my Duty: neither is*
" *there any ſo ill uſage, nor ſo ſenſible unkindneſs, that can hinder me*
" *from perſevering to do well, being reſolv'd to the laſt hour of my life to*
" *conquer whatever juſt reſentments I may have, and to forget all thoſe in-*
" *juries, for which I can obtain no ſatisfaction, but at the publick*
" *expenſe. A reſolution, Sir, in which I am infinitely fortified, by the*
" *firm belief I have, that all the diſgraces I receive, and all the foul play*
" *is continually practis'd againſt me, proceed from no diſ-affection your*
" *Majeſty has conceiv'd againſt my perſon. I know, Sir, that being natu-*
" *rally quick ſighted, to diſtinguiſh betwixt your falſe Servants and your*
" *true, you have ever honour'd me with your favour: But I have this ob-*
" *ligation to thoſe who are enemies to your Crown, that they have, upon all*
" *occaſions diſcover'd themſelves to be particularly ſo to me; and have en-*
" *deavour'd by their artifice, to repreſent things otherwiſe to your Ma-*
" *jeſty, than they really are, to reſtrain the liberty of your own Royal diſ-*
" *poſition, from obeying the natural inclination you have to love, and*
" *cheriſh good men; that as much as in them lies, they may alienate your*
" *Majeſties good opinion from ſuch, as by their long and faithful Ser-*
" *vices have deſerv'd the beſt room in your heart. I hope, Sir, neverthe-*
" *leſs, that truth will one day prevail in your Royal Breaſt over thoſe lit-*
" *tle Arts, and that your Majeſty will then be pleas'd to diſtinguiſh your*
" *true and faithful Servants from ſuch, as Authorized by your Name*
" *and preſence, oppreſs your People, invade your own Authority, and*
" *continually diſturb your Majeſties Peace by their inordinate and unruly*
" *Ambition.*

From *Surgere* the 25. of *Feb.* 1617.

I have the rather inſerted the expreſs words of this Letter, that you may ſee after what manner the Duke took his diſgrace, and how he behav'd himſelf towards his Enemies, notwithſtanding they carried the whole favour, and ſway of the Court: the *Ma-*
" *reſchal d'Encre* being manifeſtly pointed at in this diſpatch. We have ſince liv'd in a time, when to ſpeak our diſcontents ſo plain, and loud, would perhaps have been out of ſeaſon: but in that wherein the Duke writ this Letter, men were at leaſt permitted to complain; and oftentimes thoſe complaints procur'd a relief, to ſuch, as like the Duke, had the ſpirit, and power to accompany thoſe complaints, with the effects of a vigorous reſentment.

After this manner ended the Enterprize of *Rochelle*, which gave ſome jeering companions of that party, occaſion to ſay, for a

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piece of wit, what *d' Aubigne* has recorded since, *That the Duke of* Espernon *was come to make his Entry before* Rochelle: though it has been thought this entry *before* gave the King from that time forward to understand, it might also be made *within*, and that the Enterprize was not above his power to effect. We have since seen him bring about that glorious design; and it is certain that this action brought that present benefit along with it, that the Council ever after look'd with greater contempt upon the *Hugonot* Party, and the strength of the *Rochellers*, than before: They now discover'd the weakness of these by the dis-union of all the rest, and from thence judg'd aright, that it being impossible for the separate Forces of this Faction without great difficulty suddenly to unite for their common defense, one party might be suppres's'd in one Province, before any of the rest could put themselves in a posture in another to relieve them. This opinion (that in the sequel prov'd true) made the Council the bolder by their Arrest of the 23 of *June*, 1617. to order the restitution of the Church Lands in *Bearne*; an Affair that had for three years together been depending in the Council, and so long fruitlesly solicited by the Deputies of the Clergy of *France*. Not that the Council did not conceive it very just, but they look'd upon it as a thing so highly important to the peace of the Kingdom, that they durst never till now give them that satisfaction. But the Duke's Enterprize cut off all difficulties, by which the *Rochellers* having been constrain'd publickly to confess their own weakness, it was conceiv'd the King's presence would have as much Authority in *Bearne*, as the Duke's had had in the Country of *Aunis*. I have heard several persons of Quality, and those men of imployment at that time (as *Mounsieur de Roussy* and others) say, that the Service the Duke did the Kingdom in this very occasion, was never duly consider'd, he having thereby first discover'd the weakness of the *Hugonot* Party, and perhaps chalk'd out the way to their extirpation.

What advantages accru'd to the King, by the Duke of *Espernon*'s Enterprize upon *Rochelle*.

The Duke of *Espernon* having openly declar'd himself an enemy to the *Mareschal d' Encre*, and already made some preparation in order to the defense of his Person, and Fortune, many persons who were afraid of persecution fled to him, settling themselves at *Angoulesme* under his protection: Amongst whom *Bulion*, at that time a Counsellor of State, and since Sur-Intendant of the *Finances*, was one; where he long continued in the Duke's Family, and who ever after retain'd a grateful memory of that obligation, as he had good reason to do, the Duke receiving him into his Arms in so critical a time, as he was threatned with no less

than

than death, had he fall'n into the *Mareſchal's* power. *Guron*, who was likewiſe another of the proſcrib'd, with many others, came to ſeek the ſame refuge; all whom the Duke made no difficulty to receive into his protection. *Anno* 1617.

The Duke having (as has been ſaid) ſettled the Friends he had in his Governments in ſuch a readineſs, as upon any occaſion to make head againſt his Enemy, took a Journey into *Guienne*, his native Country, in that great Province to get together what numbers of Friends and Souldiers he could, for the better defenſe of his Fortune; in which Voyage he increas'd his Forces to ſuch a degree, that being all joyn'd together, they were able to make up a Body of 8000. Foot, and 1200. Horſe. The extremity he knew the Duke of *Mayenne* to be reduc'd unto in *Soiſſons*, and the Duke of *Nevers* in the places whereunto he had retyr'd, made him very well ſee, that the Torrent would ſuddenly break in upon himſelf: notwithſtanding how reaſonable ſoever his apprehenſions were, and how neceſſary ſoever to put himſelf with the ſooneſt into a poſture of defenſe, it might be, he could not however forbear to prefer the laſt Duty he ow'd to a good, and vertuhus Mother, before his own particular preſeruation. This Lady having been dead from the year 1610. in an exceeding old age, and lamented by the Duke, as if ſhe had been more immaturely raviſh'd from him, he had ever had a great deſire to pay her memory the laſt office of her Obſequies: But the great and important Affairs, which had detain'd him at Court having hitherto fruſtrated that pious deſign, he no ſooner now found himſelf in this little interval of repoſe, but that he reſolv'd without further delay to ſatisfie that Obligation: Aſſembling therefore together at his paternal Houſe of *Caumont* above 300. Gentlemen of Quality of his Relations and Friends, he there by a magnificent expenſe, manifeſted his gratitude to a perſon ſo near and dear unto him.

The Du makes a great Funeral for his Mother.

The Ceremony of this Funeral was no ſooner perform'd, but that the Duke departed from *Caumont* to *Bordeaux*, and from thence was alſo upon the point to return into *Angoumois*, there to draw all his Forces together, with a reſolution to defend himſelf to the laſt, and rather to die with his Sword in his hand, than to ſuffer himſelf tamely to be oppreſs'd; when by *le Chalart*, Secretary to the *Mareſchal de Roquelaure*, his intimate friend, he receiv'd intelligence of the death of the *Mareſchal d' Encre*. This *Mareſchal's* death hapned the 24. of *April*, 1617. and the news by an extraordinary diligence came the 27. to the Duke; which how welcome it was to a man who ſaw himſelf deliver'd from ſo powerful and

The death of the *Mareſchal d' Encre*, ſlain by a ſhot in the *Louvre*.

Anno 1617.

and so implacable an Enemy may easily be imagin'd. He had very well foreseen, that with the assistance of all his Confederates and friends, he could not long be able to resist the Power and Authority of the King; with both which his enemy would have been arm'd against him: and on the other side, the King himself being by this execution become, as it were, the revenger of his particular wrongs, all his past actions would be justified in the exemplary punishment his Majesty had inflicted upon the person of *Conchini*.

The Duke of *Espernon* goes to Court.

In this excess of joy he departed from *Bordeaux* to *Angoulesme*, and from thence soon after to Court, there to make a new tender of his Fidelity and Obedience to the King, and to try in this new face of Affairs, what foundation he could lay to his own future peace. He was in this Journey attended by his two younger Sons, (his own misfortune, and miscarriages having banish'd the eldest from his favour, and presence, ever since his Majesties Voyage to *Angoulesme*) and at his arrival receiv'd by the King with all the demonstration of favour and affection, he could possibly expect, or desire: to which *Luines* the new Favourite (willing to be supported in his rising greatness by so powerful a friend) highly sought, and importun'd his friendship, which also by some good Offices he endeavour'd to acquire. One of the things the Duke was most earnest with him for, and that *Luines* did most faithfully promise was a Cardinal's Hat for the Archbishop of *Tholouse* his youngest Son, at the first promotion: as for himself he was at the very first restor'd to the full, and absolute Function of all his employments, having satisfaction given for all the retrenchments had been made upon his offices, and commands, or any of their perquisits and rights, and in fine stood in a very good degree of favour.

Yet did not this continue long, and whether it were the too prodigious favour of *Luines*, (grown up on a sudden to a greater height, than that of the *Mareschal d' Encre* had ever been) that stir'd up the Duke's old aversion he had ever had for Court Mignions; or that his own private emulators, by their ill Offices had render'd his humour suspected to *Luines*: but the Duke soon perceiv'd him to be quite another man from what he had been at first: At which causless alteration, being highly nettled, and preferring (according to his custom) a free, and profess'd enmity, before a faint, and dissembled friendship, he inveigh'd publickly, and highly against the new Favourite; by which means, and by cohering with other persons of condition, no better satisfied than himself with *Luine's* promotion, he drew upon himself alone the hatred, and jealousie that ought to have been common to them all.

The

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A Rupture betwixt the Duke of *Eſpernon* and the Duke *de Luines.*

The firſt thing the Duke *de Luines* did to diſoblige him, was the breaking his word, who contrary to what he had promis'd, and made him expect, concerning the Cardinal's Hat in favour of his Son, had preferr'd *Mounſieur de Retts* Biſhop of *Paris*, and openly aſſiſted him in the purſuit of that dignity: To which was added, that they began afreſh to intrench upon his command of Colonel, ſome Foot employments having been diſpos'd without the Duke's conſent; by which being further exaſperated, he highly complain'd to ſome of the chief Miniſters: amongſt whom *Mounſieur du Vair* * *Garde des Sceaux*, one of the greateſt Authority, having given him no ſatisfaction, but on the contrary new matter of diſcontent, he was not long before he took an occaſion to let him ſee how ſenſible he was of the offenſe.

* Or Lord Keeper.

It was upon Eaſter-day in the year 1618. and in the Church of St. *Germain de l' Auxerrois*, that the Duke took occaſion to quarrel with him. The Dukes and Peers who were then at Court offended at the place the *Garde des Sceaux du Vair*, not only in the Council, but alſo in all other both publick and private Aſſemblies, would aſſume above them, had generally addreſs'd themſelves to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, as to the eldeſt of their Order, to intereſt him in their diſcontent. It was alſo ſuſpected that the Chancellor *Sillery*, (ill digeſting that a man ſo inferiour to him in Dignity, ſhould uſurp upon him in State) was willing enough to promote a buſineſs of this nature againſt him; and that being upon very good terms (as he had ever been) with the Duke of *Eſpernon*, he had alſo help'd to blow the fire. However it was, or by whoſe ſuggeſtion ſoever it firſt came into the Dukes head, little perſwaſion would ſerve turn to make him paſſionately undertake a buſineſs, wherein he conceiv'd his own Honour and Dignity to be ſo much concern'd. It was therefore reſolv'd betwixt the Duke of *Montmorency* (of all others the moſt incens'd againſt *du Vair*) the Dukes *de Monbazon*, *de Retz*, *d' Uſez*, and ſome others of the ſame quality, that he ſhould be affronted upon the firſt occaſion, ſhould he again offer to take place above them. Wherein though it was a buſineſs of danger enough, to affront a Miniſter ſo powerful by the favour of his Prince, and ſo violent in his own nature, the Duke of *Eſpernon* nevertheleſs made no difficulty to undertake it; not having (it ſhould ſeem) conſented to the firſt propoſal, with an intent to leave the execution of it to any other, than himſelf. Upon Eaſter day therefore (as has been ſaid) the King and all the Court being in Ceremony at *Saint Germain de l' Auxerrois*, and the *Garde des Sceaux* having, according to his cuſtom, taken his place above all the Dukes and Peers, the Duke of

Anno 1618. of *Espernon* violently pull'd him from his seat, and compell'd him to retire. It may easily be suppos'd an action of this kind could not pass without some untoward language, neither were those words thrown away upon a man insensible of offense; the *Garde des Sceaux* going immediately out of the Church, and expecting with great impatience the end of the Ceremony, that he might complain to the Duke *de Luines* of the affront he had receiv'd: Wherein nevertheless he did not reflect upon what had pass'd, as an injury meerly respecting his own person, "But as a "Party, and a Faction form'd, and made in the Court, by the "Duke of *Espernon*, who had seduc'd all the Dukes and Peers "under the colour of an imaginary pretense, to interest them in "his own private discontents: That this ambitious spirit so long "inur'd to Government, and Command, thought himself de- "priv'd of his lawful possession, if remov'd from the absolute "sway of the most important Affairs: That it was through the "sides of a *Garde des Sceaux*, that the fortune of the Favourite "was levell'd at; and that it was only a tryal, by attempting up- "on his creatures, what opposition they were to expect when "they should immediately fall upon his own person: That it "therefore highly imported him, whilst he had power to do it, "betimes to secure an enemy, that would not spare him, if he "once got him into his hands. An advice that made so much the deeper impression upon the Duke *de Luines*, by how much he was before well enough satisfied of the Duke of *Espernon's* hatred so highly manifested, by what he had publickly declar'd against him. He therefore went immediately with the *Garde des Sceaux* to the King; where being come, he insisted not much upon the scuffle betwixt the Duke and *du Vair*, endeavouring on the contrary all he could to disguise that action from looking like a particular Quarrel; but qualified it with the name of the most impudent and audacious practice that could possibly be introduc'd into a State, that a Duke of *Espernon* in the face, and presence, and in defiance of his King, should dare to make a combination with persons of the greatest quality in the Kingdom, to affront the Royal Authority.

The King was so highly incens'd at a Remonstrance preferr'd to him by two persons in whom he had so entire a confidence, that immediately, and without reserving to himself so much as the liberty to consider the interest he himself particularly had in the Duke of *Espernons* ruine, or to call to memory the long and faithful Services he had paid to the Crown, he in this case absolutely resign'd over his own Authority to them; insomuch that

at

at that very time ('tis said) it was resolv'd upon to arrest him. Nothing then remain'd but a fit opportunity to effect their design, which it was also requisite should be such, as might seem to warrant the success of the Enterprize, it being very unsafe to offend a man of his spirit by halves; who having power, places, friends, and mony to improve all those to the best, and withal a very high discontent upon him, might do more mischief than any other person whatever of his condition in *France*. To which may be added that from the time of his dispute with *Mountsieur du Vair*, the Dukes and Peers at Court were scarcely ever absent from him, especially the Duke of *Montmorency*, who was no less dear to him (not only out of respect to the alliance betwixt them, but also by the particular love he bore him, and the esteem he had for him) than one of his own Children, was inseparably with him: They eat, went to Court, and made all their visits together, the Duke's two Sons also continually attending upon him; so that it was no easie matter to attempt four persons of their courage (and who were not without many Friends, and Servants of great Fidelity and Valour to serve them upon all occasions) at once. To all which, the Regiment of Guards were so made up of the Duke's Creatures, that he seem'd to be stronger in the King's own Palace than at home: to avoid all which difficulties it was concluded to surround him by night in his own House, and to seize upon his Person.

Anno 1618.

The King resolves to Arrest the Duke of *Espernon*.

If the Duke had many, and those powerful Adversaries, his vertue had on the other side acquir'd him so many Friends, and some of those so careful of him upon this occasion, that he had timely notice of the design in hand, some say by the Princess of *Conty*, others by the Chancellor *de Sillery*; but by what means soever it came to his knowledge, upon the first rumour of it (which (as it did here) commonly fore-runs a more certain intelligence) he had taken a resolution to withdraw himself, to defeat the effects of what was threatned, and contriv'd against him: wherein though he was so far cautious as to prevent the intended mischief; yet could he not forbear so unseasonable an ostentation of the little fear he had in a place where so much was to be apprehended; as doubtless prompted his enemies sooner to push home to the intended business. He was for five or six days together continually seen riding through the streets of *Paris* with so extraordinary a Train, under colour of taking leave of several of his friends, and acquaintance, that those who had before premeditated his ruine, interpreting all for contumacy, and done on purpose to brave them, resolv'd in the end upon a positive night, wherein with four Companies

Anno 1618.

panies of *Swisse* to surprize him in his own house, and to carry him away. All which the Duke being likewise inform'd of from so good a hand, as that the intelligence was no ways to be suspected, he presently put himself upon his preparation, to make his best use of that advice. This caution therefore being sent him upon the sixth of *May* at night, and the surprizal being design'd the night following, he had so little time to lose, that he immediately dispers'd Tickets to all his most assured Friends, and Servants to be in a readiness by break of day to mount to Horse; according to which appointment, he found above 300. ready at the precise hour to attend him, who after having convoy'd him to his House of *Fontenay* in *Brie* (where they conceiv'd him lodg'd in a place of safety) most of them retir'd to follow their own affairs.

The Duke of *Espernon* leaves the Court.

This retirement of the Duke's being but ten little Leagues from *Paris* was so far from frustrating the design of his surprize, that on the contrary it made the business seem more likely to succeed: the Duke *de Luines* therefore having consider'd, that in this solitude he would have far fewer friends about him, than in *Paris*, the former order was only one day deferr'd, and the *Swisse* commanded to march away the day following, being the 8. of *May*, together with some Brigades of Cuirassiers, and Light-Horse to invest *Fontenay*. But the same persons who had given the Duke the first intelligence, being no less vigilant to his preservation now than before, gave him also as seasonable notice of this, as of the other design; giving him to understand that his danger was not yet over, and that it concern'd him with all diligence to convey his person into some place of greater safety: Which advice having made the Duke resolve to get again to Horse, so soon as all the Family had sup'd, and that every one thought of retiring to his rest, he (having in the mean time with great secresie provided all things necessary for a tedious journy) commanded his Trumpets to sound to Horse; his necessity enforcing him so to do at that unseasonable hour, (though he was certain to undergo all the inconveniencies of a very dark, and turbulent night) to get clear of the manifest, and approaching danger; at that time therefore he set out towards *Metz*, the place to which at his departure from *Paris* he had taken a resolution to retire.

The Duke takes his way towards *Metz*.

By break of day the Duke, and all his company, arriv'd at *Sezanne* in *Brie*, where both himself, and the Horse that were with him, were so weary, the rain, the dirt, and all other incommodities of an ill journy having equally toil'd out, and dejected horse and man, that he had a great desire, and very great need there to stay, and

and take ſome repoſe; though his Servants, conceiving him to be yet in danger, were ſo importunate with him, that they got him to mount again, making him to continue on horſeback all that day, and the night following; when arriving the next day at *Montmirel*, he found himſelf ſo weary, and ſpent, with riding, watching, and the indiſpoſition of Age, which now began to grow upon him, that he was ready to faint; but being laid upon a bed, and refreſh'd by ſleep, he ſoon found himſelf well enough to proceed in his journy, though with nothing ſo much precipitation as before. *Anno* 1618.

Through ſo many traverſes and difficulties it was, that the Duke of *Eſpernon* waded to the foundation of the moſt glorious Act of his life, and which, in my opinion, ought to be plac'd on the higheſt Pyramis of his Fame; I mean the Queen Mothers eſcape from *Blois*: of which the treaty began ſoon after the Duke's coming to *Metz*, where he arriv'd about the 20. of the ſame month of *May*, having departed the 6th. from *Paris*.

The Treaty for the Queen Mothers eſcape from *Blois* ſet on foot at this time.

And then it was that the Duke *de Luines* highly, and openly declar'd himſelf an enemy to the Duke, giving his friends plainly to underſtand, he could in no wiſe repute them to be his, if they did not totally abandon the Duke's intereſt; offering them at the ſame time his favour and protection, if they would do it, and thundering out great threats againſt ſuch as would not embrace his Quarrel: wherein the conſtancy of the Duke's friends is highly to be commended; who notwithſtanding the greatneſs of the Favourite they had to deal withal, the great promiſes wherewith he endeavour'd to allure them, and the implacable hatred he publickly profeſs'd againſt their Friend, and Maſter, would ſcarce any one of them be debauch'd from the fidelity they had profeſs'd; whereas ſome on the contrary were ſo generous as to carry him intelligence of *Luines* his proceeding ſo far as *Metz*, and of the offers he had made to withdraw them from the Service, and Friendſhip they had promis'd, and ſworn unto him.

The Duke very well judging by what had paſs'd at Court before his departure thence, and by the continuation of thoſe practices ſince, that his enemies intended to give the laſt blow to his ruine, began anew to conſider of the means to defend himſelf. He was very confident they would never offer to attempt any thing againſt him by open force in *Metz*, neither would they be eaſily induc'd to provoke him to the utmoſt extreme, the conſequence being of two dangerous importance: but doubted wiſely withal, that no artifice would be ſpar'd, nor no covert practice unattempted againſt him which were by ſo much the more dangerous, by

Anno 1618. how much a man is oftentimes surpriz'd with the effect, before he is aware of the cause. There were in the City divers ill affected and seditious persons, whom he could never disgust, and whom *Luines* fail'd not to deal withal to put in for a Party in *Metz*, who being in themselves of too little authority for any thing of that kind, their malice converted to Spies upon the Duke's Actions, to send continual intelligence to Court, whether false, or true, and by their Artifice possess'd the Duke *de Luines* with jealousies, and fears, about things that were altogether uncertain, and vain. To make therefore a better discovery of the truth, and to the end he might penetrate with more certainty into the Duke of *Espernon's* intentions, *Favier* a Counsellor of State, and a man of great sagacity in Affairs, was sent away under the shadow of a Commission, to reside sometime in *Metz*, and to try if by his dexterity he could better guess at the Duke's designs; though all those endeavours were equally fruitless to the Favourite, who had to do with a man not easie to be pry'd into, nor surpriz'd.

After *Favier's* return to Court, there hapned so pleasant a thing at *Metz*, as I hope, though mix'd amongst more serious Affairs, will not much importune my Reader, and that was this: The Duke *de Luines* continually expressing a great desire to have constant intelligence of what was done at *Metz*, and few being willing to undertake a thing the Duke's severe humour made appear so full of difficulty, and danger, one fellow, a Courtier, and who thought by such an undertaking to advance himself highly into favour, made a voluntary, and brisk tender of himself for that employment, offering publickly to go to *Metz*, and there to serve (as he said) *Mounsieur de Luines*, against the Duke of *Espernon*: Which generous offer of his was as kindly receiv'd, and as readily accepted; so that with good store of Crowns in his pocket to defray his journy, he was presently dispatch'd away upon that design; yet not so soon, but that before his departure from *Paris*, the Duke had notice of what a *Mounsieur* was coming to brave him in his own Government. In a few days my Gentleman arrives at the Gates of *Metz*, where at his first coming he was made to undergo all the severities usually observ'd in Frontier Towns; they made him dance attendance a good while at the Gate, where after having been sufficiently abus'd, hiss'd, and hooted at, he was by four Souldiers of the Garrison conducted to his Inn, who (it may be imagin'd) were not commanded to use him with overmuch respect. But if this first part of his entertainment surpriz'd him, he was much more, when his Host coming to him at night, demanded his Name, Surname, Country, Quality,

A pleasant Story.

lity, and Age, with many other interrogatories, as if he had been upon the * *Selette*. From all, or moſt of theſe queſtions, he for ſome time defended himſelf, till being threatned if he would not anſwer, to be proceeded againſt as a Spy, he was at laſt conſtrain'd to do it; when as his anſwers came from him, he ſaw them recorded in a great Book (order'd for that purpoſe amongſt other ancient rules eſtabliſh'd for the defenſe of the place) though he conceiv'd that under the protection of the Royal Name, which he had ready to produce, he ought to have been diſpens'd from that Ceremony. He was ſcarce recover'd from his firſt aſtoniſhment, when he ſaw four of the Duke's Guards (at that time call'd *les Simons*, a name very famous at Court) entring his Chamber. Their firſt Complements (it may be ſuppos'd) were none of the moſt obliging: neither did they long forbear to tell the new come Gallant, "That they were order'd by the Duke their Maſter, to "have an eye upon his actions: That the Duke very well knew "upon what pretenſe he came to *Metz*, but that the true cauſe "of his coming was to him much better known, which was to "do a diſſervice to the King, to obſerve the weakneſſes of the "place, and to give intelligence thereof to his Majeſties enemies: "That therefore they were not to leave him, and that they very "well knew how to prevent him from executing his malicious de-"ſigns: That in the mean time it would concern him to have a "care how he behav'd himſelf, ſince no mercy was to be expe-"cted, if the leaſt thing was diſcover'd in him contrary to his "Majeſties Service. At this declaration the poor man was put into a moſt terrible fear, he knew the Dukes Authority to be abſolute in *Metz*, and that whatever he ſhould determine, though it ſhould reach to his life, and under what pretenſe ſoever it might be, would infallibly be executed upon him: Whereupon he ask'd his Guards if there were no poſſibility of ſafety for him? to which they reply'd, that doubtleſs yes, provided he attempted nothing againſt the Crown. After which they entertain'd him with ſtories of how many they had Baſtinado'd at *Paris*, and after what manner the Duke us'd to chaſtiſe ſeveral fool-hardy fellows, who had imprudently attempted upon his Honour. If he went out of one Chamber into another, they were continually at his heels, and if ke went to ſleep, they lay down by him; never ceaſing day nor night to afflict him: inſomuch that after having two days endur'd this uſage, ſuch a terror ſeiz'd him at laſt, that he fell down at his Guards feet; weeping, praying, and conjuring them to aſſure the Duke that he was his moſt humble Servant, that he acknowledg'd his fault, begg'd his pardon, and did humbly intreat

Anno 1618.

* *Selette*, that for which we have no word, becauſe no ſuch thing; it ſignifying a low ſtool, on which Criminals in *France* are plac'd to be examin'd.

Anno 1618. he would give him leave to depart the City. At which, though his Guards seem'd to comfort and assure him, advising him not to fear, and protesting that the interest of his Majesties Service only excepted, they were there to no other end, than to do him Service: yet were all their consolations vain, so invincible a fear had possess'd him, and so wholly was he taken up with the desire to escape from the danger, whereinto he saw he had so precipitously engag'd himself. The Duke, after he had a few days made himself merry with mortifying his Gull, let him at last depart; who, as he had been before at *Metz*, became afterwards the Fable of the Court.

Yet did not the Duke spend his time altogether in diversion, having serious business enough to take up his thoughts with something of more concern, and those were the Affairs of the Queen Mother. This Princess after the death of the *Mareschal d' Encre*, having been constrain'd to leave the Court (where *Luines* could not suffer a person of her Authority, and offended to the degree she had been, to reside) had the Castle of *Blois* appointed by the King for her retreat. To which place accordingly the Queen, (in this change of her Fortune, being allow'd to keep very few of her Servants about her) departed with a very slender Train. The Bishop of *Luçon* (since Cardinal of *Richelieu*) who had been Secretary of State during the favour of the *Mareschal d' Encre*, was one of those who follow'd her in her disgrace, as *Chanteloube* also was another: but the Abbot *Rucellay* an *Italian*, and very affectionate to her Service, was, as a person altogether unnecessary about her Majesty, sent back into one of his Abbies: neither did the Bishop of *Luçon* remain long without another Order of the same kind, by which he was first oblig'd to reside in his own Dioces, and soon after to retire into *Avignon*.

The Queen Mother attempts to recover her liberty.

The Queen Mother, from the time of her departure from Court, had meditated nothing so much, as how to recover her lost Authority, and to overthrow that of the new Favourites; wherein, though she had communicated something to *Messieurs de Luçon*, *de Rucellay*, and *de Chanteloube*, men of the greatest Fidelity and Conduct about her: and though they had taken some pains for her satisfaction, yet could they discover no possibility of effecting her Designs: Neither were they permitted long to consider of the means, the entire confidence the Queen was discover'd to repose in them, being suspected at Court, having soon procur'd the banishment of the two first (as has been said before) of which that of *Luçon* had rendred him utterly uncapable of all manner of correspondence with her: But *Rucellay* a man of

of great courage, vivacity, and ambition, having for some time conceal'd himself about *Blois*, and having from time to time in disguise taken opportunity to consult with the Queen, was (after having rejected several propositions) at last of opinion, that she should address her self to the Duke of *Boüillon*, to try, if with the party of those of the Religion, who were absolutely at his dispose, he might be induc'd to declare himself of her side, and to attempt something in her favour. *Anno* 1618.

The Queen being very well pleas'd with this proposition, *Rucellay* as chearfully undertook to make the first overture of it to the Duke of *Boüillon* at *Sedan*. I have often heard this Abbot (during five, or six weeks that I was continually with him in order to the Queen Mothers dispatches, which all pass'd through his hands after her escape) tell the whole story of this negotiation; so that I am able to say something of my own knowledge, both as to the qualities of his person, and the circumstances of that Treaty, which perhaps will not be altogether unpleasant to my Reader. *Rucellay* then was a Gentleman of *Florence*, descended from a Father, who by the Correspondence he had maintain'd with *Zamet*, *Bandiny*, *Cenamy*, and some other active men of that Nation (who in those times play'd their game so wisely, as to keep in with all parties of the Kingdom) had made himself a Fortune in *France*. Amongst other advantages he had there made to himself, he had got the possession of several Abbeys, arising in all to a Revenue of above ten thousand Crowns a year; amongst which that of *Signy* in *Champaigne* not far from *Sedan* was most considerable. His eldest Son (which was he of whom I am now speaking) as most eldest Sons of the best Families of *Italy* (that education making them capable of the greatest Dignities of the Court of *Rome*) was bred up to the Church: neither had he been wanting in his industry to acquire all those qualities that were most likely to recommend him to the highest Preferment. He had studied much, and particularly been diligent to learn to speak, and write accurately in his own Language; wherein he succeeded so well, that his own fine parts, together with the plentiful Fortune he was Master of (he having no less in Secular Revenue, than in Spiritual Entertainment) procur'd him so great a Reputation in the Court of *Rome*, that he there obtain'd the Office of * Clerk of the Chamber. Pope *Paul* the Fifth, under whose Papacy he was there admitted, look'd upon him with a very gracious eye, and though a young man, intrusted his discretion with many secrets of State, not seldom making use of his Pen in Affairs of greatest importance; and often saying, by way of favour, that he disco-

The Queen addresses her self to the Duke of *Boüillon*.

A Character of *Rucellay*.

* *Clerc de la Chambre*, a kind of Secretary.

Anno 1618. discover'd something in him of *Signior de la Casa* his great Uncle. All which favours having possess'd the Cardinal-Nephews with a great jealousie towards *Rucellay* (as himself said) or he perhaps having fail'd on his part, in a fit complacency to oblige them, he was by them persecuted to that degree, that he was forc'd to quit the Court of *Rome*, and to retire into *France*. A good part of his Estate lay in that Country, the *Mareschal d' Encre* a *Florentine*, as he was, commanded all there, and those of his own Nation having ever been well receiv'd in that Kingdom, it appear'd he could not make choice of a safer, nor a more honourable retreat. He was thirty years of age, or thereabouts when he arriv'd in *France*, where he was at first very kindly receiv'd by the *Mareschal d' Encre*, and soon after in great esteem with the whole Court, where with twenty thousand Crowns a year, that he had coming in, he liv'd in so extraordinary a degree of splendor, as equall'd, if not out-went the greatest Nobility of the Kingdom: no Table was so neatly serv'd, nor so plentifully furnish'd, as his; no man more nobly, nor more handsomly attended than he; to which the presents he continually made of all the Curiosities wherewith *Italy* so abounds, as by her overflow to oblige all other Nations, were so many, and so considerable, as that single way of expense seem'd alone to exceed his Revenue. Neither did he win less upon the Ladies by his liberalities, and extraordinary fine fashion, than he did upon the men by his more considerable qualities; insomuch that he obtain'd the favour and applause of all. And although the *Mareschal d' Encre* had not as yet fix'd him in any settled employment in the management of Affairs, yet was he with him in so eminent a degree of favour, as was a fair step (in the height the Court Favourite then stood) to the greatest Offices of the Kingdom. The death of the *Mareschal* therefore, as it had put a period to all *Rucellay*'s future hopes, so did it possess him with such a grief, as was not to be comforted, but by the last effects of an implacable animosity he had conceiv'd against those who had been the instruments of his ruine: And this spirit of Revenge it was that prompted him to be one of those who animated the Queen against the new Favourites; though such Counsels were not necessary to her, who of her self was sensible enough; the particular injuries she had receiv'd, having already incens'd her to such a height, that she was very easily dispos'd to employ him in a Treaty with the Duke *de Boüillon*, on her behalf. In this Journy *Rucellay* was to undergo much trouble, and very great danger, he never daring to Travel, but by night, and in disguise for the most part alone, and always without

without any Equipage; for how circumſpect ſoever he had been in his intelligencies to the Queen, he could not however ſend them in ſo ſecret a manner, but that, ſhe being continually, and narrowly watch'd on all ſides by ſpies ſet over her by *Luines* to that purpoſe, ſome of his practices had been diſcover'd: inſomuch that I have heard him ſay, he had notice given him, that ſeveral of his Pictures were ſent to the Magiſtrates, and other inferiour Officers, that they might know, and apprehend him in any of their reſpective Juriſdictions. Yet could not all theſe difficulties fright him from undertaking this Negotiation, and if he had before given ſeveral teſtimonies of his wit, and bravery upon other occaſions, he manifeſted no leſs in this of the conſtancy of his Courage, his Wiſdom, and Fidelity, which were very eminent, and of great uſe in the conduct of this Affair. The main thing he apprehended in this undertaking was the infirmity of his own tender, and delicate conſtitution; who whilſt he had liv'd in the calms of peace, the delights of *Rome*, or the effeminacies of the Courts of *France*, had ever been ſo impatient of the Sun, and Evenings Dew, Heat, and Cold, that the leaſt intemperance of the Air would uſually cauſe ſtrange alterations in his health; which notwithſtanding he was no ſooner in Action, but that he found thoſe little inconveniencies left behind, as if he had had no leiſure to be ſick. *Anno* 1618.

Whether it were that the Favourites only gueſs'd at the Queen Mothers diſcontents, by the offenſe they had given her, or that they had ſome more certain knowledge thereof, than meer conjecture, they were however very vigilant to fruſtrate her Deſigns: To which purpoſe ſoon after her Majeſties arrival at *Blois*, and the Baniſhment of the Biſhop of *Luçon*, they had ſent to her *Mounſieur de Roiſſy*, under colour of a Council for the management of her Affairs. A man that in truth at another ſeaſon would have been acceptable enough: but in this juncture of time, and preferr'd to her by her enemies, could not but ſtand highly ſuſpected to her. Neither had he without great reluctancy taken upon him an employment of that nature; the principal end of his Commiſſion being, as it was, to diſcover the Queens practices and deſigns; though neither his unwillingneſs could excuſe him from going, nor all his art and obſervation hinder the Queen from conferring ſometimes in private with thoſe of her Servants in whoſe fidelity ſhe repos'd the greateſt truſt, when he was there. Of which *Luines* being advertis'd, and willing not only to give himſelf ſome preſent repoſe, but alſo to live in greater ſecurity for the time to come, he reſolv'd to take Religion into his aſſiſtance, and by a principle of conſcience to engage the Queen in an abſolute dependance on his

Anno 1618.

The extraordinary precaution of the Duke *de Luines*, to make himself sure of the Queen Mother, fruitless.

his Majesties good will, and pleasure. To this end therefore he would exact from her an Oath in the presence of God, and his Holy Angels (the very words of the Declaration she was to make) "That she neither now had, nor for the time to come "would entertain other thought, and desire than what should "tend to the prosperity, and advancement of the King's Majestie's "affairs: That she would, so long as she had life, pay all the Duty "and Obedience to his Majesty due, as to her Sovereign Lord, "and absolutely resign her Will into his Royal power: That she "would have no correspondence neither within, nor without the "Kingdom in any thing whatsoever to the prejudice of his Ser-"vice, his Crown, and Dignity; but did, and would disown all "persons of what quality, or condition soever, that in her name "should contrive any practice, or conspiracy, contrary to his "Majesties pleasure: That she would moreover discover all Pro-"positions and Addresses inconsistent with his Service, together "with the persons themselves so addressing, and proposing, "should any be so inconsiderate, as to offer any such thing; and "impeach, and make known whoever should be so evilly affe-"cted; and that she would never desire to return to Court, till "the King should be pleas'd to order her so to do. Which prote-station was accordingly made betwixt the hands of Father *Arnoux* a Jesuit Confessor in ordinary to the King, who had been expresly dispatch'd to the Queen to receive it. Wherein we may discover the short-sightedness of humane Wisdom; when this great Minister, thinking by this expedient to settle himself in the security he so much desir'd, engag'd himself (even by his own precaution) in new, and greater difficulties than before. For as on the one side *Luines* thought, that, through the perswasions of the King's Confessor, he had captivated the Queen under the Empire of Religion, she on the other side, satisfied to the contrary by Father *Suffran* her own Chaplain, and of the same Society, conceiv'd she did not violate her Oath, by attempting all ways to recover her freedom; insomuch that making use of her enemie's credulity, she pursu'd her business at greater convenience, than otherwise she could have done. Neither was this the only benefit she receiv'd by this declaration; another signal advantage arising thence, which was a very gracious Letter under the King's own hand; wherein, to manifest how absolute a confidence he repos'd in her Word, and Oath, he gave her leave to go whither she pleas'd within his Kingdom: which Letter serv'd afterwards as a pretense for her going from *Blois*, as we shall see when we come to speak of that Affair.

Whilst

Whilſt at *Blois* the Court Agents were thus diligent to cheat themſelves, *Rucellay* was arriv'd ſafe at *Sedan*; where he had acquainted the Duke *de Boüillon* with his Commiſſion, and wherein he fail'd not with his beſt Rhetorick to induce him to undertake the Queens deliverance. But the Duke, who had no mind to ſtir from *Sedan*, where he thought himſelf ſo ſecure, who was already wearied out with his late troubles, who in the conduct of thoſe troubles had run ſo great a hazard of his life, and liberty, and who likewiſe foreſaw many great, and almoſt invincible difficulties in the buſineſs propos'd, would by no means be perſwaded to engage in that Affair. Contented therefore to ſerve the Queen Mother with his advice, inſtead of that real aſſiſtance was expected from him, he gave *Rucellay* this anſwer, "That being old, "and infirm, as he was, well ſatisfied with his preſent conditi- "on, and upon ſo good terms at Court, as to apprehend no ill "uſage from thence, it would be a great indiſcretion in him to "deprive himſelf of the peace he now enjoy'd, by engaging in a "new Quarrel, full of trouble and danger: That he was not- "withſtanding the Queen Mothers moſt humble Servant, of which "truth the beſt teſtimony he could at preſent give, was to point "out to her Majeſty a Neighbour of his, a man of a vigorous "Conſtitution, though in a declining age, Wiſe, Valiant, Rich, "Strong in a poſterity of men capable of great things, that was "withal poſſeſs'd of many very conſiderable places, both in the "Heart, and upon the Frontiers of the Kingdom; and (which "was more to be conſider'd than all) who was ſo nettled with "the ill uſage he had receiv'd at Court, that there was no doubt "to be made, but he would readily embrace any overture, that "would direct him to a juſt revenge. In the concluſion of which "Character he nam'd to him the Duke of *Eſpernon*. *Rucellay* was not ſo ill read in Affairs, but that he very well knew the perſon the Duke of *Boüillon* had propos'd, was of all other the moſt likely to do the Queens buſineſs: but beſides that he had no order to addreſs himſelf to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, there had moreover in the time of his being at Court, ſome difference hapned betwixt the Marquis *de Roilhac*, the Duke's Nephew, and himſelf; wherein the Duke's Authority having protected *Roilhac*, *Rucellay* had not receiv'd that ſatisfaction, he might otherwiſe reaſonably have expected, for injuries of no ordinary kind. Theſe injuries therefore, being ſtill freſh in his memory, made him very averſe to any Treaty with the Duke: neither was he ignorant how ill the Queen had us'd him, at his departure from Court, after the many, and great Services, that during her Regency ſhe had re-

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Rucellay arrives at *Sedan*, and treats with the Duke of *Boüillon*, who refuſes to engage in the buſineſs.

The Duke of *Boüillon* adviſes the Queen Mother to treat with the Duke of *Eſpernon*.

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ceiv'd at his hands, which altogether put him into a very great confuſion. All theſe conſiderations nevertheleſs laid aſide, either out of the deſire he had to ſerve the Queen, or to be reveng'd of the Favourites, or to re-eſtabliſh himſelf at Court, which he hop'd would put on a new face in the change of the Queens Fortune, he diſpatch'd away to her with all diligence to acquaint her how the Duke of *Boüillon* had excus'd himſelf, and of the advice he had given concerning the Duke of *Eſpernon*, that he might thereupon receive her Majeſties further Command.

This poſting to and fro took up ſo much time, that the Queens Letters of Credit to the Duke of *Eſpernon* could not come to *Rucellay*'s hands, till towards the latter end of *July*, nor he ſend them to the Duke till the month following; I ſay ſend them, *Rucellay* having no mind to ſound the Foard himſelf, nor to make the firſt overtures of that Treaty in his own perſon, for the forementiond reaſons. He therefore employ'd herein one *Vincentio Ludovici*, a man in whom he repos'd an abſolute truſt, and one, who having formerly been chief Secretary to the *Mareſchal d' Encre*, after a long, and very ſevere impriſonment he had ſuffred ſince the death of his Maſter, had retir'd himſelf to *Signy*, and put himſelf into *Rucellay*'s protection. Where living in expectation of ſome conſiderable employment, *Rucellay* propos'd this negotiation to him, who as readily undertook it; and having receiv'd full inſtructions, together with the Queens Letters of *Credence*, came to *Metz*, where at the *Moors-Head* he took up his Inn, and from thence ſent to *le Pleſſis* (whom all the world knew to be the man in greateſt truſt about the Duke) to entreat him that he would take the pains to come ſee one of his old acquaintance, without further diſcovering himſelf.

Rucellay ſends *Vincentio Ludovici* to the Duke of *Eſpernon*.

I have heard *le Pleſſis* ſay, that by this Complement he preſently gueſs'd what the buſineſs might be, that brought this man, whoever he was, to Town; yet would he not appear upon this firſt Summons: but having a *Valet de Chambre* in his dependence, that he had bred from a Boy, in whom he durſt confide, and of whoſe dexterity, and diſcretion, he had often made tryal upon ſeveral occaſions, he commanded him to go to the *Moors-Head*, to ſee who it was deſir'd to ſpeak with him, and to obſerve if it were a face he had formerly ſeen, or one that was altogether a ſtranger to him. This man's name was *Cadillac*, which I inſert here, becauſe we ſhall ſhortly find him a principal Agent in this Affair.

Cadillac accordingly comes to the Inn, where his eye had ſoon found out his man; he obſerv'd him, ſpoke to him, and by his accent ſoon diſcover'd him to be a ſtranger, of which he preſently carried back a report to his Maſter; giving him withal a deſcription

ption of his perſon. *Le Pleſſis* confirm'd by this accompt in his former opinion, would by no means confer with him till he had firſt acquainted the Duke: but having receiv'd his Order, takes his way towards the Inn. Thither being come in the confuſion, and hurry that uſually happens in thoſe houſes of publick entertainment, he ſoon found out the man he ſought for, runs to him, and embraces him, as if they had been the greateſt friends in the world, though they had never ſeen one another before, enquiring of him aloud of their friends in *Xaintonge*, where this ſtranger had never been; who, nevertheleſs very well underſtanding *le Pleſſis* meaning, deliver'd him the ſervices of ſeveral perſons they neither of them both knew: after which *le Pleſſis* drawing him aſide, and entring into more particular conference with him, receiv'd from his mouth the firſt overtures of his Treaty, which he alſo undertook to carry back to the Duke. *Anno* 1618.

No ſooner therefore was he parted from *Vincentio*, but that he went to find out the Duke at the *Haute Pierre* (the place where the Governours of *Metz* ordinarily reſide) where he gave him an accompt of the ſtrangers buſineſs; together with the humble requeſt he made to be admitted to a further Conference with his own perſon. Whereupon the Duke call'd for his two Sons, the Marquis *de la Valette*, and the Archbiſhop of *Tholouze*, ſince Cardinal *de la Valette* (it appearing very reaſonable they ſhould participate of the Counſel, who were to have ſo great a ſhare in the execution of the deſign) where amongſt them it was concluded, that the Duke ſhould the next day give audience to this Envoy in the Abby of St. *Vincent* in *Metz*, belonging to the Archbiſhop of *Tholouze*. According to which determination the ſtranger was early the next morning conducted thither, by the foreſaid *Cadillac*; whither the Duke coming preſently after, under colour of a viſit to the Abbot, he went to ſeek out *Vincentio* in the Chamber before appointed for him, where he gave him his firſt audience in the preſence of *le Pleſſis* only, and where *Vincentio* deliver'd him a Letter from the Queen Mother that contained theſe words.

The Duke of *Eſpernon* receives a Letter from the Queen Mother, by *Vincentio Ludovici*.

Couſin,

"*I entreat you not to doubt the Fidelity of the perſon that ſhall deliver you this Letter, but to believe whatever he ſhall tell you; leaving it however to your own choice, either to return your anſwer by him, or by any other you ſhall think fit, to the earneſt requeſt he ſhall make you in my behalf: promiſing you withal that he ſhall propoſe nothing to you contrary in the leaſt to the Service of the King my Son, who*

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" shall himself one day give you thanks for the assistance you shall now " give me in this occasion, wherein you may also oblige me whilst I live " to be

Your very good Cousin,

From *Blois* this 18th. of *July*, 1618. Marie.

This Letter being read, and the Duke having ask'd the Bearer what he had more to say, " He represented to him the many " and signal Services he had formerly perform'd for the Queen, " first in promoting her Interest when she was declar'd Regent, " and afterwards throughout the whole course of her Admini- " stration: telling him withal how infinitely her Majesty was " afflicted: That she had not acknowledg'd those Services at so " just a rate, as the quality of them did truly deserve: That ne- " vertheless she having shew'd her self ready to gratifie him in se- " veral things of some importance to him, she doubted not, but " that a generous heart, as his was, would be apter to record " those testimonies of her Favour and Affection to him, than " some little discontents, that could not so justly be imputed to " her, as to the necessity of the time, and the occurrences that im- " posed them: That he very well knew the late King her Lord, " and Husband had a few days before his death (as if he had fore- " seen the persecution was preparing against her) recommended " her Interests to his care and protection, wherein he had already " in part so worthily perform'd the Trust that great Prince had re- " pos'd in his Vertue, that she had reason to believe he would " continue to oblige her for ever: That she was now reduc'd to " such a condition by the violence of her Enemies; as after be- " ing depriv'd of her liberty, to think her self in great peril of " her life: That the King her Son, though his constraint was less " apparent, was not himself however exempt from the tyranny " they exercis'd upon her person: That it was in his power to re- " deem them both from the slavery they were in; wherein, al- " though she doubted not, but that the King would one day ac- " knowledge a Service of this nature to such a degree, as the im- " portance of it would justly deserve; she in the mean time would " notwithstanding take all the obligation upon her self, and en- " gage to make him see the effects of such a gratitude, as he " might reasonably expect from a Princess, who conceiv'd her " self oblig'd to his generosity for her liberty, and her life. The Duke having made answer to this discourse in such terms of submission, and respect, as befitted a Subject to a Princess of her condition,

And hearkens to the Proposition.

dition, the Mother of his King, and one from whom, amongſt ſome little unkindneſſes he had receiv'd many benefits, and ſignal favours, proceeded without more ceremony to the negotiation; in the progreſs whereof, *Vincentio* in the Queens name promis'd ſo many men, and places, and ſuch ſummes of mony, propoſing withal ſo great and ſo advantageous conditions for the Duke, as made him conceive the propoſition worth the thinking of, and to promiſe him in a few days a poſitive anſwer. *Anno* 1618.

He was no ſooner therefore parted from *Vincentio*, but that he ſent for his Sons to deliberate with them about this Affair, in whom he met with young ſpirits, full of heat, and courage, that preſently advis'd him confidently to embrace that motion, wherein they ſaid there was no queſtion to be made, but that the iſſue would be glorious for him, advantageous to the State, and eaſie to be effected in it ſelf, through the concurrence he would certainly find in moſt of the great men of the Kingdom, who were apparently diſſatisfied with the preſent Government, which was alſo no extraordinary thing in the beſt, and moſt happy Reigns. The Duke on the contrary by a long experience become more circumſpect could not ſuffer himſelf ſo eaſily to be overcome; but conſidering he was about to expoſe his Life and Fortune, his Children, Friends, and Family for a Princeſs who had not at other times been over-mindful of his former Services, he had ſome reaſon to fear he ſhould receive no better an acknowledgement of this, than he had done of the reſt. Beſides he knew very well that he ſhould no ſooner appear in Arms in order to the deſign in hand, but that the Kings whole Power, and his Perſon would immediately be upon him; and ſeeing no viſible Forces ſufficient to reſiſt that Torrent, he could not clear his mind from thoſe apprehenſions wherewith it was involv'd. He repreſented therefore to his Sons, that all thoſe Confederates they ſeem'd to rely upon, ſhould they joyn in the Quarrel, would moſt of them vaniſh at the very ſound of the Royal Name: That the moſt diſcontented of them would be reconcil'd to their Duty by the leaſt ſatisfactions ſhould be given them, and that then he alone ſhould do the work of all the other great men of the Kingdom, at the price of his own particular ruine. So that after having again and again conſider'd of this propoſal, he could not perſwade himſelf to condeſcend to the importunities of his Sons, and *le Pleſſis*, who was preſent at this deliberation, all they could ſay being able to prevail no further upon him at that time, than that *Vincentio* might in his name aſſure the Queen, he had a paſſionate deſire to ſerve her, provided it would pleaſe her Majeſty to enable him ſo

But without engaging himſelf at this time.

to

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Vincentio, after having staid eight days at *Metz*, went back with this answer to *Rucellay*, who with great impatience expected his return; and who having receiv'd this accompt of the business, thought they had done enough at this first push, in prevailing with the Duke to hearken only to the proposal: neither did he doubt, but that the difficulties he had represented, though very rational in themselves, would in the end be overcome by the success of those things, whereof the Duke, before he would give a determinate answer, desir'd to be assur'd. He therefore in all haste signified to the Queen the Duke's disposition to serve her, assuring her withal of the Duke *de Boüillon*'s Concurrence with the Duke of *Espernon*, provided the last would undertake the Service. Whereupon her Majesty, secure of her Interest with the Dukes of *Guise*, and *Montmorency*, and many other persons of great quality; and nothing fearing also, but she should be able to raise a great mass of mony, what by borrowing, what upon her Jewels, and what by the Revenue of those Provinces would be engag'd with her, sent the same *Vincentio* a month after to the Duke, to give him full assurance of all things he desir'd. Upon which second dispatch, the Duke conceiving he might confide in the Qneens word, engag'd himself (though not without some reluctancy) to declare openly in her Quarrel, dismissing his little Ambassadour with a much better accompt, than before, and delivering him a Cypher for his future Correspondence with the Queen; after which, and a particular answer to the Letter her Majesty had honour'd him with by *Vincentio* the first time, he launch'd so far into the Affair, that it was afterwards impossible for him to retire.

Rucellay takes himself the Treaty in hand.

Rucellay having pump'd the whole secret of this Negotiation out of *Vincentio*, and having no mind he should carry away the Reputation of an Affair of that importance, and so successfully begun, resolv'd for the time to come to undertake the Treaty himself, and laying aside his former aversions, with all other respects (which he likewise conceiv'd were not of so high a nature, as ought to stand in competition with the Affair in hand) would treat with the Duke in his own person. In order whereunto he advanc'd as far as *Pont a Moulins*, a little Village about a League distance from *Metz*; either unwilling, or not daring to venture himself

himſelf in the City, till he firſt knew how the Duke was diſpos'd to receive him. From this place therefore he immediately ſent away for *Cadillac* (the ſame *le Pleſſis* had ſent the firſt time to *Vincentio*) not doubting but he would be the firſt ſhould be ſent to diſcover who he was. *Cadillac* thus ſent for by he knew not whom, would not go out to him without firſt receiving his Maſters Order, nor his Maſter give it him, till he himſelf had firſt receiv'd an Order from the Duke: Neither could the Duke ſuddenly conſent to this intelligence, who, although he did not know the ſtranger to be *Rucellay*, yet ſuſpecting him to be ſome new Negotiator, and unwilling to have ſo many intruſted with a buſineſs, upon the ſecreſie whereof depended his Life and Fortune, he waver'd long before he would give way to an enterview betwixt *le Pleſſis*, and this new Agent. He was at laſt notwithſtanding content he ſhould go: but if he had at firſt made ſome difficulty of allowing this Conference, before he knew *Rucellay* to be the man he was to confer withal, he was ſo out of all patience when he knew the ſecret was committed to an *Italian*, his enemy, and diſoblig'd by him, that he was many times upon the point to have recall'd his word, and abſolutely to give over the deſign. *Le Pleſſis* was then forc'd to return back to *Rucellay* with a very unſatisfactory anſwer; who, without being much out of countenance at this repulſe (the Duke refuſing to admit him into the Treaty) or the ſeeing the civility he had advanc'd ſo far towards a reconciliation rejected, told *le Pleſſis* coldly, "That ſince the Duke had a mind "to do the buſineſs without him, he might, if he pleas'd, in good "time proceed; but that in the mean time he was to under-"ſtand, that it was to him the Queen had intruſted the ſecret of "that Affair, and not to the other, who had hitherto appear'd in "it, who was but his ſubſtitute, and by him ſent to make the firſt "overtures to the Duke, preſuming his own perſon might not be "ſo acceptable to him; but that he had ſeen the Duke of *Boüillon*, and treated with him: "That *Vincentio* had given him an "accompt of all he had done at *Metz*, and had deliver'd a Cypher "to him: That he knew very well that he *le Pleſſis* in the Cant-"ing of that Cypher was call'd *Floze*, the Duke by another name, "and his Sons by others. After which explanation he deſir'd "him to conſider whether a man ſo well inform'd in, and able to "give ſo good an accompt of the buſineſs, was fit to be laid aſide: "That he could not but wonder the Duke of *Eſpernon* ſhould "continue to uſe him ſo ill, who had never given him any "offenſe; but on the contrary had been highly offended by him, "and his; that having ſo many and juſt inducements to revenge

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"those injuries, he had now sufficient means to do it, were not "his honour far dearer, than his ill usage was sensible to him: "but that he would tread all those considerations under foot, to "preserve his Fidelity to the Queen his Mistriss, provided he "should not be urg'd on to the last extremes.

'This Declaration, though something high from an Enemy, and very rough from a man that pretended he came to Treat, carried nevertheless so much sting with it, and threatned so much to the ruine of the design in hand, that the Duke saw it necessary either to admit him into the Council, or to dispatch him out of the way: the latter of which being too cruel for him to consent unto, and on the other side it appearing of better advantage to treat with a man of the Quality *Rucellay* was, than with *Vincentio*, who could do nothing, but as he receiv'd Orders from him; the Duke resolv'd upon the first: So that *Rucellay* being upon these terms admitted into the negotiation, he came by night to *Metz*, and in disguise (as he always went) was conducted to the *Haute Pierre*, where he had a Chamber made ready for him in the Duke's own Lodgings; out of which he never stirr'd for a whole month together. Being there receiv'd, he had *Cadillac* appointed to attend him, as also one of the Duke's own *Valet's de Chambre*, whom he knew was to be trusted, order'd to bring him all necessaries from the Kitchin, and other Offices, without any bodies being able to guess who this person might be, that was so carefully, and diligently attended. The Duke went almost everyday to see him, his Sons very often, and *le Plessis* oftner than them all; by which regular visits in the Duke, and by the great care was taken to seek out the best water (for *Rucellay* drank nothing else, and was very delicate in that) it was suspected some Woman of Pleasure was kept private in the house: A suspicion that perhaps contributed something to his better concealment, and to the restraint of a further curiosity in such, as possibly otherwise would have been more inquisitive into the truth of the business, had they not entertain'd this mistake for the truth it self. During this time of *Rucellay's* stay at *Metz*, things were fully concluded amongst them; where above all things, it was thought necessary, that a strict League should be contracted betwixt the two Dukes of *Espernon*, and *Boüillon*, that things might the better succeed. There had indeed some former Jealousies hapned to the discomposure of these two great men, but such as had rather begot a coldness, than any disaffection betwixt them; which *Rucellay* undertook to reconcile, as by the assistance of the Vicount *de Sardiny* (a very particular Servant to the Duke of *Boüillon*, and a man absolutely devoted to the Queen) he

Rucellay with much difficulty admitted into the Treary.

Resolutions taken betwixt the Duke of *Espernon* and *Rucellay*.

he afterwards did, though it wrought not that good effect, was expected from it, as shall in its due place be made to appear. *Anno* 1618.

The Queen having heard no news of *Rucellay*, during his abode at *Metz*, though she had taken care to send to him, and in such an impatience to know how her Affairs succeeded, as may be imagin'd in the condition she then was, writ a Letter to the Duke in a borrowed hand (I think *Chanteloube's*, he being then the only man of trust about her) and in a fustian style; the Queen here taking upon her the quality of a Merchants Wife of *Saverne*, absent from her Husband: of which these were the words.

" *Sir, since the* Sieur Artus (*meaning* Rucellay) *parted hence to* " *seek you out, I have heard no news either of him, or you; which so* " *much afflicts me, that I must entreat you to write to me by this bearer,* " *who I am told by a friend of mine will soon be back, he being to ride* " *post upon some business of a Gentlemans, whose name I have forgot.* " *If no accident have befallen* Sieur Artus, *he is much to blame to leave* " *me so long in suspense, without giving me some accompt, whether he* " *have paid you the mony I deliver'd him, or no; which though it be no* " *great summe, I should be very sorry you had not receiv'd. Oblige me* " *therefore so far, as to send me word what the matter is, as also of the* " *state of your health, which I wish may be such, as you your self desire. I* " *forgot to tell you that the Armourer (meaning the Duke* de Luines) *with* " *whom we have the business you know of, has sought to me for an Agree-* " *ment; though I know not what to say to it without my Husbands advice,* " *for whom I have so much respect, as to do nothing, but what he shall think* " *fit: if he refer it to me to do what I think best, I shall make no agree-* " *ment with him. The Judges, who are to determine our controversie,* " *will, I doubt, not very well understand who has the wrong, and that our* " *cause is good; God also being always for the right, I hope we shall* " *have as good an issue as we can desire. I shall trouble you no further,* " *than to conjure you to write me word, when I may hope to be so happy* " *as to see you; if your Affairs would permit, I could wish you were* " *ready to begin your Journey to morrow: however I shall refer that to* " *your discretion, humbly entreating you to believe, that I shall honour* " *you all the days of my life, as I ought to do, and shall pray to God to* " *keep you in his Holy Protection, and preserve you as long in health as I* " *desire.*

Sir,

Your humble, and very obedient Wife, and Servant,

Sign'd X.

Anno 1618.

Mony sent to *Metz* by the Queen.

It appears by this Letter, that Affairs were now in a very good forwardneſs, ſome mony having been ſent by the Queen to *Metz*, which, as it was the moſt important place of her Party, and wherein the Duke had reſolv'd to leave the Marquis *de la Valette* his Son, he would not he ſhould be left without ſome mony in his greateſt neceſſity to aſſiſt him. He very well foreſaw that after the Queens eſcape he ſhould be the firſt aſſaulted, and expos'd (as he afterwards was) to the fury of the Royal Arms, and that upon the preſervation of *Metz* depended, in part, the life of the whole Action: but of how great moment ſoever this place might be to the deſign in hand, the ſummes nevertheleſs were very moderate, that were there left for its defenſe, ariſing to no more in all, than an hundred thouſand Crowns, carried thither by Wagon from *Saverne*; of which ſumme *Vincentio* receiv'd an hundred thouſand Livers for the uſe of the Duke of *Boüillon*, who was to take Arms in favour of the Queen, a part of the remainder only being left at *Metz*, for the raiſing of men neceſſary for the defenſe of the Town, and to buy Ammunition.

The Duke reſolves to go ſerve the Queen.

The Duke having found by this mony coming in, ſome, though very little effect of thoſe promiſes, had been made him by the Queen, did from thence conclude her Servants had provided ſo carefully for the reſt, that nothing would be wanting of all thoſe things whereof they had given him before ſo ample aſſurance: In which belief he ſet himſelf wholly upon his preparation to be gone; of which alſo having given notice to the Queen, her Majeſty, whoſe condition was much worſe than his, to quicken his haſte, ſent him another Letter in the ſame Canting ſtyle.

A ſecond Letter from the Queen in the ſame ſtyle with the firſt.

" *Sir, I ſhall make uſe of* Magurin's, *one of our Factors Pen* " (*meaning* Chanceloube) *to let you know, that I was never more over-* " *joy'd in my life, than when I receiv'd the Letter you did me the honour* " *to ſend; wherein you give me aſſurance of your conſtant love, which is* " *ſo great a comfort to me, that what affliction ſoever God ſhall be pleas'd* " *to lay upon me, I ſhall notwithſtanding rejoyce in this, that my Huſ-* " *band loves me, and that I ſhall ſhortly have the happineſs to ſee him.* " *Neither do I doubt of his affection, who has ſo good a ſoul, that I* " *know he can never forget her, who in this world moſt honours and* " *loves him; and that ſo ſoon as he has ſettled all our Affairs where he* " *now is, he will come to take order about thoſe we have in theſe parts,* " *which praiſed be God, are already in a very hopeful way. But I am* " *in great pain to know the place where you are pleas'd I ſhall expect you;* " *for if you think it better that I go to our own houſe, than to ſtay longer here,*

" *here, send me word, and I shall do what possibly I can to overcome the* " *incommodities of the season to obey you; but if it should fall out that I* " *cannot stir from hence, write me word how I may meet you upon the* " *way; and provided I be not put to rise too early, I shall do wonders. I* " *expect therefore your Commands, which I shall faithfully observe, be-* " *seeching you to give me your instruction concerning all our other Affairs,* " *that I may do nothing may turn to our prejudice; it being impossible* " *I should ever fail in obeying whatever Commands you will lay upon* Anno 1618.

Your humble, and very obedient Wife, and Servant.

And in a Postscript,

" *This shall be the last Letter I shall write, wherefore I conjure you* " *to remember to give me notice of your setting out, that accordingly I* " *may prepare my self*

G. G.

And for the Superscription, as upon that before,

" *A Monsieur, Monsieur Fabert, being at this present at* Saverne.

This Letter, which, betwixt persons so well read in one anothers designs, might with great ease be explain'd, was by the Duke presently put into deliberation; first, that a day might be resolv'd upon for his departure, and next that something might be concluded about the order was to be observ'd in going to receive the Queen. To this Consultation the Dukes two Sons, *Rucellay*, and *le Plessis*, were only admitted, where (as it usually falls out) the nearer they approach'd to the execution of their design, the harder it seem'd to be effected. From the time the Duke had first engag'd his word to the Queen, he had been very instant at Court, to obtain liberty to go into his Governments of *Xaintonge* and *Angoumois*, very well foreseeing, that without such a formal leave, he should meet difficulties enough in the very Journey it self, had he had no design to favour the Queens escape; but the more importunate he had been to procure that Licence, the more obstinate he had found them to be in the denial. They look'd upon him, as it were mew'd up in *Metz*, and were resolv'd to keep him in a manner a prisoner to his own Government, in that remote part of the Kingdom. So that the Duke in despair of procuring that priviledge, and seeing that under the colour of some very inconsiderable excuses, the King had a mind to make his presence at *Metz* appear altogether necessary to his Service, he sent his Majesty a very full Remonstrance of the urgency of his Affairs

Some difficulties arise about the execution of the design.

Anno 1618. in those parts, with a repeated supplication, that he would please to permit him to go: Not that he expected a better success in this than in his former applications, he had lost that hope: but by this new Address to lull the Duke *de Luines* asleep, who ought in reason to believe, that this reiterated importunity pre-suppos'd an expectation in the Duke to prevail in his request; and that consequently he would not depart from *Metz*, till that were first obtain'd. This Letter was writ by the *Sieur de Balzac*, and is, in my opinion one of the best pieces has flow'd from his admirable Pen; which notwithstanding I have not inserted here, forasmuch as the Reader may find it printed amongst the rest of his excellent Works.

The Duke of *Espernon's* preparation, and the policy he made use of to cover his design.

By this Letter it was, that, whilst he was making preparation for his departure, the Duke endeavour'd to conceal his Design; wherein his policy was of infinite use, and this that follows of no less. He had a mind to send away before his Stable of manag'd Horses, consisting of thirty, what Gennets, and Barbs, the finest, and best in *France*, an equipage he had ever been very curious to maintain, as he continued to the last hour of his life. These horses that had been very unfit to travel such Journeys, as he must of necessity take, had they staid to go along with him, and that could not in the mean time be convey'd out of *Metz*, without much notice taken, to hinder that observation, and to delude such as were too clear-sighted, and too prying into all his actions, the Duke caus'd, for fifteen days together, bridled, sadled, and in all their equipage as they had been to go a long Journey, to be led out at several Gates of the City: wherein though it was given out by the Grooms, as done only to air them, lest they should become useless by standing continually still; yet for a few of the first days they were seen to go out in that manner, no body believ'd other than that they were the Dukes forerunners, who intended himself soon after to follow. An opinion that made the people crowd in multitudes to gaze upon the sight, every one certainly concluding at first, what was effectually the Duke's real design: but in the end, seeing them, after a walk of four or five hours, continually brought back at night, and that which at first surpriz'd them by its novelty, being grown familiar by the continuation of it, even the most penetratingly inquisitive began to grow weary of their suspicion, letting them at last pass to and again without any regard at all. And then it was that the Duke commanded the *Sieur de Campels* the Gentleman of his Horse, who, till that time had been as ignorant as the rest, at his next ordinary sally, to ride clear away, and to go to a House near *Sanserra*, and upon the Banks of the River

River *Loire*, call'd *Rezé*, belonging to *le Puigeolet* his Lieutenant in the Regiment of *Champagne*, there to expect him; which was accordingly perform'd without the leaſt notice taken, or any noiſe at all. *Anno* 1618.

This part being thus perform'd, *le Leige*, Major to *Rembure*'s Regiment, a Gentleman very expert in the Geographical Cart, and an excellent Quarter-Maſter for the lodging of an Army, came back to *Metz*, whom the Duke had ſent a few days before to diſcover all the ways, by which he was to paſs into *Angoumois*; by whoſe extraordinary diligence, the way was already chalk'd out, and divided into Journeys, the Fords all ſounded, and the whole thing exactly drawn into a Map. After all which precautions, the Duke ſtill living at *Metz*, as if he never had deſign to part from thence, and having concluded with his Sons, *Rucellay*, and *le Pleſſis* the day of his ſetting out to be the 22. of *January* the enſuing year, all things were thenceforward prepar'd with the greateſt ſecreſie, and diligence imaginable, to be ready againſt the time to come. The Queen Mother had, as you have heard, ſignified in her laſt diſpatch, that ſhe was in hope ſhe might convey her perſon to any place the Duke ſhould think fit to name, thinking that the Letter ſhe had receiv'd from the King (after the Proteſtation ſhe had made to Father *Arnoux*) would priviledge her ſo to do, ſhe having full liberty given her therein to go whither ſhe pleas'd into any part of the Kingdom: but becauſe that it was probable the deſign of that Letter was rather to comfort her in her ſolitude, and to ſweeten her captivity, than intended to give her abſolute liberty to diſpoſe of her perſon; it was moreover thought impoſſible ſo to order the time, that ſhe could at a certain and punctual hour transfer her ſelf to a place where ſhe might be free to diſpoſe of her ſelf at her own choice: Eſpecially conſidering that all thoſe who were about her, the major part at leaſt, were Servants made, and corrupted by the Court Minion. Which ſole difficulty appearing invincible, it was at laſt reſolv'd, that, to avoid all ſuſpicion, her Majeſty ſhould not ſtir from *Blois*, but that the Duke, or ſome other truſty perſon by him appointed ſhould advance thither, to receive, and convey her firſt to *Loches*, and from thence to *Angouleſme*. *Anno* 1619.

This reſolution being taken, the Archbiſhop of *Tholouze*, attended only by his own ordinary Train, parted from *Metz* eight days before the Duke his Father, to go into *Angoumois*. The pretenſe of this Journey was to try to raiſe mony upon their Territories in thoſe parts for their better ſupport, they having not (as was pretended) wherewithal to defray their neceſſary expenſe, the Duke's Offices being now no longer paid him ſince his diſpute with the *Garde*

The Archbiſhop of *Tholouze*, afterwards Cardinal *de la Valette*, departs from *Metz* before the Duke his Father.

Anno 1619. *Garde des Sceaux*; though indeed the true cauſe of his going was to confirm the Servants the Duke had in his Governments there in their Duty, and to ſecure the ſtrong Holds he had in *Xaintonge* and *Angoumois*, by a ſeaſonable prevention of any practice from Court. There was alſo at the ſame time a diſpatch ſent to the Queen Mother, to acquaint her with their reſolutions, that ſhe might make her ſelf ready againſt the day prefix'd; the charge whereof *Rucellay* having taken upon himſelf, he intruſted it to a young fellow whoſe name was *Lorme*, one whom he had bred up of a Page, and by whom he had in truth been very faithfully ſerv'd at Court, in ſome affairs of no ordinary nature; though in this, and in the moſt critical time for the ruine of the Enterprize in hand, he play'd fowl, and ſtumbled into the fouleſt Treachery in the world. He had often been employ'd to and fro upon this occaſion, wherein he had ever acquitted himſelf with great ſincerity and diſcretion: but now, though he had not penetrated into the depth of the deſign, yet gueſſing by the ſecreſie had been enjoyn'd him, that it muſt neceſſarily be of very great importance, what recompenſes ſoever he had been promis'd by his Maſter, he choſe rather by his infidelity to obtain them, than by a vertuous action to deſerve them. Inſtead therefore of going to *Blois*, and from thence to *Confolant* in *Angoumois* (where he was order'd to expect the Duke, after he ſhould be diſmiſs'd by the Queen, from whom he was to bring an accompt of the preciſe day of her eſcape) he went directly to *Paris*, where he addreſs'd himſelf to ſome of the Duke *de Luines* his Servants, to be by them preſented to their Maſter; to whom he ſaid, provided he might be ſecur'd of a good reward, he would diſcover ſomething of more than common concern. To this deſperate paſs was the ſtate of Affairs reduc'd, when Fortune by a ſtrange and unexpected accident ſet the Machine again on work upon its own proper Baſe. Thoſe to whom *Lorme* had apply'd himſelf for admiſſion to *Luines*, looking upon him as an Impoſtor, either made no mention of him to the Duke at all, or, if they did, repreſented him for ſuch a fellow, as they themſelves took him to be, making him wait at the Gates for three whole days together, without giving him either admittance, or anſwer. In the interval of which three days *le Buiſſon*, a Counſellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, heard by chance that *Lorme*, *Rucellay*'s man was in Town; which he had from one of his own people, who, being of *Lorme*'s acquaintance, had met him accidentally in the ſtreet. At which intelligence *le Buiſſon* (a man paſſionately devoted to the Queen Mother, privy to her deſigns, and an affectionate Servant of the Duke of

The whole deſign in great danger to be ruin'd, through the infidelity of one of *Rucellay*'s Servants.

of *Eſpernon's*, by reaſon of a Brother of his, a Lieutenant in the Regiment of Guards, who was one of the Duke's domeſticks, being infinitely ſurpriz'd; foraſmuch as *Lorme* had at other times ever been directed immediately to him, and not being able to comprehend the cauſe of this alteration, began preſently to ſuſpect there was ſome knavery in the wind. He therefore preſently took order to have my companion narrowly watch'd, and was by his ſpies as faithfully inform'd of his being continually ſeen waiting at the Duke *de Luines* his Gate; by which diſcovery judging aright at what he was about, and foreſeeing what miſchief the ſight of thoſe Letters, he knew he had about him, would produce, he undertook a dangerous, but a very neceſſary act, and that indeed prov'd the ſafety of the whole deſign. By a ſuppoſititious hand, one that took upon him to be a Servant to the Duke *de Luines*, he caus'd five hundred crowns to be paid down to *Lorme* by virtue of which he retriv'd the Packet out of his hands, diſpoſing ſo of *Lorme* himſelf, that he was never ſeen or heard of after; by which means this great deſign in the greateſt danger imaginable to be diſcover'd, and loſt, was again reſtor'd to its former condition. *Anno* 1619.

The Duke, who as yet was totally ignorant of *Lorme's* treachery, and who knew nothing of it of above a month after, put himſelf in the mean time upon his Journey; the order whereof at his ſetting out, and which he alſo continu'd during the whole Voyage, I ſhall here preſent you. Wherein we ſhall obſerve ſo admirable a conduct, that we cannot forbear (notwithſtanding the Duke's modeſty) who ever gave Fortune too great a ſhare in all his performances) to attribute the whole ſucceſs of this enterprize immediately to his own prudence. No body knew of his reſolution, till the night before his departure, when all the Gates of the City being ſhut, which at *Metz* (as at all other Frontier Towns) was commonly betimes, he commanded every one to make ready for their departure the next morning. He had ſome time before this caus'd eight thouſand Piſtols (his whole ſtock at that time) to be ſowed up in Girdles of Leather (which were all found in his Truncks at his death in the ſame condition they were at his departure from *Metz*) ſuch as a man might, without much trouble, wear about him, which he diſtributed to fifteen Gentlemen of his Family (whom he knew to be the moſt faithful, and that were the beſt mounted) to take care of, with orders to follow him wherever he went, ſhould any croſs accident befal him in the way. His Jewels alſo, which were lock'd up in a little iron Cheſt, and carried in a Male, was committed to a *Valet de Chambre*

The Duke's prudent conduct in the manner of his departure from *Metz*.

Anno 1619. *Chambre* of approv'd fidelity, who had likewiſe order not to ſtir from his perſon. He had fifty Gentlemen only in his company, every one arm'd with a Caſe of Piſtols, and a Carabine, forty Guards, with each one a Musket, and a caſe of Piſtols, fifteen Sumpter Mules, the ordinary Officers of his Houſhold, with ſeveral common Servants. With this Troop amounting in all not to above an hundred good Horſe (and that would have been too little had he gone upon the accompt of a private quarrel only) the Duke of *Eſpernon* adventur'd upon a Journey, contrary to the King's expreſs Order, from one extremity of the Kingdom to another, and thence to return back again into the very heart of the ſame Kingdom, there to aſſiſt the Queen Mother; reſolv'd (contrary to the King's will) to make her eſcape from a place, to which ſhe had been, by his Majeſty in the nature of a Priſon, confin'd; and without certainly knowing by whom he was to be aſſiſted in his deſign, undertook to change the face of a mighty State, ſo quiet, and ſo united within it ſelf, as that it ſeem'd impoſſible either at home or abroad to be threatned with the leaſt danger, or trouble: Wherein, if the attempt was bold, we ſhall find the execution no leſs worthy to be admir'd. He muſt alone make an end of what he had alone begun, his good Fortune, it ſeems, to his Glory, ordering it ſo, that not one great man of the Kingdom (either envying, or aſtoniſh'd at ſo daring a deſign) would be drawn to embark in an action the honour and ſucceſs whereof could derive to none but the Duke of *Eſpernon*: So that they were content to let him buſtle it out alone, whilſt themſelves ſate idle ſpectators of this haughty and noble Enterprize; though it was certainly reported, and believ'd, that many of them had engag'd themſelves to the Queen to ſerve her upon this occaſion.

Memoires de Monſieur de Rohan.

The Duke having thus order'd his little Train, and not being able to ſeparate himſelf from the Marquis *de la Valette* his moſt beloved Son, without taking his leave, he call'd him aſide, where embracing him with the tenderneſs of an affectionate Father, he told him; "That the greateſt teſtimony he could poſſibly give him "of his Affection and Eſteem, was (as he now did) to commit "to his Vigilancy, and Valour the Cuſtody of *Metz*, it being the "principal member of his Fortune; and to the conſervation of "which he ought to be the more awake, as it concern'd himſelf "much more than it did him, who having but a ſhort time to "live, could expect but a few years poſſeſſion: That he might aſ"ſure himſelf, he ſhould with the ſooneſt be beleaguer'd with all "the Forces the King could make; and that no better was to be "expected from the Inhabitants, how well affected ſoever they might

" might pretend to be; to oppoſe both which, much prudence " and conſtancy would be requir'd: That upon the ſucceſs of " the Action, wherein they were now engag'd, depended not on- " ly their Fortunes, but their Reputations alſo; which if it ſuc- " ceeded well, they ſhould be loaded with Honour; but if other- " wiſe, be look'd upon as Criminals, and Traytors: That there- " fore they were to put on a Reſolution rather to dye, than to fall " into that diſgrace; but that it was much better to live, and to " overcome, as his heart aſſur'd him they ſhould honourably, " and fortunately do. By which few words the Marquis, being confirm'd in the generous reſolution he before had taken, humbly beſought the Duke his Father to be confident he would never do any thing unworthy his own Birth, or his expectation; when his tears having ſtop'd all further expreſſion, he by that tenderneſs gave a much better teſtimony of his courage than otherwiſe, and at a greater liberty of ſpeech, his own modeſty would perhaps have permitted him to do. *Anno* 1619.

The Duke goes out of *Metz*.

The Duke was no ſooner parted from his Son, but that he preſently went to Horſe to begin his Journey, it being Monday the two and twentieth of *January*, as had been before appointed. The Gates of the City had not been opened ſince the evening before, and then only that by which the Duke was to ſally; which was alſo ſhut again ſo ſoon as he (who would himſelf be the laſt man) was gone out: Neither of three days after his departure was any one opened at all, the Duke having moreover (leſt any Tickets might be thrown over the Walls, or any perſons let down, who might carry intelligence of his motion to Court) left order with *Paul*, Lieutenant to a Company of Carabines, belonging to the Garriſon of *Metz*, night and day to ſcour the Road to *Paris*, and to intercept, and ſtop all that ſhould travel that way; a precaution of ſo good uſe, that the laſt news the Court receiv'd of the Duke of *Eſpernon*'s departure, came from *Metz*, ſo well had all the Avenues been guarded on that ſide.

The Duke, being now out of the City, purſu'd his way with great diligence, taking as long Journeys as the heavineſs of his Sumpter-Mules would permit, which, though they ty'd him to one ſtage a day, yet was that ſtage always nine or ten Leagues at leaſt; and his good Fortune was ſuch, that at this ſeaſon, commonly the moſt turbulent of all the year, the weather was ſo exceedingly favourable and fair, that there fell not one drop of rain all the way; inſomuch that he not only could ſoard all the Rivers, but mounting every morning ſo ſoon as the Sun was up, both he and all his company rid without their Cloaks all the day long, as it had been the

Anno 1619. warmeſt time in Summer. The fourth day after his departure from *Metz*, he paſs'd by the Trenches of *Dijon*, where the Duke of *Bellegarde* his Couſin being Governour both of the Caſtle, and Province, and having the *Sieur de Mun* his Lieutenant in the Caſtle, the Duke ſent for him, who being it ſeems at that time out of the way, *Fouqueroles* Enſign to the Duke's Life-Guard came out in his ſtead to receive the Duke's commands. Of whom the Duke having enquir'd of the Duke his Maſter, he entreated him, ſo ſoon as he ſhould write, to preſent his Service to him, and to acquaint him with his motion, but that nevertheleſs that complement requir'd no ſuch haſte, that he was oblig'd to do it otherwiſe, than by the ordinary way of the Meſſenger (the Packet Office being at that time not erected in *France*) as he deſir'd he would not do; adding withal, that having been ſtarv'd out of *Metz*, he was conſtrain'd to go into *Xaintonge*, and *Angoumois* to live there upon his own Eſtate: Wherein, though *Fouqueroles* promis'd to obey his Orders, yet he was not ſo good as his word, he diſpatching away an expreſs Currier the next morning to the Duke *de Bellegarde*, to acquaint him with the Duke's motion; by which means it was that the King had the firſt intelligence of his departure from *Metz*, though it was not before he had been eight days upon the Road, and that it was now too late to ſtop him.

The news of the Duke of *Eſpernon*'s motion carried to Court.

It is not to be imagin'd how ſtrangely this news alarm'd the whole Court, the King openly ſaying, that he ever thought if the Duke of *Eſpernon* could not obtain the leave he deſir'd, he would infallibly take it: but the Duke *de Luines*, conceiving that (in all probability) the Duke would never have done ſuch a thing without ſome deſign, thought fit to try if he could not effect that by fair means, he ſaw was not to be done by foul; and to that end diſpatch'd away *le Maine* (otherwiſe call'd *Chabans*) to the Duke, with a Letter from the King to Authorize his Voyage, together with all aſſurance of ſatisfaction in his Affairs, as alſo a particular complement, that he would accept of his Service, and that all things paſs'd might be no more remembred betwixt them. Which Envoy we ſhall in due time find upon his way.

Dijon being paſs'd, the Duke continu'd his Journey without intermiſſion, baiting, or ſtaying near the great Towns, till he had paſs'd the River *Loire* at *Port de Vichi*; from whence he ſent a new diſpatch to the King, to give him notice of his Voyage into *Xaintonge*, and *Angoumois*; where he had (as he ſaid) no other deſign, than to live under his Majeſties obedience. With this diſpatch *Bauſſonniere* Nephew to *le Pleſſis*, (a Gentleman of as good Parts, and as much Valour, as any other of his time) was ſent away

away to *Paris*, where at his arrival he was very well receiv'd; but hapning to be ſtill at Court, ſoliciting an anſwer to his diſpatch, when the news was brought of the Queen Mothers eſcape, he ran a very great hazard of his life, his head being often brought into debate, that in his perſon they might puniſh the high Offenſe done to the King by the Duke his Maſter. *Anno* 1619.

Two days Journey ſhort of this *Port de Vichi*, the Duke's Quarter-Maſters (who always carried *Rucellay* along with them in diſguiſe, and who, the better to conceal him, us'd him with no other reſpect, than as a Comrade) diſcover'd two Parties of Horſe ſtanding in a Field, a little diſtance from them, which at the firſt ſight they apprehended to be two Troops, whereof mention had been made to the Duke, one of Light-Horſe belonging to the Queen, and another of Carabines commanded by *Arnout*; which he had been inform'd were diſpos'd in Garriſon near this part of the River (out of an opinion had for ſome time been entertain'd at Court, that the Duke (whether his Majeſty would conſent or no) would infallibly undertake this Journey into *Guienne*) to obſtruct his paſſage. And indeed thoſe Troops had waited ſome time thereabouts; but whether it were that they had accidentally only been Quarter'd there, or that they had been tyr'd out with expecting, or that the coming of the Duke's great Horſes towards *Sanſerra*, (for they were now march'd that way) had made them alter their deſign: but ſo it was that the Duke receiv'd not the leaſt impediment from them. His people notwithſtanding, ſomething ſurpriz'd at the ſight of theſe two Troops, return'd upon the ſpur to give the Duke notice of what they had ſeen; at which intelligence, as at a thing that requir'd ſome conſideration, he made a little halt, when immediately with a chearful and confident countenance, he ſaid to thoſe who were with him. We are now come too far my Maſters, to return back again, we muſt either thorow, or dye. Which being ſaid whilſt he was drawing up to charge, he ſent to diſcover who they were; when having word back, that they were two Gentlemen, who, being at Suits, had rais'd men on both ſides to take poſſeſſion of a Houſe in diſpute betwixt them, he continu'd on his way, this being the only Alarm he receiv'd throughout the whole Journey. An Encounter by the way.

But almoſt in the ſame place, at leaſt at the *Paſs* of *Briare*, which is not far from it, the Duke miſs'd very little of an Encounter of far greater importance; which was that with the Duke of *Guiſe*, who was retiring, diſſatisfied enough with the Court, into his Government of *Provence*. Neither had he been gone above two hours before the Duke arriv'd at this *Paſs*: whereas had he Another Encounter with the Duke of *Guiſe*, miſs'd but a few hours.

Anno 1619. had the fortune to have come a little sooner, the Duke of *Guise* would doubtless have had much ado to perswade the Court, that so pat an Encounter had not been before completted betwixt them. A jealousie that the known friendship betwixt the Duke and him would have rendred so plausible to all, that the Duke of *Guise*, not seeing a possibility of jnstifying himself against so violent a presumption, could hardly have avoided engaging on the Queens Party, seeing he must inevitably stand highly suspected to the other; though the Duke of *Espernon* concluding him absolutely engag'd in the same design, did not much care to send after him, for fear of giving the Court too great a discovery before Affairs were yet ripe: So that by this means, and from the very business it self, wherein he was thought to be so deeply concern'd, as perhaps he was, the Duke of *Guise* took occasion to make his own Game at Court, and to reconcile himself to the King, and the Favourites, he sending thither, seal'd up, as he receiv'd them from the Queen, the Packets wherein she made her application to him, to engage him in her designs.

The twentieth day after the Duke's departure from *Metz*, he arriv'd at *Confolant* in *Angoumois*; where his Son, the Archbishop of *Tholouze*, together with the *Sieur d' Ambleville*, the King's Lieutenant in the Province, and the Duke's most faithful friend, and about three hundred Gentlemen more, came to wait upon him. And here it was that the Duke was infinitely astonish'd and surpriz'd; he had all the way expected to find *Lorme* there, with the Queens instructions about the manner of her escape: but his treachery (as yet unknown to the Duke) having turn'd him quite another way, gave the Duke reason to believe, either that the Queen Mother had alter'd her resolution, or that otherwise she had been betray'd, and that the whole design had been discover'd: The one or the other of which had been equally ruinous to him, who must either way be certainly expos'd single, and naked to his enemies discretion. And as one mischief never comes alone, it fell out, that in the heighr of this confusion, he was assaulted by another of no less moment, and that consequently added very much to the perplexity he was in before. The man of the house where *Rucellay*, and *le Plessis* lay, was one of the * *Gend'arme* of the King's own Troop, whose name was *Betison*. This man discoursing with *Cadillac le Plessis*'s Servant about the Affairs of the time (the common talk of that kind of people) innocently told him, amongst other things, that there was a bruit in the Country, as if the Duke were come to carry away the Queen Mother from *Blois*. It could never be found out from whence this rumour should

The Duke and his party in a great confusion.

* Or *Cuirassiers.*

ſhould ariſe, for it was ſo great a ſecret in the Duke's own Family, that the very perſons who were continually employ'd in it, had not the leaſt inckling thereof. Inſomuch that *Cadillac*, who was himſelf as ignorant as the reſt, told his Maſter this ſtory for a ridiculous thing: but *le Pleſſis*, who took it after another manner, and that on the contrary was aſtoniſh'd to the laſt degree, that an affair which had been carried on with the greateſt ſecreſie imaginable, ſhould become the diſcourſe of the people, went immediately to acquaint *Rucellay* with what he had heard; who being no leſs ſurpriz'd, than he, they went both together to the Duke, who was yet the moſt amaz'd of the three, and who by this was ſtill more confirm'd in his former belief, that he was abandoned, and betray'd, wherein alſo the appearances were ſo great, that his opinion was not indeed much to be contradicted. *Anno* 1619.

Le Pleſſis, who had waded very deep into this Affair, could by no means perſwade himſelf that the Queen had any ways alter'd her reſolution, yet did he not know what to ſay to her ſilence; He ſaw his Maſter's Enterprize was no more a ſecret, and that conſequently he could not, without eminent danger make a longer ſtay at *Confolant*, his reſidence in that little place giving too manifeſt evidence of ſome ſecret deſign. The conſideration whereof made him reſolve generouſly to expoſe himſelf to ſearch out the truth of the buſineſs, and to clear thoſe doubts the Duke was in at the hazard of his own life. In the cloſe of the evening therefore he departed from *Confolant* upon his own Horſes, to go take poſt at *Chaſtelloraut*, and from thence to *Loches*; where, as he paſs'd by he was to make ſure of *la Iliere*, Governour of that place under the Duke of *Eſpernon*. This Gentleman, however faithful, and affectionate to the Duke his Maſter and Benefactor, was nevertheleſs at the firſt propoſal very much ſurpriz'd with the greatneſs of this deſign, and to ſuch a degree that he could not on the ſudden prevail upon himſelf to embark in an Affair, wherein he diſcover'd ſo eminent, and inevitable danger: Inſomuch that *le Pleſſis* not being able to overcome his apprehenſions, and averſions, at this firſt Conference, durſt proceed no further in his Journey, it being above all things neceſſary to make ſure of *Loches*. In the interim he ſaw he loſt a great deal of time, and the Queen he knew, if ſhe continu'd in her firſt reſolution, muſt needs be in great anxiety, and ſuſpenſe. He had moreover great reaſon to believe that the news of the Duke's Voyage was by this time arriv'd at Court, and that then all poſſible diligence would be us'd (whatever they might be) to prevent his deſigns. In which perplexity, not daring to depart from *Loches*, without having firſt made

Le Pleſſis takes a journey to diſcover how Affairs ſtood.

Iliere

Anno 1619.

Iliere firm to their purpose; or at least till the Archbishop of *Tholouze* (who was to follow presently after him) should come to secure the place, that being design'd for the Queens first retreat, he found a necessity upon him of committing the secret of this great and important Affair to *Cadillac*'s fidelity and discretion: Calling him therefore to him, entreating, and conjuring him to be faithful, with great promises of reward, he deliver'd him Letters for the Queen, with two or three words to the *Count de Brenne*, that he might by his favour be admitted to her Majesties presence. The *Count* had hitherto, 'tis true, been entrusted with no syllable of the design; but *le Plessis* knew him to be very faithful to the Queen his Mistris, and that they had usually apply'd themselves to him to obtain Access, for several private Messengers that had been sent to her Majesty about this Affair. *Cadillac* acquitted himself very well in his dispatch, he came to *Blois*, presented his Letter to the *Count de Brenne*, and was by him that very night presented to the Queen, who entertain'd him some time alone in her Cabinet; and who after having heard the humble request he made in his Masters behalf, that her Majesty would please to send some trusty person to *Montis* (a post stage distant only from *Blois*) with whom he might the next day confidently confer. She made answer that she had no soul about her whom she durst trust; but that he should immediately back to *le Plessis*, to tell him from her, that without staying at *Montis*, he should come on as far as the Suburbs of *Blois*, where at the little *Moor* he should hear further from her. *Cadillac* accordingly return'd, riding all night back again towards his Master, to acquaint him with the Queens desire, whom at his arrival at *Montis*, he found got thither before him: *La Iliere* (who had never faultred in his duty, and whom the fear of his Master's safety, rather than any consideration of his own, had made a little shie at first) being upon better deliberation now resolute to run the Duke's fortune, having it should seem set *le Plessis* at liberty to pursue his Journey: wherein nevertheless he light upon an Encounter by the way, that had again almost overthrown the whole design; and that had certainly done it, had he not by his dexterity, and the vivacity of his judgment, manag'd it in such sort, as to make it in the end contribute much to the good success of the Affair in hand.

An unexpected and important Encounter upon the way.

You have already heard that upon the first intelligence the Court receiv'd of the Duke of *Espernon*'s departure from *Metz*, *Luines* had dispatch'd away *le Maine* to him with an approbation of his Journey from the King; and it now fell out that this Gentleman in pursuance of that dispatch, hapned to meet *le Plessis* upon

upon the Road betwixt *Ambois*, and *Blois*; an Encounter that did not a little ſurprize *le Pleſſis*, who knew him to be a ſubtle man, and no very good friend to the Duke, by whom he conceiv'd he had not been ſo well us'd, as he deſerv'd to be. Neither was there any poſſibility of paſſing by him unknown; they had been too long acquainted at Court for that; and it was much to be fear'd, leſt the meeting of *le Pleſſis* upon this Road might make *le Maine* penetrate into the truth of his deſign, and conſequently endeavour to obſtruct it. In this apprehenſion, I have heard *le Pleſſis* ſay, That he was once in mind to have kill'd him; though conſidering that an act of that nature was likely to draw after it conſequences that might utterly overthrow the Affair he had in hand, he quickly alter'd that reſolution; conceiving it therefore better not to avoid his Encounter, he went chearfully up to him, where after he had ſome time entertain'd him with great demonſtrations of intimacy, and friendſhip, he ſo order'd the matter, that he (without diſcovering the true intent of his own) got out of *le Maine* the buſineſs of his Journey, which was, that he was ſent by the King, and the Duke *de Luines* to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, to let him know that his Majeſty was very well ſatisfied with his expedition, and that *Luines* deſir'd to be his Servant. In order whereunto, having further enquir'd of *le Pleſſis* where he might find the Duke, he made anſwer, that certainly at *Angouleſme*, where he arriv'd two days before he came from thence. After this manner did *le Pleſſis* diſingage himſelf from this dangerous encounter, diverting *le Maine* from the way to *Loches*, whither before he was going, to go enquire upon the Poſt Road ſome more certain news of the Duke: Whereas had he held on his way, and met him at *Loches*, as infallibly he had, the Queens Affairs had yet been in very great danger, *le Maine* returning in all diligence to Court, having had leiſure enough to give *Luines* time, either to prevent the Queen Mothers eſcape, or at leaſt to have taken her upon the way, had ſhe been gone from thence, *Loches* being but one days Journey Poſt from *Paris*.

Anno 1619.

This untoward accident thus ſhuffled off, and *le Pleſſis* being inform'd by *Cadillac* of the Queen Mothers order for him to come into the Suburbs of *Blois*, he fail'd not to execute her commands; where he was no ſooner arriv'd, but that the *Count de Brenne's* Steward came to ſeek him, to guide him to the Caſtle, and to lodge him in the Anti-Chambre of the *Count* his Maſter. Night therefore being come, he was accordingly by him conducted thither, when, ſo ſoon as every body was retir'd, and the Queen left at liberty, and alone, ſhe ſent for him into her Chamber,

L. Pleſſis coming to *Blois*, is ſecretly admitted into the Queens Chamber.

Anno 1619. ber, to consult with him what remain'd to be done; where after he had in few words given her an accompt of the long, and dangerous Voyage his Master had undertaken, out of the sole, and passionate desire he had to serve her, and that she had acknowledged that obligation in the handsomest manner she could by words express, *le Plessis* proceeded to represent to her Majesty the many dangers that attended this delay, remonstrating to her: "That it was now a great while since the Duke's departure from "*Metz*: That he had already waited four or five days in a Vil- "lage, in expectation of her Majesties Commands in order to her "escape: That the true design of the Duke's Journey (though "he believ'd it had no other ground than meer suspicion) was "already become the common discourse of the people: That he "had met *le Maine* going towards the Duke, upon the intelli- "gence had already been carried to Court of his departure from "*Metz*; and that therefore it was very requisite her Majesty should "make immediate use of the present occasion, which perhaps "might in two days be irrecoverably lost. To which the Queen made answer: "That she was of his opinion, and that therefore "they were then instantly to resolve upon the order, and the "the means of her escape. Whereunto *le Plessis* having reply'd, "That that depended chiefly upon some man of Trust: The Queen made answer again: "That she had not one about her "(*Chanteloube* the only man of all her domesticks, to whom she "had entrusted the secret of that Affair, being dispatch'd away "to the Princes, and Lords, which she either conceiv'd already "were, or soon would be engag'd in her Quarrel) in whom she "durst confide.

Whereupon, *le Plessis* conceiving there might be something of the humour of her Sex, or Nation, in so general a distrust, of his own accord propos'd to her the *Count de Brenne*; who, he said, had sufficiently manifested his fidelity in those Services he had already perform'd. A proposition the Queen did not seem absolutely to reject, saying (which are her own very words), That 'twas true she believ'd the *Count* to be a man of honour, but that notwithstanding she thought him very young for the conduct of so important an Affair. Which scruple being satisfied by *le Plessis*, undertaking to make him capable enough; and seeing it was necessary to trust some one of the Queens domesticks, he thought a man of his condition, her Majesties Gentleman of the Horse, and Brother to the Marquis *de Mony*, a most passionate Servant of hers, was the most proper of all others to be made use of in this occasion. And accordingly, though it was then very far in the

far in the night, went immediately to talk with him about it; to whom (after he had felt his pulſe a while, and found him very ready to undertake any thing for her Majeſties Service: he at laſt declar'd the reſolution had been taken, to deliver the Queen Mother out of her captivity: a deſign, that he told him was to be executed by a perſon of very great quality, (concealing however the Duke of *Eſpernon*'s name) who had drawn great Forces together in his Government, to favour her Majeſties retreat; and in concluſion, that therefore he was the very next day to take order for Ladders, to get the Coaches ready, and to lay in freſh Horſes, with all the ſecreſie he in his own diſcretion ſhould think fit, to the end that the night following without further delay her Majeſty might be reſtor'd to her former Freedom. Not forgetting withal to recommend to his conſideration, what he might expect from the gratitude of a Miſtriſs, reſtor'd again to the whole ſway of Affairs, her due Authority, and Greatneſs; beſides the honour he would infallibly acquire to himſelf in ſo glorious an occaſion. *Anno* 1619.

The *Count* thus prepar'd and inſtructed, accordingly made proviſion of all things neceſſary for the deſign; and *le Pleſſis* himſelf remaining conceal'd in the Queens Cabinet (either to be, as it were, a Hoſtage for his Maſter's fidelity, or to be preſent with his directions in the execution of the deſign) ſent *Cadillac* only back to the Archbiſhop of *Tholouze*, to acquaint him with the Queens readineſs, the night following to make her eſcape. The Archbiſhop, who was to part from *Confolans* immediately after *le Pleſſis*, had order to advance no further than *Loches* (that place being deſign'd for the Queens firſt reception) only to clear the Road in order thereunto: but *le Pleſſis* by *Cadillac* intreated him to advance as far as *Montrichart*, which was half way betwixt *Blois* and *Loches*; aſſuring him that the Queen would infallibly come thither the night following, which hapned to be the 22. of *Feb.* an exact month to a day after the Duke's departure from *Metz*. *Cadillac* therefore poſted with extraordinary diligence back again to *Loches* to meet the Archbiſhop there; where being come, he found not only the Son, but the Father alſo, entring together the Suburbs of the City. The reaſon of which was, that though it had been at firſt reſolv'd, the Son ſhould go before with twenty or thirty Gentlemen only, to make the leſs noiſe, and give the leſs ſuſpicion; yet could not the Duke his Father, when it came to't, conſent to let him go ſo ſlenderly attended, where he apprehended the peril to be ſo manifeſt, and great. He knew not, in the anxiety and doubt wherewith he was involv'd, what to think of the Queens ſilence, of whom he had hitherto heard no news at all, *Preparation for the Queens eſcape.*

Anno 1619.

to which the rumour that was already spread abroad of his real design, having more encreas'd his apprehension, nature would not permit him to expose his Son to so great an adventure, chusing much rather to run the whole hazard together with him, than that he alone should tempt the danger, whilst himself lay idle and secure.

The Duke of *Espernon* hears from the Queen.

Cadillac, having discover'd them at distance, spur'd up to them, transported with joy of the good news he brought; where he gave them a full relation of what had pass'd betwixt the Queen, and himself, and of what he had in Commission from his Master, together with her Majesties readiness to depart, and the secresie that had hitherto been preserv'd in the Queens Houshold: but he could give them no accompt, why they had heard nothing from her Majesty at *Confolans*, she having deny'd to *le Plessis* that *Lorme* had ever been with her, as it was too true; or that she had ever heard a syllable from the Duke, since his departure from *Metz*, which she said had put her into no little fear.

And here I cannot but wonder at the infirmities of men, and the disproportion we may sometimes observe in the bravest and most heroick minds. The Duke of *Espernon* had for six months together been continually projecting this design, had foreseen all the accidents could happen, was come from *Metz* for no other end, and had wish'd for nothing more than to see things at the pass they now were: notwithstanding all which he was strangely astonish'd at this news, and the immediate sight of the object representing to his imagination at once, what he had only consider'd by particulars before, he seem'd to stagger in his resolution whether he should proceed any further or no in an Enterprize, the last Act whereof could only crown all the rest, and secure him for what was already done. He made *Cadillac* repeat above an hundred times in less than half an hour, what the Queen, and what his Master had said, with what he had himself observ'd: when suddenly, and of himself, grown generously resolute in his first design, he commanded *Cadillac* to return immediately to *le Plessis*, and to assure him, that the night following, the Archbishop his Son with fifty Light-Horse should infallibly be ready at *Montrichart*, and that the next day after himself would follow with the rest of his party, to receive the Queen, and to secure her retreat, should any thing upon the way be attempted against her.

The end of the Seventh Book.

THE

THE HISTORY Of the LIFE of the Duke of Eſpernon.

The Eighth Book.

IF the Duke had on his part been alarm'd with theſe jealouſies and miſtruſts, the Queens Servants on the other ſide were in no leſs diffidence and fear. Theſe were upon this occaſion reduc'd to a very contemptible number; wherein I cannot but admire, that in ſo plentiful a fortune, as this Princeſs was Miſtriſs of (notwithſtanding her diſgrace) there was ſo little fidelity to be found amongſt her people, that ſhe durſt entruſt the ſecret of this Affair to but four of her domeſticks only. Of theſe the *Count de Brenne* was the chief, the others were *Mazure*, and *du Lion** Exempts of her Guards, and *Katherine* one of the women of her Chamber, an *Italian*, and exceeding faithful. Theſe being all ſtrangers to *le Pleſſis* (and the Duke of *Eſpernon* being not as yet declar'd undertaker of the Enterprize) diſputed very ſtiffly againſt her Majeſties reſolution, as being very unwilling to conſent ſhe ſhould commit her ſafety to perſons altogether unknown. The debate whereof was very hot in the Queens Cloſet, whilſt

Anno 1619. The Queen prepares for her eſcape.

* *Exempts des Gardes* are old Souldiers of the Royal Guards, who as a recompenſe for their long Services are priviledg'd and exempt from Duty, Taxes, and Impoſts, common to the reſt of the people.

Anno 1619. whilst in the mean time her Cabinets were packing up with her choicest Jewels, where though they could not very well approve of the thing, yet had they not however neglected to fix the Ladders; and *Cadillac* who had set out of *Loches* by eight of the clock that evening, was got betwixt twelve and one, upon the Bridge of *Blois*, to give the last blow to the design. He was here staid by the *Count de Brenne*'s Gentleman of his Horse, and one of the Queens Footmen, who had been to convey the Coach out of Town, and who had orders to suffer one Currier only to pass; which, though this were the man intended in that direction, yet would they not permit him to pass upon his own word, but would themselves go along with him to the Castle, though he had taken so exact observation before of the way from without the City, to the Ladders that he serv'd for a guide to those, who pretended to conduct him. In the heat therefore of this diligence, he was not long e're he recover'd the first Ladder, by which having mounted the Terrass, he went to the second, which from the Terrass lead up to the Queens Closet Window, by which she was to come out. Being got up to the Window, which he found shut, he there heard the noise the Queens Servants made in their Debate; who were not yet to be perswaded out of the apprehensions they had conceiv'd of her Majesties person, and safety. Which first fears had been infinitely augmented, by the recovery of the Packet entrusted to *Lorme*, and retriv'd by *le Büisson*, which the Queen had but that very night, and almost at the same instant receiv'd: by which, though they were satisfied the treachery had fail'd of its effect, that knowledge was nevertheless so far from making them secure, that on the contrary it awak'd their jealousie, and by rendring them more apprehensive of others which they doubted might succeed, made them more circumspect than before: Wherein though the Queen appear'd the least surpriz'd, yet did she not think it as yet convenient to discover the person who was to assist her in this escape. Whilst they were in this suspense, *Cadillac* knock'd at the Window, who brought news that would satisfie all their doubts. The Window was presently open'd to *Floze* his man (that being the phrase) who was no sooner within the Cabinet, but that transported with joy, to see things so well prepar'd, he threw himself at her Majesties feet, telling her, that now all things were in as good a posture, as her Majesty could her self desire; that *Monsieur d' Espernon* was at *Loches*, *Monsieur de Tholouze* at *Montrichart*, and with them three hundred Gentlemen ready to serve, and attend her Majesty, whithersoever she should be pleas'd to go. This was the first time the

Duke

Duke of *Eſpernon* had been mention'd in all this Affair, whoſe name was no ſooner heard by the Queens domeſticks, but that it clear'd them of their former apprehenſions, no one after that once offering to oppoſe their Miſtriſſes reſolution. They making no doubt, but that a man whoſe wiſdom and power were ſo generally known, had taken order for all things neceſſary for the Queens, and his own particular ſafety. Here then was a ſudden change of faces, not a perſon in the Cabinet, who diſcover'd not alacrity and ſatisfaction in their looks; eſpecially the Queen, who without loſing more time, her ſelf gathering up her Gown, that ſhe might at better convenience get out of the Window, gave the *Count de Brenne* her hand, who went out before her, her Majeſty following next, *le Pleſſis* the third, and after him all the reſt. The Queen had found ſo much difficulty, and trouble in this firſt deſcent, that ſhe had no mind to make uſe of the Ladder, to go down from the Platform into the ſtreet of the Suburb, chuſing rather (the earth being mouldred down in many places, by reaſon the Terraſs was not yet fac'd with ſtone) to ſit upon a Cloak, which being leiſurely drawn down, convey'd her to the bottom with very great eaſe. The reſt, either by the ſame way, or by the Ladder ſuddenly follow'd, when the Queen being immediately taken by the arms by the *Count de Brenne*, and *le Pleſſis* as they were leading her along the Suburbs, they chanc'd to meet ſome of her own Officers; who ſeeing a woman led betwixt two without a Torch, concluded her to be a Wench; which ſhe hearing, ſaid laughing to *le Pleſſis*, *They take me for a good one.* Yet did not theſe encounters hinder them from ſuddenly recovering the Bridge, where they were to take Coach; but being come where they expected to find it, there was no Coach to be ſeen, nor any body left to tell them which way 'twas gone. So that here they were in a new diſorder. The Queen knew not what to think of her people, nor *le Pleſſis* what to imagine of the thing: they began to ſuſpect one another, and (as it happens in all dangerous occaſions) every one was ſo intent upon their own particular concern, that no one had reſerv'd ſo much judgment as to adviſe what was beſt to be done. In this general jealouſie, and conſternation, comes one of the Queens Footmen, to guide them to the Coach; which they had convey'd into a little blind lane out of the way, that it might not be taken notice of by ſuch as ſhould have occaſion to go over the Bridge. This fear then being then blown over, all paſt jealouſies and apprehenſions now vaniſh'd, and were forgot. The Queen put her ſelf into the Coach, with the *Count de Brenne*, *le Pleſſis*, and *Katherine*, the reſt had all Horſes ready to mount,

Anno 1619.

The Queen goes out of the window of her Cabinet.

Anno 1619. mount; the Queens Cabinets also were all thrown into the Coach, one excepted, which by oversight was left upon the place; but being miss'd, before they had gone two hundred paces, was sent back for, and found; and it was worth the labour, having in it Jewels, to the value of above an hundred thousand Crowns. And this was the last alarm. They went out of the Suburbs, the Torches were lighted, and the Queen held on her Journey towards *Montrichart*, without any further adventure worth repeating.

It hath already been said, that the Archbishop of *Tholouze* had taken with him fifty Gentlemen to advance as far as *Montrichart*, to secure that little Town; of which party *Rucellay* was one. They had over night possess'd themselves of the Gates, to be Masters of the Bridge, which affords passage over the River, that almost environs the Town; neither were they ordered to stir from thence: but *le Plessis*, fearing the Queen should meet any accident, or receive any fright by the way, dispatch'd again *Cadillac* in all diligence to the Archbishop, to give him notice of her Majesties coming; and withal to desire him to send out twelve, or fifteen Gentlemen to meet her for her further assurance: which was presently done, and *Rucellay* would needs command the Troop, whilst the Archbishop staid behind to guard the *Pass*; which, should it have been obstructed, would infallibly have overthrown the whole design.

The Queen Mother is receiv'd by the Duke of *Espernon*.

Not long after *Rucellay's* departure, the Queen arriv'd at *Montrichart*, where she was complemented by the Archbishop, and whence (staying no longer there, than fresh Horses could be put into the Harness) she continued her Journey towards *Loches*, better attended than hitherto she had been. About a League on this side the City, she was met by the Duke of *Espernon*, with a hundred and fifty Horse (what Gentlemen, and what of his own Guards) he having dismiss'd most of the Gentry, as not necessary upon this occasion. At this meeting the Queen deliver'd the most passionate expressions of Obligation, together with the largest promises of a grateful return, a Princess of her condition could possibly make to a Servant who had so highly merited from her; which the Duke having receiv'd with all becoming respect, he was by the Queen commanded to come into the Coach; where being seated, she began to tell him of *Lorme's* treachery, of which till this instant he knew nothing; proceeding to acquaint him with greater liberty, than by Letter before she durst do, with her designs; naming to him the persons she conceiv'd she had won over to her party, and giving him hopes of several things which not-

notwithſtanding ſucceeded not according to her expectation. *Anno 1619.*

The Queens eſcape had been carried with that ſecreſie, that not a ſoul in the Caſtle had perceiv'd it; ſo that it was far in the morning, when the domeſticks appointed for the Service of her Majeſties perſon (ſeeing themſelves not call'd to their ordinary employments, and not knowing what to think of ſo profound a ſleep) reſolv'd to venture into the Queens Chamber: Where being enter'd, and not ſeeing the Queen, they look'd for *Katherine*, who likewiſe was no where to be found. Every one therefore being amaz'd at ſo ſtrange a Solitude, they ſought, and call'd, but all in vain: neither could they imagine which way they could be gone; the Ladders, by which the Queen had gone down, having been thrown into the River, the better to conceal the manner of her eſcape. At laſt having been ſome time in ſuſpenſe, they had ſome news of the Queens motion, which begot a new aſtoniſhment amongſt them, though proceeding from ſeveral motives. The moſt faithful and affectionate were glad ſhe had recover'd her liberty; whereas thoſe who had been corrupted by the Favourite (which were very many) fearing on the one ſide they ſhould ſtand ſuſpected at Court, to have been aſſiſting to the Queen in her deſign, and on the other, leſt her Majeſty (well inform'd of their infidelity) ſhould punish them according to their deſert, knew not which way to turn, nor what to do. Whilſt they were in this confuſion, her Majeſty writ to the *Marquiſe de Guercheville* her Lady of Honour, to let her and the reſt of her women know of her arrival at *Loches*; where ſhe would ſtay two days to expect them, and where both they, and her other Servants, who had a mind to come to her ſhould be welcome, excepting five and forty, or fifty which (as ſuſpected to her) ſhe gave order ſhould be turn'd away; withal that ſuch as could not come time enough to *Loches*, might find her at *Angouleſme*, whither ſhe was deſign'd to go.

The Queen Mother arrives at *Loches*.

The Queen no ſooner ſaw her ſelf at full liberty, but that ſhe began to meditate of the means to defend her ſelf from the Favourite's perſecution, which in all probability was likely to be violent enough; as alſo to give the Duke the beſt colour ſhe could, to juſtifie what he had done. To this purpoſe therefore ſhe deliver'd him the original of the Letter the King had ſent her under his own hand; whereby ſhe was permitted to go whither she would, into any part of the Kingdom: Which Letter she alſo accompanied with another from her ſelf to the Duke, a few days antidated, and after the time of his arrival at *Confolans*; wherein she

The Queen begins to fall to her buſineſs, and in the firſt place endeavours to juſtifie her eſcape.

Anno 1619. she entreated his assistance in the prosecution of her design. By which means the Duke was clear'd of the imputation the Court laid to his charge, that he had taken away the Queen by force, and against her will; which had been a crime as well towards the Mother, as the Son. The two Letters were these.

The King's Letter to the Queen under his own hand.

Madam,

"*Having understood you have an intention to visit some Religious places, I am infinitely satisfied with the news, and shall be much more, if for the future you would resolve to stir, and travel more abroad, than hitherto you have done; as I conceive it may conduce much to your health, which is exceeding dear unto me. If my Affairs would permit, I would with all my heart accompany you in my own person, as I shall do with my Letters to the places where you go; to the end you may be receiv'd, respected, and honour'd equally to my self, who am, more than can be expres's'd,*

Madam,

From *Paris* this last of *October* 1618. Your most humble, and obedient Son

Lovis.

The Queen Mothers Letter to the Duke of Espernon, *deliver'd to him with the former.*

Cousin,

"*I stand oblig'd to represent to the King my Son, the general Discontents of his people at the ill management of his Affairs, and the troubles, which by reason of his Nobilities being absent from him, I apprehend will ensue, to the prejudice of his Crown and Kingdom. A duty, which as all good men inform me it is particularly mine, I resolve to perform, though I were certain to lose thereby that little remains to me both of liberty, and life. Both which you may secure by permitting me to this effect to retire my self first to* Loches, *and then to* Angoulesme, *and by assisting me in my way with your company, and advice: wherein if neither the necessity, nor the justice of my intentions can prevail upon you; yet the reading this inclosed from the King my Son ought to do it: by which you will see he permits me to to travel whither I think fit, expressing a desire that his Subjects should, in all places where I go, pay me all honour, and respect equal to his own person: though I intend to make no other use of it, than what*

"*shall*

" *ſhall be conſiſtent with the good of his own Service. Which, being per-* Anno
" *form'd, I do promiſe, and proteſt unto you, that when his own good na-* 1619.
" *ture ſhall be as free, as my word is now, he himſelf ſhall thank you for*
" *the aſſiſtance you have given me in an occaſion ſo important to him, and*
" *his own particular Affairs. The reſt I will commit to the fidelity of this*
" *bearer, that is, as to the time and manner of my removal, wherein I*
" *conjure you not to fail: without nevertheleſs enjoyning you, either ſe-*
" *creſie, or care, which your own wiſdom will inform you to be very re-*
" *quiſite: Only I ſhall tell you, that by this you will eternally oblige me*
" *to you and yours. So praying God to inſpire you with this good delibe-*
" *ration, and to give you all the ſatisfaction I deſire. I reſt,*

From *Blois* the 14. of *February*, 1619.

Your very good Couſin,

Marie.

This Letter of *Rucellay*'s ſtyle (who now (although a ſtranger) undertook nevertheleſs to ſerve the Queen in the nature of a Secretary) being diſpatch'd, it was neceſſary they ſhould think alſo of writing to the King, to give his Majeſty notice of the Queens removal, and of the deſign she had to retire her ſelf to *Angouleſme*: In which Letter she repreſented, " The ill uſage she had for ſome " time ſuffer'd at *Blois*, doubtleſs without his Majeſties intention; " but through the ſole Tyranny of ſome about his perſon, who " exercis'd no leſs Authority over his Majeſties own Royal diſpo- " ſition; whoſe inſolence, and cruelty deſcending from her upon " moſt of the great men of the Nation, she had very great reaſon " to fear, that ſo many men of quality being diſcontented, and " thoſe diſcontents concurring with the diſſatisfaction of the peo- " ple, oppreſs'd by all ſorts of violence, would, in the end, be the " ruine of his Kingdom. That therefore she had put her ſelf into " liberty, that she might at greater convenience repreſent to his " Majeſty matters of ſo high importance to him, and his Affairs; " and had choſen to retire her ſelf into the Duke of *Eſpernon*'s Go- " vernments, by ſo much the rather, by how much his fidelity, " and good affection to the Crown, had never ſuffer'd the leaſt " diſpute: That the late King her Lord, and Husband, out of " the teſtimonies he had receiv'd of his Vertue, and Integrity, had, " but a few days before his death, advis'd her to repoſe her confi- " dence in him, above all other great Miniſters of the Kingdom, " and that therefore she conceived she could not erre in following " the advice of ſo mighty a Prince, and in committing her ſelf to " the conduct of ſo faithful a Servant.

The Queen Mothers Letter to King.

From *Loches* the 25th. of *Feb.* 1619.

Anno 1619.

The King's answer to the Queen Mother.

The King had no sooner receiv'd this Letter, but that the Favourites began to study an answer; which, though it were in shew respective enough to the Queen, was yet full of threats towards the Duke. Wherein after his Majesty had express'd to the Queen his astonishment at the violence the Duke of *Espernon* had committed upon her person, he went on with great heat to declare: "That of all others he could never have suspected an of-"fense of that nature, believing there had not been that man in "the world, who, in a profound and inviolate peace, had had the "impudence (which were the express terms of the Letter) not "only to execute, but even to meditate a resolution to attempt up-"on the liberty of the Mother of his King. From whence his "Majesty proceeding to menaces of the most severe, and exempla-"ry punishment, he in the end justified those about his person "from the ill usage whereof she complain'd; as having been done "by his own order, and that with as much favour and respect as "any Son of a much inferiour Birth, could pay to a Mother: "declaring withal, that he was resolv'd to take Arms, thereby to "put her in full possession of that liberty, her enemies had taken "from her; and to cause the honour, and respect to be paid her "which was due to her person. The rest was committed to the *Count de Bethune*, who was sent away with this dispatch, and who was to reside with the Queen to treat with her about an Accommodation; a Treaty his Majesty immediately set on foot, not thinking it fit, till that way had first been try'd, to commence a War, wherein the Queen his Mother would be head of the adverse party: A respect that did not long continue.

The *Count de Bethune* sent to the Queen to treat with her.

Whilst *Bethune* with this Commission took the way to *Angoulesme*, the Queen Mother, who departed from *Loches* the same day that she sent her Letter to Court, was there arriv'd. It was upon the first of *March*, 1619. that she enter'd the City; where she was no sooner come, but that she dispatch'd away to all parts, to dispose those who had promis'd to engage in her quarrel, to declare now in her favour. Most of the Grandees of the Kingdom were at this time retir'd from Court, and almost all dissatisfied with the present Government; yet whether it were (as I have said) that seeing the Duke of *Espernon* had already so engrols'd the entire honour of the Action, they could not in reason expect to share with him, who had alone executed the most glorious, and dangerous part of the design; or that they had been taken off by the Favourites promises (who in this juncture had not neglected to prevent the effect of their discontents) however it was, they were glad to do their own work at the Duke's expense, and as they had had

The Queen prepares for a War.

The whole burden whereof falls upon the Duke of *Espernon*.

had no hand in the action, would not in the leaſt appear in the Queens behalf. *Anno* 1619.

The Duke of *Eſpernon* therefore, with ſuch Friends, and Servants as he had, muſt alone ſtand the brunt of the Royal Arms, and undergo the utmoſt effect of his Majeſties indignation. The Queen 'tis true granted out ſeveral Commiſſions, and diſburſt ſome money, not conſiderable, for Leavies; all which, though it ſignified little to the work, yet had ſhe betwixt five and ſix thouſand foot, and betwixt eight and nine hundred Horſe, that were rais'd in the Duke's Governments by his own intereſt. He had from the beginning of the Queens Regency made proviſion of Arms for ten thouſand Foot, and ſix hundred Horſe, which were now taken out, and of ſo great uſe, that could the Friends he had in *Guienne* have aſſiſted him according to their affections, he had upon his own accompt rais'd a very conſiderable Army: But the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was Governour of that Province, having in this occaſion been prepoſſeſs'd by the Favourite, (by whom the command of the Army that was to go againſt the Queen, was conferr'd upon him) it was not likely he ſhould ſuffer thoſe Troops to go out of his Government, which were to be employ'd againſt him; yet did not the Duke fail however of a very conſiderable ſuccour from thence; ſo great an affection, and eſteem they had for him in that Countrey: the Marquis *de Montferrant*, and *Foncaude* Brothers, the *Count de Calonges*, and ſome other Gentlemen of quality, all conſiderations laid apart, expoſing themſelves freely to the perſecutions of the Court, and the diſpleaſure of a powerful Governour, to pay that duty they ow'd, and had ſworn to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, though having opportunity to draw away their men by Files only, and that with great difficulty and danger, they could not ſerve him ſo effectually as they deſir'd.

If the Queen found her ſelf thus weak in the place where ſhe was in perſon, her party was in no better a condition in other parts of the Kingdom. The Duke of *Boüillon* himſelf, of whom the Marquis *de la Valette* thought himſelf ſecure, refuſing ſo much, as to declare for the Queen, who having long expected what the firſt ſucceſs of Arms, and the iſſue of the Queens Declarations would be, and ſeeing neither the one, nor the other (which novelty often renders vigorous, and conſiderable) had produc'd any ſignal effect; he was content to ſit neuter, and to attend the event: by whoſe example, ſome other perſons of condition, who had engag'd to take Arms in *Champagne*, *Picardie*, and the neighbouring Provinces, and that had been made to believe the Duke of

Anno 1619.

Boüillon would head them, refus'd likewise to stir, all the most zealous, and affectionate to the Queens Service could do, being to come in in their own persons, which signified no great matter. Of which number were the Marquis *de Môny*, *Breauté*, *Bourbonne*, *Bethancourt*, and some others. The Marquis *de Themines* came in also of another side, though the *Mareschal* his Father was on the contrary party; but it was only to command the Queens Guards, of which he was Captain; so that in effect the whole weight of the business lay still upon the Duke of *Espernon*.

The Favourites powerfully arm themselves.

The Favourites were in a far better condition, who after they had on all sides prepossess'd the minds of the great ones, and perverted the inclinations they might have had in favour of the Queen Mother, had powerfully arm'd themselves, rather indeed against the Duke than her. The Duke of *Mayenne* was in the head of ten thousand Foot, and twelve hundred Horse (for the most part, old Souldiers) ready to enter into *Angoumois*. The *Count de Schomberg*, the Kings Lieutenant under the Duke in *Limousin*, had receiv'd order to make Leavies, to impede those the Duke was making in that Countrey; which having done, he soon employ'd them in an Enterprize of greater noise, than moment, though very disadvantageous to the Queens Interest. The Abbey *d'Vzerche* in *Limousin* stood for the Queen, where some of her party had fortified themselves; and the *Count de Schomberg* sate down before it; whereof the Duke of *Espernon* having intelligence, he went in all haste to relieve them. His diligence herein was notwithstanding fruitless, for the playing of a * *Salsisse* having put them out of all possible defense, they were forc'd to surrender before he came. Neither was the place any thing considerable, though, in the beginning of a War the first successes being of great importance, the Duke would willingly have prevented this disaster; which, seeing he could not come time enough to do, he set himself to repair that little loss, by some signal advantage, he might with great facility have obtain'd over the *Count*, when he receiv'd intelligence from the Queen, of the Duke of *Mayenne's* being entred with his Army into *Angoumois*. Which Army, though it was indeed a good one, and the coming of it very well foreseen; yet its greatness being made more formidable by report, it is not imagin'd to what a degree the Queen, and those about her were terrified with its approach. The Duke had taken along with him for this expedition of *Limousin* but very few Forces; but the life and soul of the Queens party consisting in his person, and experience, her Majesty dispatch'd away to him Post after Post, with so much importunity, that he was in the end constrain'd to quit

* A fire Engine cover'd with Leather like unto, but much bigger than a

The Duke of *Mayenne* enters with his Army into *Angoumois*.

quit all his deſigns in *Limouſin*, to return back to *Angouleſme*. *Anno* 1619.

Before the Duke's return, the Archbiſhop of *Tholouze*, his Son, who had ſtaid behind to command thoſe Forces, had been left with the Queen, having intelligence of the Duke of *Mayenne*'s motion towards *Cognac*, was jealous he might attempt ſomething upon that little Town, the ſituation whereof rendred it very conſiderable, there being a ſtone Bridge over the River *Charente*: though otherwiſe very weak in it ſelf, and without any fortification at all. All which notwithſtanding the Archbiſhop, with two thouſand men, went, and put himſelf into it with a reſolution either to preſerve it, or dye. So that the Duke of *Mayenne*, advancing to view it, was entertain'd with ſo briſk a charge, that he had no hope of doing any good upon men ſo well prepar'd for their defenſe. Not therefore to waſte time to no purpoſe, he went on, and took up his quarters at *Chaſteu-Neuf* within three Leagues of *Angouleſme*; where the Duke of *Eſpernon* being now return'd, preſented himſelf, and his Forces, to oppoſe him; ſo diſpoſing them into places of moſt advantage, that the Duke of *Mayenne* could make no further progreſs into the Countrey: He made indeed ſome light Skirmiſhes, but ſuch as won no great reputation to the one ſide, or the other, whilſt the Peace was in Treating by the *Count de Bethune*.

It was doubtleſs by no ordinary conduct, that the Duke of *Eſpernon*, with ſo few Forces as he had about him kept ſo conſiderable an Army as the King's in play, and to manage the ſeveral ſorts of people he had with him, with that dexterity as to keep them from Mutiny, and Diſorder: Such as have been engag'd in parties where the Royal Name has been oppos'd againſt them, and who have commanded men, who have had no leſs to apprehend from the Sword of Juſtice, than from thoſe of the Enemy, will eaſily conceive, the Duke had never greater uſe of his Prudence, and Valour, than upon this occaſion; it being certain, that had his Authority ſuffer'd by the leaſt accident of that kind, he had infallibly been deſerted by the greateſt part, and conſequently expos'd to his enemies diſcretion.

If the King's Forces were thus powerful in *Angoumois* againſt the Duke, they were every whit as conſiderable in the *Meſſin* Countrey, againſt the Marquis *de la Valette*. The Duke of *Nevers* had there an Army, nothing inferiour to that of the Duke of *Mayenne*; to which outward Force he had alſo added ſecret practices within the City, and the Inhabitants whoſe affections were warp'd with the fortune of the Duke's Family (which every one

The Duke of *Nevers* with a great Army againſt the Marquis *de la Valette* at *Metz*.

Anno 1619.

The Marquis *de la Valette* defends *Metz*,

one believ'd to be so depress'd, as never to rise again) were not the least part of the enemies power. In which extremity (which could hardly be greater) the Marquis *de la Valette* having reinforc'd his Garrison, which was faithful to him, with some Leavies that came to him out of *Lorraine* (where he found very good Friends) he so secur'd the place, that the Duke of *Nevers* from that time forwards lost all hopes of doing any good upon it.

And by that preserves the whole Party.

It is not to be believ'd what good effects the conservation of *Metz*, by the vigilancy and bravery of the Marquis *de la Valette*, produc'd to the advantage of the Queen Mothers Affairs, which was no sooner perceiv'd impossible to be taken from the Duke, but that they began to think it unsafe to urge him to the last necessity, lest an extreme despair might prompt him to desperate resolutions; so that the Court began now to be more facile, and flexible to the conclusion of a Peace; the resolution whereof had hitherto been so highly debated, and in so great suspense.

The Peace concluded.

The Treaty of this Peace receiv'd, it may be imagin'd, many difficulties, and delays, when the *Count de Bethune*, having open'd the first proposals in the beginning of *March*, things were not fully concluded at the end of *May*. He had with his Commission receiv'd expres instructions, by all means if possible to perswade the Queen Mother to exclude the Duke of *Espernon* from the Articles of that Accommodation, with power, that being granted, to promise her all the satisfaction she could her self desire; wherein I have often heard the Duke highly commend not only the Queens constancy, who would never hearken to that proposition, but the *Count de Bethune's* generosity also, who being himself a man of great worth, and honour, could never countenance so unhandsome an advice. But what one of the King's Ministers, commanded, and authoriz'd by him, and importun'd by the Duke's enemies, was asham'd to insist upon, was nevertheless with great eagerness pursu'd by a person he had very highly oblig'd. It is of *Rucellay* I speak, who ambitious, and puft up with a vain opinion of himself, and the Services he had perform'd for the Queen, was impatient, that any one should rival him in the Queens favour, or take the freedom to oppose his Counsels: And it will be imagin'd by such as have consider'd the former passages of the Duke's life, he was not of an humour to be justled, either in the one, or the other by a man upon all accompts so inferiour to him. This disparity therefore both in their persons, and judgments, which at first begot a coldness only in the Duke (who was very unwilling (having lov'd, and esteem'd *Rucellay* at a very particular rate) to withdraw his friendship totally from him) proceeded

The Queen Mothers generous proceeding, as also the *Count de Bethune's*.

ceeded at laſt (as it commonly falls out in ſuch caſes) to a final and abſolute rupture betwixt them. It was at this time, and upon this occaſion, that I withdrew my ſelf from *Rucellay*. *Le Pleſſis*, thereunto mov'd by the old affection he had born my Father, had taken me from my ſtudies, to place me with this man, in hopes that one time or another I might by his favour be introduc'd into the Queens Family; but finding that after this breach I was become ſuſpected to him, and that he look'd upon me, as one of the Duke's creatures, for having only been born in his Government, and recommended to him by one of his domeſticks, I acquainted *le Pleſſis* with my diſcontent, and the deſire I had to withdraw my ſelf from his Service; who approving my reſolution, and ſpeaking of me to the Duke, he was thereupon pleas'd to receive me into his dependence, from whom I never after parted till his death; nothing but that inevitable neceſſity having the power to ſeparate me from him, which was not however till after three and twenty years, without intermiſſion, I had the honour to live in his Service. I ſhall therefore henceforward be able to ſpeak more regularly, than hitherto I have done, of the Duke, and his Affairs, as having been an eye-witneſs of the reſt; though I can almoſt with the ſame certainty aver the truth of what I have already deliver'd, the teſtimony of ſo many famous Authors, and what I receiv'd from perſons of great repute, now living, who have been aſſiſting to me in this undertaking, having no leſs authority with me, than what I have ſeen with my own eyes, and collected out of my own obſeruation.

Anno 1619.

A breach betwixt the Duke and *Rucellay*.

The Duke was inform'd by the Queen Mother her ſelf of the importunity wherewith *Rucellay* had preſs'd her to ſeize upon the Caſtle of *Angouleſme*, demonſtrating to her at the ſame time with how great facility it might be effected. Her Majeſty went ſometimes to walk in the Park belonging to the Caſtle, where being admitted, as ſhe ever was, without the leaſt ſcruple, or diſtruſt, ſhe might, he ſaid, without the leaſt oppoſition, thruſt out the Baron *d' Anton*, the Duke's Nephew, and under his Authority Governour of the place; which being done, ſhe would, he told her, be Miſtriſs of the Duke's Fortune; whereas one might now (with much more reaſon, than at *Blois*) declare her a Priſoner, being as ſhe was at the diſcretion of her Vaſſal: Endeavouring moreover to render the Duke odious to her, by making his free humour, and ſome complaints (the non-performance of ſome things, had been promis'd by the Queen, had perhaps extorted from him) appear like affronts, and indignities to her Perſon, and Honour. But the Queen (as has been ſaid) nobly rejecting ſo unhandſome a pro-

Anno 1619. proposition, her self gave the first intimation of it to the Duke; who incens'd, as he had just cause, at a practice so foul, and an advice so pernicious to his Affairs, from that time forwards forbore any more, either to speak to, or to treat with *Rucellay*; though he could by no means consent his Servants, and particularly *Marsillac* the Captain of his Guard, should revenge the injury by any outrage upon *Rucellay*'s person, which he absolutely, and expressly forbad, as to my knowledge it was high time.

The Bishop of *Lucon* since Cardinal *de Richelieu* comes to *Angoulesme*.

In the heat of these disorders in the Queens Court, and in the greatest difficulty of Affairs, the Bishop of *Luçon*, afterwards Cardinal *Richelieu*, came to *Angoulesme*; neither could he possibly have arriv'd in a better time for himself: The Queen Mother was grown weary of *Rucellay*'s violent Counsels, and was moreover dissatisfied with some undecent liberties he had taken in her presence; to which the Duke of *Espernon* was also highly animated against him, desiring nothing more, than his removal, or at least some notable disgrace; and to all this the Treaty of Accommodation was then upon the point to be concluded; so that the Bishop of *Luçon* coming at so opportune a season, could not fail of thanks on all sides, both from the King, and Queen, how little soever he contributed to the work, and in the mean time of being infallibly well receiv'd at the Queen Mothers Court. Which in my opinion was a pretty criticisme in his good fortune, and from whence he, in the revolution of time, deriv'd all those other advantages, that preferr'd him at last to that height of greatness, to which he afterwards arriv'd. At his coming he first alighted at the Duke's lodgings, protesting he would not enter the City, 'till he were first satisfied, whether, or no, it stood with his good liking; and afterwards entreating he would please to give him leave to make his first Addresses to the Queen in his Company. He was by the Duke (for I my self was present at their meeting) receiv'd with the greatest freedom, and friendship, he could possibly expect or desire; and soon after they went together to the Queens Lodgings, where her Majesty was at that time perswaded by the Duke to give him her Seal, which 'till then she had entrusted to none, and to admit him the first in her Council, which accordingly was the next day perform'd.

The reason of *Rucellay*'s retiring from *Angoulesme*.

Rucellay nettled to the quick, that a new comer should in one day be possess'd of what he could not by so many signal Services obtain, and impatient, that he at so great ease should reap the fruits of all his care and pains, from that time forwards began to think of retiring himself from the Queens Court, to go put himself into the King's. Yet was it not without highly complaining

of

of the ill uſage he had receiv'd; nor perhaps without repenting his carriage towards the Duke, who had been his very good friend, ſo long as he behav'd himſelf civilly to him. A reſolution that being known to the Queen (however her ſelf at that time in great diſtreſs for mony) ſhe ſent to preſent him with thirty thouſand Crowns, as an acknowledgement of the pains he had taken in her behalf; though he ſeeming to be more offended at that than all the reſt, that the Queen ſhould think any one could ſet a price upon his Services, ſcornfully refus'd it, and went to put himſelf into the Duke *de Luines* his protection; where he was by that Favourite at firſt receiv'd with great civility and reſpect, and afterwards into a very eminent degree of favour, and truſt, both as to private, and publick Affairs. The Marquis *de Môny*, *Rucellay*'s intimate friend, had ſome days before preceded him in this defection; the occaſion of whoſe diſcontent was, that he had not obtain'd the Government of *Angers*, which had been granted to the Biſhop of *Luçon*, for his Brother *Richelieu* Camp-Maſter to the Regiment of *Piedmont*, at the Duke's Recommendation, who was as ſolicitous of all the intereſts of that Family, as his own. *Anno* 1619.

The departure of theſe two Gentlemen, both of them of ſo great conſideration in the Queen Mother's Court, ſoon begot very great diſorders there; which (as his profeſſion more expos'd him to his enemies revenge, than that of the Biſhop his Brother did him) fell wholly at laſt upon *Richelieu*. The Marquis *de Themines*, a very intimate friend of *Rucellay*'s (though as ill ſatisfied as the reſt) could not however leave the Queens Court, as being ty'd there by the obligation of his Command: A conſideration that forcing him to continue there, he would nevertheleſs let his abſent friend ſee, how much he intereſted himſelf in his diſgrace, by quarrelling with thoſe he conceiv'd had moſt contributed to it: Wherein his malice muſt of neceſſity be directed againſt the Biſhop of *Luçon*, and thoſe of his party. Neither did the exceſſive favours they all receiv'd from the Queen, a little add to the jealouſie, and envy of her other Domeſticks, and Servants, they having alone obtain'd all the Governments of *Anjou*, granted to the Queen in this Accommodation; neither indeed was any thing granted, but to them, or at their requeſt, who alone abſolutely diſpos'd of all Affairs. *Themines* therefore, having reſolv'd to take upon himſelf the revenge of all the reſt, took occaſion to require an explanation from *Richelieu* of ſome things, of very little moment, which in the heat of the Debate (as it commonly falls out) grew at laſt to an abſolute quarrel betwixt them: Wherein having ſeveral times been prevented from fighting, ſometimes by

Several diſorders in the Queen Mothers Court.

Anno 1619. the friends of the one party, and sometimes of the other, one day the Marquis *de Themines* mounted upon a little pad Nag met *Richelieu* in the open street; whereupon alighting from his Horse, they talk'd together, but not long before their Swords were out; when the Marquis stooping to get under *Richelieu*'s Sword, which was longer than his, receiv'd a thrust, which running all along his back, rip'd up the skin only; whilst at the same time he ran *Richelieu* quite through the heart, who fell stone dead upon the place, without being able to utter one word. I hapned (amongst some others) accidentally to be a spectator of this Duel; by which unfortunace thrust, how many future Offices and Commands were made vacant? and what might not this unhappy man have pretended to, and expected from the infinite power of a Brother, so affectionate to him, had he liv'd to see him in that height of greatness to which he afterwards arriv'd?

Richelieu slain by the Marquis *de Themines*.

The conditions of the Peace.

Some days before this accident the Peace had been concluded to both their Majesties mutual satisfaction; wherein the Queen (as has been said) had granted to her the Government of *Anjou*, with the Castles of *Angers*, *Chinon*, *Pont de Cé*, with the other places of that Province, being promis'd withal that she should see the King (as she did) and from his Majesties own mouth be assur'd, that when ever she pleas'd, she might go to Court. As for the Duke of *Espernon*, after having receiv'd a ratification from the Queen of those Services he had done for her, he at last sued out his Pardon from the King, the only Pardon he ever stood in need of in all his life; as having never (excepting here in the Queen Mothers quarrel) had a hand in any commotion whatsoever. Both he and the Marquis his Son were restor'd to all their Estates, Offices, and Honours, in the same condition they were before the War, one thing only excepted which he could by no means obtain, and that was the *Cittadel* of *Xaintes*; which, that it might not be put into an enemies hand, he was forc'd to consent it should be demolish'd.

During the time of this Treaty, the Council had generally been held in the Duke's Lodgings, where the Bishop of *Luçon* was ever very diligent: he came continually to the Duke's Table, waiting very often in the Parlour, and in his Bed-Chamber, his vacancies, and leisure, an assiduity, and respect that promis'd for the future, an inviolate love and friendship; the Duke also on his part was infinitely obliging to him, espousing all his Interests, and declaring himself upon all occasions, highly partial, and affectionate to him: notwithstanding all which, we shall in time see so strange an alteration in them both, and so antartick to those good

good dispositions betwixt them, as will sufficiently inform us, how little dependence there is upon the humours of men, when an inconsiderate passion, a little interest, or (which is more light than either) a meer jealousie, has power in a moment to overthrow the greatest and most inviolate friendship. *Anno* 1619.

Whilst this Treaty was in agitation, there hapned yet another untoward accident, though no great matter was made of it, and that was this. A little before the conclusion of the Treaty, a Powder-maker of *Limousin* came, and made an offer of his person to such, as he very well knew were enemies both to the Queen, and the Duke of *Espernon*, undertaking to insinuate himself into the Castle of *Angoulesme*, and to fire the Powder in the Magazine; the quantity whereof was so great, as must infallibly have blown up the whole Town, with the Castle, and have reduc'd them both to ashes: Which fellow, though taken in the manner, and upon the point to execute his cursed determination, had nevertheless no greater punishment for his crime, than bare imprisonment, and that of a few days only, the Queen, it should seem, desiring no other satisfaction, than that of having escap'd the danger, nor permitting he should so much as be put to the * Question, that she might not be oblig'd to an animosity against those who had either suggested to him the thought, or encourag'd him in the execution of so damnable a design: So that the Treaty receiv'd no interruption by this practice, *Bethune* by his dexterity, and prudence, bringing it in the end to a happy conclusion. All things therefore being resolv'd upon, the King (desiring that those assurances, had been given to the Queen his Mother by his Agent, should be further confirm'd to her by some person of eminent condition and Authority, sent to her on his behalf) dispatch'd away the Cardinal *de la Rochefoucault*, whom he knew to be a man of great conduct, and exceedingly acceptable to her.

A conspiracy against the Queen Mother at *Angoulesme* discover'd.

* *viz.* The Wrack.

The Duke, beginning from this time forward to live after the rate of a man reconcil'd to his Prince, would do all the Honour he could to his Ministers; and therefore treated the Cardinal, and *Bethune* with a magnificence that tasted nothing of the incommodities of the late War: The Duke *de Luines* also desirous to regain the Queens favour, and to satisfie her that he intended for the future really to become her Servant, sent to her *Brantes* his younger Brother, and since Duke of *Luxembourg*, to assure her thereof; by whom he also sent very civil, and obliging Letters to the Duke of *Espernon*: to which the Marriage that was celebrated at this time betwixt the Prince of *Piedmont* since Duke of *Savoy*, and Madam *Christina* of *France*, having given this Prince, toge-

The Queen Mother complemented from Court. And the Duke of *Espernon*.

Anno 1619.

ther with Prince *Thomas* his Brother, occaſion alſo to come pay their reſpects to the Queen; her Court ſeem'd, in that little place, little inferiour to the Kings at *Paris*. The change of her fortune invited moreover every day new Servants over to her, every one now appearing as zealous to obtain her favour, as they had before been ſhie, and cold in embracing her intereſt, and engaging in her quarrel. Upon which occaſion the Duke of *Eſpernon*, though very much incommodated with the expenſe of this War (maintain'd almoſt throughout at his coſt, and by his intereſt) endeavour'd nevertheleſs all he could to turn the beſt ſide outward, pouring out himſelf in ſo many magnificences, as perhaps he never had, in his moſt flouriſhing condition, ſo fair an opportunity of ſhewing the greatneſs of his mind, and fortune. After having lodg'd the Princes of *Savoy* in the Palace belonging to the Biſhop of *Angouleſme*, furniſh'd throughout with his own rich Hangings, emboſs'd with Silver and Gold, he entertain'd them with the pleaſure of hunting a Stag, preſenting them with two very beautiful Courſers, he had ſupply'd them with for that Chace. After which he treated them three ſeveral times with ſo much ſplendour, and magnificence, that it could hardly have been greater at *Paris*. The Tables which were forty times cover'd, were at every covering ſerv'd with five ſeveral Courſes; neither was the profuſion leſs at the entertainment of the Cardinal *de la Rochefoucault*, and *Brantes*, wherein if the exceſs made the Duke's liberality highly eſteem'd, it gave no leſs reputation to that little Countrey, which could of it ſelf furniſh all ſorts of proviſion in ſo great abundance.

The Duke of *Eſpernon*'s magnificence.

It was not by the Cardinal *de la Rochefoucault* alone that the Queen Mother was complemented from the King, and aſſur'd of his good inclinations, and affection to her; *Luines* who had a deſire ſo ſoon as was poſſible to allure her from *Angouleſme*, ſending moreover thither *le Pere Berulle*, at that time General of the Congregation of the Oratory, and ſince Cardinal, to ſettle her mind in a full confidence, and ſecurity. This Father, a man of great Vertue, and no leſs Capacity, was very acceptable to the Queen, and in no leſs eſteem with the Duke; to whom he had another quality of it ſelf ſufficient to commend him, which was his near relation to Preſident *Seguier*, the Duke's moſt intimate friend. After this perſon had diſpos'd the Queen, ſo ſoon as ſhe could, to come to the King, he afterwards treated at great liberty, and freedom with the Duke in the behalf of the Favourite, from whom he deliver'd him other Letters full of affectionate expreſſions; promiſing him withal in his name all ſorts of good

Offices

Offices, and Service; to which the Duke having anſwer'd with the ſame civility, the Queen was in all apparence likely to be very ſecure, and the Duke very well us'd for the time to come, whoſe diſcontents, as they had been the occaſion of the War, their ſatisfaction ought in all probability to have ſettled the Peace of the Kingdom; though notwithſtanding this fair outſide of Affairs we ſhall ſee things fall out quite contrary in the enſuing year. *Anno* 1619.

The Duke of *Eſpernon* ſends a diſpatch to the King by the Archbiſhop of *Tholouze*.

But to go on with the Subject in Hand, the Duke, ſeeing all things now perfectly reconcil'd, conceiv'd it very fit for him to write to the King, to excuſe what was paſs'd; which he accordingly did, and indeed in terms of very great ſubmiſſion, and reſpect, though nevertheleſs far from any meanneſs, or ſo much as any acknowledgment of the leaſt offenſe: "Wherein he repre-"ſented to his Majeſty, that having obey'd the Queen his Mo-"ther, whom he had ever known paſſionately ſolicitous of the "Kingdoms proſperity, he never ſo much as imagin'd, that the "reverence he ſhould pay to a perſon ſo nearly related to him "could be reputed for a Crime: That although in the very act of "taking Arms (to which he found himſelf oblig'd by an inevita-"ble neceſſity) he might poſſibly have given his Majeſty ſome "diſtaſte, he nevertheleſs conceiv'd he had by his behaviour there-"in ſo amply juſtified his good intention, that no impreſſion "ought to remain in his Royal Breaſt, but what ſhould be to his "advantage: That he could confidently ſay, that without ſo much "as ever reflecting upon his own grievances, and diſgrace, he had "govern'd his paſſion from reſolutions that might evidently "enough have ſucceeded; wherein he had ſufficiently manifeſted "the Reverence he bore to his Majeſties Name, and Arms, though "in the hands of his own particular enemies: That he call'd all "good *Frenchmen* to the teſt, whether ever his own intereſt, or "animoſity had tranſported him to any action contrary to his "duty; and whether he had not ever preſerv'd his fidelity unſpot-"ted, and pure, during all the diſorders of this Kingdom: That "he had now remaining but a ſhort time to live, and that he "ſhould himſelf conclude he had already liv'd too long, could "he find himſelf guilty of the leaſt thought contrary to his Ma-"jeſties Service, and his own Duty: That his Conſcience being "clear in that particular, he demanded no other recompenſe for "his Services paſs'd, than only a little repoſe in his old age; ex-"pecting an occaſion wherein he might honourably dye for his "Majeſties Service: which was the concluſion of his Letter. Dated at *Angouleſme* the 7th. of *June*, 1619. The Archbiſhop of *Tholouze* his Son was diſmiſs'd away with this diſpatch, who had alſo

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also another Letter for the Duke *de Luines*, in answer to those the Duke had receiv'd before.

The Queen in the mean time was preparing for her departure, but her equipage being not to be made ready so soon as was desir'd at Court, where she was with great impatience expected, the Duke *de Monbazon*, Father-in-law to *Luines*, had yet time to come kiss her Majesties hands, which was nevertheless, by giving her new and greater assurances of all the good usage she could desire, to press her with the soonest to part from *Angoulesme*, and to separate her self from the Duke. In the beginning of *August* therefore, according to the Favourites desire, she departed from *Angoulesme*; in which Voyage the Duke only attended her to the borders of his own Government, not caring to engage himself nearer to a Court, to which he was so lately reconcil'd; where the Queen at his taking leave, after many gracious expressions of the infinite obligation she had to him, presented him with a Ring of very great value; together with a request that he would continually wear it for her sake, as he did almost to his death: This Ring was a Diamond cut into a heart, and is at this day reputed one of the finest and cleanest for its size in *France*; and this was all the Recompense he receiv'd for his Service he had done the Queen, and for above two hundred thousand Crowns he was out of purse upon that accompt, which nevertheless was more than he expected in the condition she then was; having propos'd to himself in the undertaking no other acknowledgment, and reward, than the honour to serve her effectually, and well upon this occasion.

The Queen Mother departs from *Angoulesme* to go towards the King.

The Queens parting with the Duke, her complements, and Present.

The Queen after her departure from *Angoumois*, arriv'd in a few days at *Cousieres* in *Touraine*, a house belonging to the Duke of *Monbazon*; where *Luines* (accompanied (like a Favourite) with many persons of very great quality) came first to wait upon her, complementing her with the greatest civility, and respect imaginable, as he was also very graciously receiv'd. And here the Queen, who had no mind to be kept any longer at a distance from the King her Son, endeavour'd with *Luines* (and that with all the insinuation, and artifice her haughty and imperious nature would permit) to remove those difficulties, which, as they had been the causes of their former separation, were most likely to oppose their concurrence now. The next day after her arrival, the King with all his Royal houshold came also to *Cousieres*, where at their first enterview there was nothing but mutual manifestations of great affection, and tenderness on both sides: from whence their Majesties went the same day to *Tours*, where for some days they continued together; but in the end, after all this dissembled kindness,

The King and Queen Mother come to an enterview.

the

the King returning towards *Paris*, left the Queen more diſſatisfied to ſee her ſelf oblig'd to go to *Angers*, after ſo many aſſurances that had been given her ſhe ſhould no more depart from Court, than ſhe had been before pleas'd with theſe demonſtrations of Honour and Reſpect, wherewith they had endeavour'd to deceive her credulity, and to flatter her ſincere intention. *Anno* 1619.

From whence ſhe departs diſſatisfied.

From thenceforward therefore ſhe ſo far reſented *Luines* his ill uſage, as to meditate a revenge, and how by a ſecond War to procure, what by this firſt Peace, ſhe ſaw, ſhe could not obtain; neither was the Biſhop of *Luçon* (become now abſolute with her) ſorry to ſee her ſo diſpos'd: He conſider'd, that whilſt his Miſtriſs remain'd thus excluded from Court, her power being ſo ſmall, his could not conſequently be very great; a conſideration that made this aſpiring ſpirit, who already had propos'd to himſelf no leſs than the Government of the Kingdom, ſuffer, if poſſible, with greater impatience, than the Queen her ſelf, thoſe obſtacles that he ſaw were oppos'd to the level of his haughty Ambition, and vaſt deſigns. The Queen Mother diſpos'd to a new War.

Animated therefore with theſe reflections, he began to labour a good intelligence betwixt ſuch, as he knew were diſſatisfied with the preſent Government, to re-unite them in the Queens Intereſt, as diſcontented as they: Neither was it any hard matter to win many over to her ſide, the happy iſſue the Duke of *Eſpernon* had ſingle, and alone, procur'd to this Princeſſes Affairs, having got him ſo great a reputation, that the major part of the great ones of the Kingdom made no great difficulty of engaging in a cauſe, they had ſeen ſo eaſily, and by ſo little means to ſucceed. Of this number was the *Count de Soiſſons*, and the Counteſs his Mother, the Dukes of *Longueville*, and *Vandoſme*, the Grand Prior of *France*, the Dukes of *Mayenne*, and *Retz*, with many other Princes, and Lords of very eminent condition. Had the Duke of *Eſpernon* not been concern'd in the firſt buſineſs, he could never have been drawn into this; ſo many confederates of almoſt equal quality, giving him to apprehend more from their ill intelligence betwixt one another, than he could reaſonably hope from their union: but the Queen, who repos'd her chiefeſt confidence in him, who had already made trial of his Service, and found it ſo ſucceſsful to her, did ſo ply him with reiterated favours, and entreaties, that he could not handſomly avoid engaging in her behalf. Neither had he ſo long ſtood off, that he had fewer particular grievances than the reſt; but having engag'd his Faith to the Duke *de Luines*, it would have been almoſt impoſſible to have perſwaded him to break his word, had not *Luines* himſelf given the firſt example:

and

Anno 1619. and on that side it was, that the Queen assaulted the Duke, by representing to him the non-performances of those things had been promis'd, and that as it had been principally through his assistance she had obtain'd all that had been granted to her, she expected he should see the Articles of the Treaty fulfill'd; endeavouring to perswade him, that his own honour was no less interested therein, than her satisfaction.

And that he might the better taste her reasons, she fail'd not to prepossess him with all sorts of civilities, and favour, honouring him with some presents, whereof one was a very fine Watch, set all over with Diamonds, and very curiously wrought; which she accompanied with a Letter as kind, as could possibly be writ upon such an occasion, wherein, amongst other obliging expressions she told him: "*That the Diamonds, wherewith it was embel-*"*lish'd, were not more firm than her affection, and that he might as-*"*sure himself the Services she had receiv'd from his generosity, should* "*ofter come into her memory, than the hand of that Watch should point* "*out hours every day*: To which words (which were, it seems, the way of writing at that time, and none of my invention) I have neither added, nor diminish'd: But by this complement, and several other testimonies of affection, and esteem, the Queen having awak'd the passion the Duke had to give her always all satisfaction, she gave him consecutively a full accompt of her determination, of all the persons of quality she had made to her party, and of the powerful means she intended to make use of to reinstate her self in that degree of honour, which was due to her Person, and Dignity: Whereupon the Duke considering this second action, as dependent upon the first, solemnly engag'd himself, and made an absolute promise, once more to serve her.

The Queen Mother re-engages the Duke of *Espernon* in her quarrel.

Anno 1620. If the Queen was thus diligent to form, and redintegrate her party, *Luines*, on the other side, was no less industrious now, than he had been before, to break and disunite it. He very well knew the Queen to be discontent, which she had her self so publickly profess'd; that could be no secret: He was moreover inform'd, that most of the great persons in the Kingdom had engag'd with her; and though he doubted not, but that the Duke of *Espernon*, from whom she had for the time pass'd receiv'd so many good Offices, continued still his ancient fidelity to her; yet would he notwithstanding feel his pulse by *la Croix de Bleré*, whom he dispatch'd away to him to that purpose. This Gentleman therefore comes to the Duke to *Angoulesme*, in the time of the Carnaval; where he found him taken up with entertainments, that nothing reliss'd of the meditation of an approaching War, making merry with

The Duke *de Luines* endeavours to gain him first by *la Croix le Bleré*.

with the Company of the Town, which at this Feſtival was increas'd with ſeveral Families of the neighbouring Gentry. *Anno* 1620.

La Croix, who would by all means make uſe of his dexterity, to ſound the Duke's intention, met with a perſon in him, that was not eaſie to be pry'd into; ſo that the Duke, after having diſcours'd with him, in general terms, of the Queen Mothers Intereſts and Affairs; and having return'd a civil anſwer to *Luines* his Complement, diſmiſs'd his Ambaſſadour, perfectly inſtructed of what he conceal'd from none, and of what he did not care *Luines* himſelf ſhould know.

The firſt Eſſay having given the Favourite no great ſatisfaction, who already ſaw, that Affairs began to grow hot, with the ſeaſon; that the *Count de Soiſſons*, with the Counteſs his Mother, had left the Court, that the Duke of *Mayenne* had done the ſame, and that the Duke of *Longueville*, and the Brothers of *Vandoſme* were already in their Government in actual Arms: He would therefore be no longer in ſuſpenſe, what he was to expect from the Duke of *Eſpernon*, who of all others he had the greateſt mind to withdraw from the Queen Mothers Intereſt; well enough foreſeeing, that if the youth and inexperience of moſt of the other Lords were not govern'd by his prudence, they would be eaſie enough to deal withal. He therefore diſpatch'd away *Toiras* (ſince *Mareſchal* of *France*) to treat with him obout this Affair. The Duke was then at his houſe of *Plaſſac* in *Xaintonge* (ſince famous for his diſgraces) making private Leavies, by the aſſiſtance of his Friends; to whom he had given inſtructions to make ſure of their own people, without nevertheleſs telling them what they were to be employ'd about, till his further order. *Toiras* had here in Commiſſion to tell him: "That the Duke *de Luines*, abſolutely "relying upon his friendſhip ſince their late reconciliation, could "not give credit to ſome reports he had heard to the contrary; that "ſince that time he had not fail'd the leaſt in any of the good Of-"fices the Duke had requir'd at his hands; that all his Commands, "Penſions, and Aſſignments of Offices, had been in part already "paid, and ſhould ſuddenly be fully diſcharg'd: That for the fu-"ture he ſhould be maintain'd in all their functions, and privi-"ledges more advantageouſly, than hitherto he had ever been: "That if yet all this fair dealing was too little to ſatisfie him, let "him but ſay what he would have, and that *Monſieur de Luines* "would endeavour to procure it for him: That in the mean time "he only conjur'd him to ſeparate himſelf from the Queen Mo-"thers Intereſt, with whom he had now no reaſonable pretenſe to "engage: That he had already ſerv'd her ſo well, and ſo wor-

And afterwards by *Toiras*,

Anno 1620. "thily acquitted himself of all he had undertaken in her behalf, "as thereby to acquire the esteem, and commendation of even "his greatest enemies: That therefore he ought not to expose a "reputation, wherein he had no rival, to the hazard of being "overthrown, and blemish'd by some sinister disgrace: That all "things had been perform'd, had been promis'd the Queen in "the Treaty of *Angoulesme*; but that nothing could satisfie some "ambitious spirits about her, who doubtless possess'd her, she "was not well us'd, if not permitted to rule in Chief. The Duke having given *Toiras* audience for two days together, without declaring himself, and having entertain'd him by intervals with shewing him some Garden Instruments, an employment wherein he said he intended to pass away the remainder of his life, he at last drew him aside, where he told him: "That he was too brave "a Gentleman to be otherwise dealt withal, than with a free, and "open heart: That in truth he had some reason in his own par- "ticular (whatever might be said to the contrary) to complain of "not having receiv'd, both as to his own, and his friends concerns, "that satisfaction, whereof they had been so amply assur'd; in- "stancing in some things, and amongst others the refusal of a Car- "dinals Hat for the Archbishop of *Tholouze* his Son: but that "he call'd God to witness) his own Interest should never tempt "him into Arms: That he very well knew the mischiefs, and dis- "orders attended a Civil War, which he had ever had in great "horror; but that the Queen Mother having done him the ho- "nour to command his assistance in her removal from *Blois*, and "having further honour'd him by making use of his person, and "those of his friends for the recovery of her Dignity, the violation "of those things had been granted to her, must necessarily reflect "as much upon him, if not more, than upon her Majesty her "self: That notwithstanding he demanded nothing in his own "behalf, let them only contrive how to satisfie the Queen, and "that being done, he promis'd *Mounsieur de Luines* to be his "friend, and Servant as much, and as inviolably as any person in
But in vain. "the world. With this frank declaration he dismiss'd *Toiras*, not however without entertaining a very good opinion of his person, and parts, which he discover'd under a very profound silence, and reservation; I never, to my remembrance, having observ'd any man to speak so little as this Gentleman.

The Queen Mothers second War. After his departure, the Duke having intelligence, that the rest who were engag'd in the Queens party were already in Arms, he follow'd their example, and brought his Troops also into the Field: but all their Forces being now on foot there was no little debate

debate in the Queens Council, how they ſhould diſpoſe of her Majeſties perſon. The Duke of *Mayenne*, who had a very good Army in *Guienne*, mov'd with great fervency, that ſhe might retire her ſelf into his Government, where he had gather'd together above eighteen hundred effective men: but the Duke of *Eſpernon* underſtanding his deſign was to be Maſter of the Queens perſon, the better at her expenſe, and the Lords of her Party to make his own conditions, would by no means allow of that propoſition; neither had there been no jealouſie in the caſe, could he have approv'd that counſel; he conſider'd that the Queen Mothers abſence, and departure from *Angers* in ſo critical a juncture, would be interpreted a flight, which would very much diſcredit her Affairs, and by which occaſion, beſides the loſs of reputation (wherein commonly conſiſts the event of War) ſhe would infallibly loſe all the Provinces betwixt the Rivers of *Loire*, and *Garonne*, which were now wholly at her devotion, and might be diſputed a great while. For which reaſons he concluded it much better, and more advantageous to the Queens Service, to unite thoſe Forces he had, with thoſe of the Duke of *Mayenne*, and to march them away to *Angers* to joyn with the Queen, who being re-inforc'd with five and twenty thouſand men at leaſt, that they were able to make up betwixt them, would be in a capacity to reduce the Duke *de Luines* to reaſon; which ought to be the true intent of their Arms, and not the particular Intereſts of particular men; who, as they had only taken them up in her name, were to uſe them only for her Service. *Anno* 1620.

Doubtleſs had this latter advice been receiv'd, the King's Army would have found enough to do: But the Biſhop of *Luçon*, who had no mind to have perſons of the Duke's condition, and capacity, ſo near the Queen, for fear of falling from the place he had in her confidence, and eſteem, could by no means conſent either that ſhe ſhould depart from *Angers*, or that the Duke of *Eſpernon* ſhould go thither to her. The knowledge he had of the Duke's free and unbyaſs'd humour, made him apprehend, he ſhould be by him ſometimes contradicted in his opinions, and by that means be no more abſolute Maſter of the Queens Counſels: ſo that dextrouſly ſpinning out the time, without coming to any poſitive reſolution, the Duke grew weary of theſe delays, and unwilling to let his Forces unprofitably moulder away in *Xaintonge*, and *Angoumois* (Countreys that yet ſmarted with the laſt years War) he departed thence to quarter them more commodiouſly in *Limouſin*, where better proviſion was to be made both for Horſe and Man.

Anno 1620.

The Queens affairs have ill succes.

Whilst in the Queen Mothers Council they consum'd the time in debates, without resolving what to do, the King, on the other side by the Prince of *Condé*'s advice, put his deliberations into prompt execution. The Duke *de Luines* very well inform'd of the Queen Mothers discontents, after the interview at *Tours*, and satisfied, that, after the offense he had there given her, he was no more to expect her favour, resolv'd to secure himself under this Prince's Protection; wherein he thought he was so much the more safe from the Queens revenge, by how much the Prince had himself reason to complain of the ill usage he had receiv'd under her administration; during whose Regency, *Concbini* had clap'd him up in prison; from whence *Luines*, presently after the King's coming to *Paris*, got him releas'd: An obligation, which, as it was great in it self, was soon after repaid with as grateful a return. The Prince had found by his own experience, what an influence the Royal name has upon all parts of the Kingdom, very well remembring how easie it had been for his Majesty to have suppres's'd him, when he retir'd from Court to *Soissons*, whither had the King follow'd him in person, with no more than the Regiment of his Guards only, he had infallibly reduc'd him to a necessity, either of submitting to his mercy, or of leaving the Kingdom: out of which observation he advis'd the King, suddenly to mount to Horse, and to go in person to *Caen*, which was the neareſt of the revolted Cities; wherein what the Prince had so judiciously foreseen, as happily succeeded, *Caen* surrendring almost without any resistance, *Prudent*, who commanded there for the Grand Prior *Vandosme*, delivering it up almost so soon as summon'd into his Majesties hands.

This little success having frighted all the other places of *Normandy*, that made any countenance of revolt, into their Duty, his Majesty immediately departed thence, to advance towards *Angers*; when being met by some Troops upon the way, and by them his Regiments of the *French* and *Swisse* Guards being re-inforc'd, he caus'd *le Pont de Cé*, to be assaulted in his own presence; where almost in a moment, and after a very light dispute, all the Queens Forces ran away, leaving the pass to the Enemy: by which disafter those who were about the Queens person saw the error they had committed, in not calling the Duke of *Espernon* to her succour; it being not to be doubted, but that had she had a Captain of his experience and valour, to command upon that occasion, her interests would have been much better defended.

The Queen, after this blow being in the fright may be imagin'd, was fit to reject no overtures of Peace. She had indeed before

before this engagement made ſome demands, and propos'd ſome conditions; but after this baffle her Army had receiv'd, ſhe was now to ſubmit to what law the Conqueror would impoſe upon her: Wherein all thoſe who had engag'd in her Party were abandoned to the King's mercy; but as for her ſelf, ſhe was permitted to come to Court. And that was as much as the Biſhop of *Luçon* deſir'd, which gave ſome occaſion to ſay, that he held intelligence, and had contracted with the enemy before he came, that he had oppos'd the uniting of her Forces, and diverted ſuch as were capable of command from coming to ſerve her, as being beforehand aſſur'd to obtain the ſole condition he aim'd at; which being granted, he car'd not to leave the reſt of her Majeſties Servants to ſhift for themſelves: but this I ſhall not take upon me to affirm, though it was the common diſcourſe at that time. *Anno* 1620.

The Queen accepts a Peace without condition.

The Duke had notice by a Gentleman, the Queen Mother purpoſely diſpatch'd away to him, of her Reconciliation with the King; who finding him at St. *Clau* a Frontier of *Limouſin*, to which place he was advanc'd with his Forces, he preſently thereupon, without ſtaying a more expreſs Order from Court, or ſo much as thinking of any Capitulation for himſelf, diſmiſs'd all his Troops; inſomuch that the Currier who afterwards brought him an expreſs from the King, to lay down his Arms, found that, out of an entire confidence in his Majeſties Royal Bounty, he had already prevented his command, and put himſelf into a poſture of abſolute dependence upon his Grace, and Favour.

The Duke of *Eſpernon* lays down his Arms.

Neither did the Duke think this act of his own particular obedience enough, unleſs he further commanded the Marquis *de la Valette* his Son (who had never ſtirr'd from *Metz*) to do the ſame. Upon the breaking out of this ſecond War, as in the firſt, he had been there inveſted with a very conſiderable Army; neither had they fail'd, as before, to ſtir up the Inhabitants (whoſe inclinations commonly change with the fortune of thoſe that command them) to mutiny againſt him. Of which practice the Marquis having intelligence on all hands, that the people had a deſign upon his perſon, and that deſpiſing his weakneſs, (who to ſpare their purſes, and to win their affections, had forbore to quarter any Souldiers upon them) they talk'd loud of opening their Gates, and letting the King's Army into the City; he was conſtrain'd by the truth, and importance of this advice, to deal with ſome Captains of the old Regiments of that very Army that came againſt him: In the old body of which Army there were very few Officers who were not the Duke his Fathers Creatures, and who ſtood not oblig'd to him for their Fortune, and Commands;

And the Marquis *de la Valette*, by the command of the Duke his Father.

Anno 1620. Commands; whereof some fifteen or twenty deserted the Royal Arms, to go serve him in this extremity of danger; some sending him in Squadrons by their Serjeants, and others bringing over their whole Companies: so that by an act of honourable gratitude (the example whereof is not nevertheless to be altogether approv'd) they brought him over in one night above fifteen hundred men of the best Souldiers in the Army. With this relief (seeing the Town upon the point of a total Revolt) he attempted, by disarming the Inhabitants, to secure his own Fortune, which he accordingly perform'd, and that without any notable violence; for having dispos'd his men into the most advantageous Posts of the City, he made Proclamation that at the beat of Drum, upon a penalty impos'd, every one should bring their Arms into the Bishops Palace; which order being given, he himself accompanied with some five and twenty or thirty Gentlemen, mounted on horseback to be ready in such places, where he had information, some bustle was like to be; a precaution that was not altogether necessary, the people being so daunted at his resolution, as with a stupid silence, and sheepish tameness, with a submission greater now, than their insolence had been before, quietly giving up their Arms; by which means they remain'd incapable of executing any mischief, at least if (as it was evident enough) they yet retain'd a will to do it.

After having preserv'd *Metz* by disarming the Inhabitants.

Yet would not the Duke of *Espernon* make any other advantage of this success, than thereby the better to manifest to the King his submission, and the confidence he repos'd in his Royal Goodness; resigning himself up wholly into his hands: but the Duke of *Mayenne* would not do so, who on the contrary fearing lest the Duke *de Luines*, whom he had highly provok'd, having him at his mercy, should take some notable revenge of the injuries, he had done him, could not so soon resolve to lay down his Arms. He could much rather have been content to have possess'd the Duke with the same apprehensions, and to have engag'd him with him in some violent extreme, thereby to procure their own conditions: to which purpose he also sent to sound his inclination, and to represent to him their common danger, if they did not provide for the security of their lives, and fortunes, before they parted with their Swords out of their hands: but the Duke sent him word again, "That his resolution was already taken, and "that as he had taken up arms for no particular interest of his "own, so he had laid them down so soon as he knew the Queen "was satisfied: That he hop'd his Majesties Clemency would easi-"ly extend it self to all his Subjects, who should not obstinately persist

The Duke of *Mayenne* refuses to accept the Peace, and endeavours to engage the Duke, of *Espernon* in his discontents.

Who refuses to stir.

"perſiſt in their diſobedience: That therefore he could give "*Monſieur de Mayenne* no other advice, than that he had taken himſelf; which, though it ſhould not ſucceed well with him, he "had rather be ill us'd whilſt he could juſtifie himſelf innocent, "than after having committed a fault that would render him cri- "minal beyond all excuſe. By which anſwer the Duke of *Mayenne* ſeeing he had ſet up his reſt in this determination, and finding himſelf too weak alone to wreſtle with the King's Name and Power, he was in the end fain to ſubmit, and to return to his Duty: wherein nevertheleſs his Majeſty, who knew after what manner both the one, and the other proceeded, as highly commended the Duke of *Eſpernon*, as he blam'd the Duke of *Mayenne*. *Anno* 1620.

One would have ſaid that this great diſorder in the Queen Mothers Affairs, wherein ſo many perſons, and thoſe of ſo eminent condition were engag'd, only hapned to ſet a greater value, and luſtre upon the Duke of *Eſpernon*'s conduct. In the firſt War, alone, and unaſſiſted by any, he ſo manag'd the few Forces he had, as without giving ground to his adverſaries, he ever kept himſelf in a poſture to reſiſt them, and ſo as in the end to obtain reaſonable Conditions, not only for the Queen, but alſo for himſelf, and his friends, without ever ſubmitting to his enemies diſcretion; whereas in this there was no reſervation for any, inſomuch that of all the great men who were engag'd in this laſt buſineſs, there was not one who lay not open, and expos'd to the utmoſt ſeverity of the King's juſtice, had he been pleas'd to have proceeded againſt them. 'Tis true notwithſtanding that his Majeſty in his Clemency pardon'd every one; but it was meerly an effect of his own goodneſs, without any obligation upon him, either by writing, or the leaſt promiſe at all.

The King aſſur'd of the Duke of *Eſpernon*'s obedience, and finding by his late ſignal advantages, how much his own preſence had contributed to the ſucceſs of his own Affairs, taking his meaſures from thence, what he might promiſe to himſelf by the ſame method in other occurrences, he reſolv'd for the future to appear in his own Perſon upon all occaſions of importance, the better thereby to eſtabliſh his Royal Authority in all parts of his Kingdom. The Affairs of *Bearne* therefore being of ſuch a nature, as that his preſence ſeem'd to be very neceſſary there, he determin'd to move that way, and even to go over into it, if occaſion ſhould be. In order whereunto being advanc'd from *Poictou*, as far as *Xaintonge*, he was pleas'd to permit that the Duke of *Eſpernon* ſhould come to him to make his Apology for what had paſs'd

The King goes into *Guienne* and *Bearne*.

Anno 1620. pass'd upon the borders of his own Government. His Majesty therefore was no sooner come to *Chizay*, but that the Duke *de Bellegarde* (who was very well at Court, and exceedingly solicitous of the Duke his Kinsmans Interest) came to see the Duke at *Annay*, to assure him he might be very kindly receiv'd by the King. The Duke had never so much as desir'd any such security, so confident he had been in the King's bounty, and his own deportment; nevertheless confirm'd in the hope of so gracious a reception, from so good a hand, they departed together from the Duke's Lodgings, to go directly to the King's: Where the Duke was no sooner seen to enter, but all the Court flock'd to the novelty; so that I have heard the Duke say, that seeing the crowd there was to observe his reception, and to hear what he would say for his excuse, he strain'd his voice much louder than he us'd to do, to satisfie the curiosity of the standers by; telling the King in few words: "That he never thought it a disservice to his Majesty to serve the Queen his Mother; but that since he had been so "unhappy, as to have incurr'd his Majesties displeasure, he most "humbly begg'd his Pardon; protesting that the Grace he should "be pleas'd to grant him upon this occasion, should be the last of "this nature he would ever ask of him, so long as he had life, "there being no pretense, nor consideration whatsoever, that "should ever have the power to separate him from any interest, "wherein he should see his Majesties name, and person engag'd. A promise that he from that time forward inviolably observ'd, as we shall hereafter see. The Duke was kneel'd down when he first began to speak, but the King raising him at the first word, and embracing him at the end of this short speech; his Majesty reply'd: That he was confident he would be as good as his word, receiving him with great demonstrations of favour, and esteem: When after having entertain'd him some time, his Majesty dismist him that he might go visit the Duke *de Luines*; betwixt whom at their meeting there pass'd great civilities on both sides, with many assurances of reciprocal affection. And that very day the Duke executed his command of Colonel in the King's Lodgings, receiving orders from the King's own mouth to carry them to the Regiment of Guards. The next day his Majesty commanded him to go prepare his entry into St. *Jean d' Angely*, a City in his Government, but held by those of the Religion, and into which he had never till now been receiv'd; so that he saw himself at the same time, not only restor'd to his old Commands, but also by a particular favour from his Majesty, authoriz'd in places, where, as yet he had never been.

The Duke of *Espernon* presents himself to the King, and asks his pardon.

And is very well receiv'd.

The

The Duke was ſurpriz'd at ſo extraordinary, and ſo unexpected favours, but much more when he underſtood it was in part, through *Rucellay*'s good Offices, that he receiv'd them; who though they had not parted very kindly (as you may have obſerv'd) could not nevertheleſs forbear upon all occaſions to magnifie the Duke's generoſity and vertue, and to manifeſt the deſire he had to be reconcil'd to his good opinion. *Rucellay* had great intereſt at Court, the Duke *de Luines* repos'd great confidence in him, and was the rather enclin'd to credit all the good things he ſaid of the Duke, by how much his teſtimony (upon the terms they then ſtood) was no ways to be ſuſpected. The Duke anticipated by ſo many good Offices, was as careful to let *Rucellay* know how exceeding kindly he took them at his hands; ſo that from a violent feud, their hot ſpirits being re-united in a very particular friendſhip, the Duke receiv'd very great aſſiſtance from *Rucellay*, in an Affair wherein he was very highly concern'd. And that was the re-eſtabliſhment of thoſe Captains, who had forfeited their Commands by putting themſelves into *Metz* with the Marquis *de la Valette*. The Court could not ſuffer an act of that dangerous example to eſcape unpuniſh'd; and on the contrary the Duke preſs'd an oblivion of that Affair with greater fervency than he had ever done any concern of his own; wherein I have often heard him acknowledge his obligation to *Rucellay*, by whoſe ſolicitation he at laſt obtain'd his deſire: *Courbon*, *Reals*, *Verdelin*, *Bouſſonniere*, and ſome others of very great merit were reſtor'd to their Commands, though it was but to deprive the Duke the ſooner of ſo many worthy friends; who were ſcarce re-eſtabliſh'd in their Commands, when willing to make amends for the fault they had committed by ſome notable teſtimony of their fidelity, and valour upon the firſt occaſion ſhould preſent it ſelf, they unfortunately periſh'd in that brave deſign, leaving the Duke infinitely afflicted, that he could not oblige them, but to their ruine. *Anno* 1620.

From *Xaintonge* the King paſs'd over into *Guienne*, wherein though his Majeſty had no reſolution of proceeding ſo far as *Bearne*; yet was it neceſſary he ſhould advance to *Bordeaux*, to diſſolve the powerful Faction was form'd in that Province in favour of the Duke of *Mayenne*, which had ſufficiently diſcover'd it ſelf in the great Leavies, and Proviſions of War, that had there been made. In this Voyage the Duke had hopes of ſeeing his Majeſty at his houſe of *Cadillac*, and indeed the Duke of *Luines* had promis'd him he ſhould; a favour he ought ſo much the more to covet, as it would manifeſt to all the world his perfect reconciliation with the King his Maſter: So that he whom every

The Duke receives a promiſe of his Majeſties coming to his houſe at *Cadillac*.

Anno 1620. one the year before concluded utterly loſt in the Queen Mothers Affairs, ſeeing him now reſtor'd to a greater degree of reputation, and favour, than perhaps he had ever been, could not but admire his Conduct, and attribute as much to his Prudence, as his Fortune; which, it ſhould ſeem, had only ſtrew'd thoſe difficulties in his way, that they might by him be the more glorioufly overcome.

His Majeſty continuing his way through *Guienne*, took occaſion to call at *Blaye*; from whence he remov'd *Luſſan*, *Vicount de Aubeterre*, to recompenſe him with the ſtaff of a *Mareſchal* of *France*; placing *Brantes* (ſince Duke of *Luxembourg* in the right of his Wife) in his ſtead. Whilſt theſe things were in doing, the Duke of *Eſpernon* (who attended his Majeſty in this Voyage) took the opportunity to go prepare his houſe for his reception; wherein he order'd all things ſo admirably well, and with ſuch magnificence, that his Majeſty could hardly have been better entertain'd in any part of the Kingdom. The noble Furniture, wherewith this houſe did abound, was now all brought out: The Kings Apartment hung round with Hangings emboſs'd all over with Gold, as alſo ten Chambers more were furniſh'd with the ſame, to which the Beds of Cloth of Gold and Embroidery were richly ſuited; neither was the delicacy, rarity, or plenty of proviſions inferiour to this outward Pomp. All the Favourites Miniſters, and others of the greateſt quality at Court, were commodiouſly lodg'd in this ſtately Houſe, and the Proviſionary Officers there found what was not elſewhere to be ſeen in the Kingdom; which was a vaſt ſeries of Offices under ground, ſo large, and ſo well fitted with lights, that they were aſtoniſh'd at ſo prodigious an extent of Accommodations; which are indeed, if not the chiefeſt ornament, at leaſt the greateſt convenience of a Building.

Where he is magnificently entertain'd.

After his Majeſty had ſtaid two days at *Cadillac*, where his whole Court had been magnificently treated, he parted thence to continue his Journey towards *Bearne*. He was made to believe, that the Council of this little Countrey would think fit to ſubmit to his Royal pleaſure, without obliging him to perform that Voyage; to quicken which reſolution his Majeſty had paſs'd the River of *Garonne*, which, though when on the other ſide he was advanc'd no more than a League only beyond *Cadillac*, he thought nevertheleſs he had done a great deal in paſſing ſo great a River with an Army, and all the equipage of his Court. The Miniſters, who had a great averſion to this ugly journey, would have been very glad, that Affairs might have been concluded there without going any further: but in the end how averſe ſoever they were

The King departs from *Cadillac* to go into *Bearne*.

were to it, they muſt undergo the trouble. The King went thither, where his preſence produc'd the ſame effect it had done in other places; he overran all this little Province, ſeizing as he paſs'd of *Navarrens*, the ſtrongeſt place in it, as he did alſo of *Ortez*, and *Olleron*, principal Cities of that Countrey; he ſubverted all their ancient cuſtoms, reſtor'd the Biſhop, and other Eccleſiaſticks to their Eſtates, and Dignities; took away the adminiſtration of the Affairs of the Country from thoſe of the Reform'd Religion, and re-eſtabliſh'd his own Authority: but he left the Government of the Province in the hands of the Marquis *de la Force* ſince *Mareſchal* of *France*; who, impatient to ſee his Authority cut ſo ſhort by theſe alterations, could hardly forbear till the King was got back to *Paris*, from reducing things again to the ſame poſture they were in before. He was very confident that his Majeſty, who had already try'd the ill ways of *Bearne*, would never be adviſ'd by his Miniſters to undertake a ſecond Journey into that Countrey, for the reſettlement of his Affairs. He knew that the *Hugonot* Faction were ready to find his Majeſty enough to do nearer home, and did not believe, that without his immediate preſence they could compel him to any thing he had not a mind to in his own Government, where his Authority was eſtabliſh'd not only by a long habitude he had there contracted; but much more by a paſſionate concurrence of the whole Body, and of all the Orders of the Province, who agreed with him in the ſame Religion. He therefore labour'd all Winter to drive out the Garriſons of *Ortez*, and *Olleron*; ſo that excepting *Navarrens*, that was kept by the Marquis *de Poianne*, whom the King had left Governour there, he overthrew whatever his Majeſty had done, ſhuffling all things again into their former confuſion.

Anno 1620.

And reduces that Province to their obedience.

Which nevertheleſs continues but a ſhort ſpace.

The Duke of *Eſpernon* paſs'd away the ſame Winter in *Guienne*, and the greateſt part thereof in the County of *Eſparre*, which he had purchas'd from the Heirs of the late *Mareſchal de Matignon*, a Territory in truth of great beauty, and vaſt extent; though the Revenue was but ſmall, by reaſon the Eſtate was not well underſtood: to remedy which the Duke caus'd it to be ſurvey'd in his own preſence, a good husbandry, that was not unprofitable to him, though this Domeſtick advantage was not the only ſatisfaction he receiv'd in that Country.

In the beginning of the enſuing year he there receiv'd news of the promotion of the Archbiſhop of *Tholouze* his Son to the Dignity of a Cardinal: For as the refuſal of this favour had caus'd the former breach betwixt him, and the Duke *de Luines*, ſo did the Favourite conceive that the ſureſt tye by which he could bind

Anno 1621.

The Archbiſhop of *Tholouze*, made Cardinal.

Anno 1621. bind the Duke to his friendſhip, would be to procure him that Addition; wherein he was nothing deceiv'd, it being impoſſible he could any way oblige him more. The Duke look'd upon this, as the ſupreme height, and accompliſhment of all the proſperities he had left to deſire; he had already by his Merit, and Services, united a conſiderable number of the greateſt Honours, and braveſt Commands of the Kingdom in his own perſon, which he had moreover procur'd in ſurvivance for his Poſterity: ſo that nothing remain'd to render him fully ſatisfied with his Fortune, ſave only to obtain one of the chiefeſt Dignities of the Church for him he had deſign'd to that profeſſion.

The Duke's expedition into *Bearne*.

Yet was not this the ſole teſtimony of favour, the Duke receiv'd by this reconciliation with the Court Mignion; who being at a loſs for ſome perſon of great Quality, and Reputation to reduce *Bearne* (which the Marquis *de la Force* had excited to new Commotions) to their Duty, and Obedience, and caſting his eye upon the Duke of *Eſpernon*, as a diſintereſted perſon, and capable of the greateſt undertaking, he propos'd him to the King for this employment; who well approving of his choice, the charge of this expedition (wherein his Majeſty ſeem'd more than ordinarily concern'd) was forthwith committed to his care.

The Duke receives his Commiſſion.

Neither, if his Majeſty conferr'd herein a ſignal honour upon the Duke, can it be deny'd, but that he made as fortunate a choice for himſelf, and for the advantage of his Affairs. The Duke receiv'd his Order at *Cadillac* by *la Salndie*, which was only in paper, without any aſſignation either of men, or money, wherewithal to begin the work, but a great clutter of Commiſſions, and diſpatches only; ſo that the whole weight of the King's deſign lean'd abſolutely upon his Intereſt and Wiſdom; which it was happy were ſo conſiderable, things had not elſe ſucceeded as they did: but the Duke had ſo great a deſire to confirm the King in the good opinion he had already entertain'd of his Loyal Intentions, that there was nothing he would not attempt, to let his Majeſty ſee, he was neither unworthy of this preſent Favour, nor unmindful of his former Grace, and Goodneſs.

Having therefore wiſely conſider'd, that diligence muſt ſtrike the greateſt ſtroke in this Affair, and that ſhould he give the Marquis *de la Force* leiſure to gather together the Forces of the *Hugonot* Faction, who were already preparing to joyn in their common defenſe, he ſhould engage himſelf in a long, and difficult War; he departed from *Cadillac* ſix days after he had receiv'd the King's Command. The firſt day (accompanied only with the Servants of his own Family) he went to lie at *Langon*, another of his own

The Duke begins his Journey.

Demeaſnes,

Demeaſnes, from whence he proceeded without ſtay as far as *Mont de Marſan*, where he had appointed the Rendezvous for thoſe he had invited to ſerve his Majeſty upon this occaſion. He had before he departed from his own houſe writ to divers perſons in *Guienne*, and in his own Governments of *Xaintonge*, and *Angoumois* to joyn with him; of which ſo few fail'd to come in, that at the Rendezvous, a handſomer, nor a more numerous body of Gentlemen Volunteers to follow a Subject, and ſerving out of his own Government, has hardly been ſeen: Inſomuch that I have heard the Quarter-Maſters ſay they had in their Muſter-Roll at leaſt fourteen hundred Gentlemen: by which it may be gueſs'd, what a number of Attendants ſo many Maſters muſt neceſſarily bring in with them. But that which is moſt remarkable herein, is, that moſt of theſe were of *Guienne*, where the Duke had nothing to do, and liv'd only in the quality of a private perſon; and that though the Duke of *Mayenne* (who could not without an eye of Envy ſee ſo many Forces drawn out of his Government to ſerve under any other than himſelf) did (it may be imagin'd) all he could to diſſwade people from going in; the conflux was nevertheleſs ſo great, that it ſeem'd the Province had ſent all the brave Gentlemen it could make to attend the Duke in this expedition.

Anno 1621.

A great number of Gentlemen come in to follow the Duke of *Eſpernon* in this expedition.

And theſe were indeed almoſt all the Forces he had; neither had he ſo many Foot, as Gentlemen in his Army: 'Tis true that Camp-Maſter *Vignoles*, who commanded ſome Troops in *Guienne*, had orders to bring them over to him; and that himſelf (as has been ſaid) had Commiſſions in his hands, for the raiſing new Leavies; but his diligence ſupply'd the place of a good Army, by which he alſo effected more, than he could have done with greater preparations: all the other Forces he made uſe of, being only ten Companies of the Regiment of *Picardy*, that he found Quarter'd about *Ortez*: ſo that it is no leſs to be wonder'd at he ſhould undertake ſo hard a task, with ſo ſmall means to effect it, than that he did ſo glorioufly bring about his deſign.

The Marquis *de la Force* no ſooner had intelligence that the Duke was coming againſt him, but that (ſurpriz'd to have an Enemy of his experience to deal withal, and much more at the diligence wherewith he ſaw him haſten to execute his Commiſſion, by which he alſo ſaw his deſigns would be overthrown) he ſent the Baron of *Arros*, "To entreat him not to be too precipi-
"tous in the execution of the King's Commands, and to remon-
"ſtrate to him, that he was ready to do whatever his Majeſty
"ſhould pleaſe to appoint: That he had already ſent a diſpatch
"to the King to that effect, and that he hop'd the Court would be

The Marquis *de la Force* ſends to divert the Duke from coming into *Bearne*.

Anno 1621.

" be ſo ſatisfied with his ſubmiſſions, as to ſpare him the trouble " of a tedious Journey, his friends a great deal of inconvenience, " and the people the diſturbance, and oppreſſion a War muſt of " neceſſity bring upon them; adding withal the ancient friend- " ſhip, and alliance betwixt them: To which the Duke (who was already advanc'd far on his way) return'd anſwer: " That " having undertaken that Voyage upon no other accompt than " his Majeſties command, he ſhould be very ready to return upon " the firſt orders he ſhould receive: That except what concern'd " the intereſt of his Majeſties Service, he was *Monſieur de la Force's* " Friend, and Servant: That he had not ſought that employ- " ment againſt him, and that he ſhould be exceeding glad to hear " his Majeſty was ſatisfied with his ſubmiſſions: But that till then " he ſhould not delay a minute the execution of the Orders he had " receiv'd; no conſideration either of his own, his friends, or " any other perſon under the Sun, being of force to divert him in the leaſt from his Duty.

This firſt Embaſſy having therefore taken no effect, it was ſoon ſeconded by another, of which one *Charles* the principal Miniſter of *Bearne* was the Bearer. " This perſon, in the quality of a " Deputy from the Countrey, was ſent to repreſent to him the " ſterility of the Countrey, the poverty of the Inhabitants, and " difficulty of the ways, and the reſolution of the people to make " a ſmart reſiſtance, ſhould they (who were at preſent in as good " a diſpoſition as could be deſir'd) be urg'd to the laſt extremes: " but the Duke having flatly told him, that the end of his expe- " dition was to cauſe the King to be obey'd, and to chaſtiſe all " thoſe that ſhould rebel againſt him: He was ſent back very much aſtoniſh'd at ſo briſk a reply.

The Marquis *de la Force* that perhaps expected no better a ſucceſs from his deputations (having been well enough acquainted with the Duke of *Eſpernon*, to know he was not a man eaſie to be impos'd upon) would therefore make what preparation he could to oppoſe him: but he found ſo general a fear, and aſtoniſhment among the people, that he evidently ſaw it was to hazard his own ruine, ſhould he expect the Duke's coming into his Government. The *Bearnois* had no ſooner heard the Duke's name, but that they gave themſelves for loſt; their haughty, and declar'd inſolence, with which they had a few days before overthrown the King's Order, and trodden his Authority under foot, and their high Vaunts, that they would defend their Religion, and their Countreys liberty to the laſt man, were converted into a Panick terror; ſo that on a ſudden whole Cities were left deſolate,

The ſudden terror of the *Bearnois*.

men

men of the beſt quality among them, with their Wives, and Families, ſeeking their ſafety in their flight, out of a juſt apprehenſion of all the puniſhments an offended Prince might reaſonably inflict upon a mutinous, and diſobedient people. *Anno* 1621.

In this general conſternation of the *Bearnois* the Duke drew near to *Ortez*, the firſt City in Rebellion he met upon his way; the Caſtle whereof was of it ſelf very ſtrong, and had of late been moreover fortified, and furniſh'd with all neceſſaries of War, which alſo ſhut up the paſs of the whole Countrey, and was of ſo advantageous a ſituation, as was very eaſie to be defended: but thoſe within, what countenance ſoever they had before put on of a reſolute defenſe, no ſooner heard the Duke had ſent for Cannon from *Navarrens* to force them, but they preſently ſurrendred without ſtaying till they could be brought up. As alſo of the Souldiery.

This ſucceſs was of no little importance to the Duke, who, had he met with much oppoſition in this firſt enterprize, having but ten Foot Companies wherewith to form a Siege, no Officers to ſerve his Artillery, little Ammunition, no Victual, Money, or any other means to ſubſiſt four days in a place; had been in great danger of being ſtop'd from making any further progreſs into the Countrey. All which difficulties though he had beforehand very well conſider'd, and foreſeen, he would notwithſtanding try the experiment, knowing very well, that in matters of War, all was not always to be expected from an enemy, he either could, or ſhould do. And from this ſucceſs he took his meaſures of what he might promiſe to himſelf in reducing the other Garriſons; nothing doubting from that time forwards, but he ſhould bring all his other enterprizes to an honourable and ſucceſsful iſſue.

As the buſineſs of *Ortez* had given the Duke very good hopes of his expedition, ſo it totally overthrew thoſe of the Marquis *de la Force*, who no ſooner had intelligence of the ſurrender of this place, but that he made haſte to be gone, that he might not be hemm'd in with the Duke's Forces; whilſt the Duke on the other ſide, to make his advantage of the aſtoniſhment the Marquis his flight muſt of neceſſity leave the whole Country in, advanc'd with all diligence from *Ortez* to *Olleron*, where ſome fortifications had lately been made, which were alſo at his appearing deſerted, without the leaſt ſhew of oppoſition. An unfortunate fellow, a Souldier, and a Provençal, had been the main director in this work, where he ſuffred himſelf to be ſurpriz'd; ſo that the Duke, who was oblig'd to make ſome example, was not ſorry this wretch ſhould expiate for all the reſt, as accordingly he did, being condemn'd by a Council of War, and hang'd at his

Anno 1621. his own Barricado, where the poor fellow at his death lamented the ill fortune he had to be born a *Provençal*; declaring he was sacrific'd to the Duke's antiquated hatred to those of his Countrey, and that his Birth was his greatest Crime, though it was nevertheless altogether untrue.

The Duke quiets *Bearne* in a very short time.

After this there being neither judgment to be pass'd, nor execution to be done, the Duke went to *Nay*, to *Salies*, to *Sauveterre*, and lastly to *Pau*; where the fear of his severity, that had before frighted every one from his habitation, being converted into an absolute confidence in his Clemency, and Goodness, every one return'd to his own home. The Cities, which at his coming had been almost totally deserted, were on a sudden re inhabited; insomuch that from that time forward all the Duke had to do, was only to receive the tenders, and protestations of their obedience, and to set down some Rules for their Civil Regiment; which was order'd with so much Justice, and Wisdom, or so fortunately at least, the equality of all things was so entirely preserv'd, and he took such care to reconcile the Interests of Religion (wherein the incompatibility had been so great before, and had with so much heat fomented their divisions) that both parties were satisfied with the equal shares he divided betwixt them in the publick administration; since which time there has been no revolt, nor commotion in that Province, it having ever since continued in peace and obedience, under the Justice of the Duke's Discipline, which is there inviolately observ'd to this day.

And at very little expense.

And all this was perform'd in less than three weeks time, his Journey thither, his stay there, and his return thence; being in all not two months expedition; neither did it cost the King twelve thousand Livers, I having seen the Accompt of the Army, which did not in all arise to that little summe. 'Tis true withal that the Duke reckon'd nothing upon his own account, contenting himself with causing some Officers to be paid, that at his instance had serv'd upon this occasion. So that, by the influence of his own name only, he so settled this Province in his Majesties obedience, that it is at this time, however the most remote, perhaps the most quiet, and obedient Member of his Kingdom.

A generous act of the Duke of *Espernon*.

If the Duke was careful to keep his own hands clean, in what concern'd the King's Interest, he was no less solicitous to keep others from embezzeling the Marquis *de la Force*'s Goods; who had fled from *Pau* in so great haste, that he had left his Wardrobe, Cabinets, and Papers at random; of all which the Duke took care to have an inventory taken, leaving them safe, seal'd up in the custody of a person in whom he knew the Marquis repos'd an entire

tire truſt: Which being done, he return'd loaden with glory, and applauſe; but nothing enrich'd, either with the King's Money, or the Eſtates of the people, not ſo much as of any of thoſe his Majeſty had declar'd to be his enemies, and conſequently were lawful prey. *Anno* 1621.

His Majeſty thought the Duke to be moſt buſie in the Affairs of *Bearne*, when he receiv'd news, that he had already done his work, and was about to return. Neither could the Duke, knowing his Majeſty was already grappled with thoſe of the Religion, and had laid Siege to St. *Jean d' Angely*, take any reſt, till he had travell'd from the remoteſt part of the Kingdom, to expoſe his life for his Service, in thoſe occaſions wherein he ſaw his Majeſties Perſon, and Honour ſo far engag'd: The Leaguer had been near a month ſet down, when the Duke arriv'd, and the King's Forces were ſo much cool'd in their firſt ardour, that in all apparence the enterprize was not over-ſuddenly to be effected; when the Duke's arrival very much chang'd the face of Affairs: Nor do I add this to attribute any thing to him, that is not juſtly his due; he has ſo much honour beſides, I do not need to forge ſo ſmall an addition to his Fame: neither on the other ſide, the thing being perfectly true, ought he to be depriv'd of any particle of his right. The Duke of *Eſpernon* returns out of *Bearne*, to the Siege of *St. Jean de Angely*.

The Duke having at his arrival receiv'd from the King the applauſe due to his conduct in this expedition of *Bearne*, and a Declaration from his own mouth of his Majeſties high ſatisfaction, whereof he had before receiv'd very favourable teſtimonies in the ſeveral diſpatches had been ſent him: He humbly entreated his Majeſty, that he might for the future have the honour to ſerve in his own Army, and attending upon his own Perſon; and that he would further be pleas'd, wherein his Majeſty ſhould vouchſafe to employ his Service, that he might have the priviledge to receive his Commands immediately from his own mouth: a favour that he eaſily obtain'd. Now the reaſon why the Duke made this requeſt, was, becauſe a little before the Kings departure from *Paris*, the Duke *de Luines* (as Favourite, not being ſatisfied with his Fortune, unleſs he rais'd it above all the other great men of the Kingdom) had made ſuit to be honour'd with the Dignity of Conſtable of *France*: to arrive at which degree (which he might well foreſee would create him much envy) having had occaſion to make uſe of the Duke *de l' Eſdiguieres*, he would manifeſt his Gratitude for the good Offices he had receiv'd at his hands upon that occaſion, by dividing with him the Employments of this brave Command; wherein reſerving to himſelf the honour The King's great favour and juſtice to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, at his return from his expedition of *Bearne*.

Anno 1621. and emoluments of the place: The Duke *de l' Esdiguieres*, under the Title of *Mareschal General de Camp*, executed all the Functions, and trouble of it. The Duke of *Espernon* therefore, finding at his coming to this Siege so many Commanders in Chief, represented to his Majesty: "That since he had first had the honour to be in "Armies, he had never been commanded by any but the Kings his "Masters, nor had ever receiv'd Orders, but from them: That "therefore in the age he now was, he should be very froward, "and refractory, to lose that advantage, and to be subjected to "the *Mareschal de l' Esdiguieres*, whose worth, though he had in "high honour and esteem, he believ'd nevertheless, that the *Ma-* "*reschal* himself would not pretend to be above him: That he "was both an older General, an older Officer of the Crown, and "of much longer standing, than the other, in all the Dignities to "which they had both been advanc'd; and that therefore he as- "sur'd himself his Majesty would not deprive him of a preemi- "nence due to his age, whereunto the Kings his Predecessors had "rais'd him, and wherein they had so long maintain'd him, which "was the only thing he had to desire of his Majesty, that he "might live satisfied in his Service. Neither did the King stick franckly to gratifie him in his request, which was also allowed to be so reasonable by all, that even those whose interest it had been to dispute it, chearfully acquiesc'd in his design.

After this the Duke going to view the Leaguer, he especially staid at that Post, where the Marquis *de la Valette* his Son (who had one of the approaches committed to his Conduct) commanded in Chief, and where not being able to contain himself within the discretion of a Superficial Survey, the present danger calling up his wonted Valour, and the frost of old Age, not being of force to freeze his natural heat, he had no sooner spy'd in the Trenches one of the eldest Captains of the Regiment of Guards, but that calling him to him, he made him mount with him upon the Parapet, at open view of the Enemy, to consider the strength, and situation of the place, with the order of the Siege. Those who were with him, were not a little troubled to see him without any necessity expose himself to so manifest a peril; neither did they fail (though they from the Town sufficiently shew'd him that, by the numerous Musquet-shot they made at him) to represent to him several times the danger he was in: but he, taking no notice of them that press'd him in vain to retire, continued still his discourse with the Captain, shewing him here and there what he observ'd to be well, or ill dispos'd in the order of the Leaguer, with as much indifferency, as he had been in the securest place in the

the world: a piece of bravery, 'tis ſaid, the old Souldier could have been well content to have been excus'd from; it being, as he conceiv'd, very much out of ſeaſon: when the Duke having told him in the end, that it was fit they ſhould let the young people ſee, their white Beards were not to be frighted away with noiſe, he came down at laſt, to the aſtoniſhment of all in the Trenches, who ſaw the action, that he could carry it with that unconcernedneſs, and ſtrange ſecurity, in ſo deſperate a place. *Anno* 1621.

The Duke of *Eſpernon* applyes himſelf to the Siege.

The Duke, having thus taken a view of the Town, gave himſelf inſtructions for their further proceeding in their Works; which the Marquis his Son executed with ſo extraordinary diligence, that they had ſoon made their approaches to the very graff of the City, and had nothing left to do, but to open their Trench. We were in thoſe times very raw in Sieges, and the way of opening a Trench was ſo new, that very few knew which way to go about that kind of Service; wherein the Duke highly manifeſted his courage and experience, and to ſuch a degree, that all the reſt, who had hitherto had the ordering of the Siege, ſeem'd only Spectators of his conduct, all the other works either totally ceaſing, or being but negligently carried on, and his only going forward; as indeed it was on that part that the Town was taken.

Having therefore ſet a time for the opening the Trench, which was St. *John*'s Eve, the Duke went that morning very early to the Trenches; and having the night before prepar'd all things ready for his deſign, and amongſt other things given order to the Officers of the Artillery, to play their Cannon by break of day to beat down the defenſes of the City, he was by the noiſe of this Battery call'd up from his Quarters. The Enemy on the other ſide, having intelligence of what was intended againſt them, had prepar'd to make a reſolute reſiſtance; ſo that though the Cannon, which, from two Batteries rais'd upon the very edge of the Graffe, had in two hours time by near upon five hundred ſhot made great ruines in the Walls, yet had they not prevail'd ſo far, but there were ſtill two Flanckers remaining, which cut the Duke off a great many very worthy men, as well of his own Domeſtick Servants, as others his very particular Friends. The Marquis *de la Valette* (who ſhar'd with his Father in the glory of this action) was at the opening this Trench wounded by a Muſquet-ſhot which broke his ankle bone all in pieces: *Carbonnié* Captain of the Guard to the late Duke *de Biron*, a man of great Valour, and a particular Servant of the Duke's by a Muſquet-ſhot in the head was there ſlain: *Brignemont* the Gentleman of the Duke's Horſe, and Brother to the *Count de Maillé*, receiv'd another in his thigh,

The Marquis *de la Valette*, receives a Muſquet-ſhot before *St. Jean d'Angely*.

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of which he died a few hours after; as also many others were either slain out-right, or dangerously wounded: which happned by an inconvenience for which there was no remedy, which was, that the Graffe of the City being exceeding deep, the Trench could not be carried on so low, but that they were necessitated to leap from a great height into it; by which means most of those, who had thrown themselves into that danger, receiv'd this disadvantage, before the Ditch could be fill'd up with Bavins: but how great soever the danger was, the Duke never stirr'd from the mouth of the Trench, but stood open, and expos'd, and in his Doublet only, till he had seen the Quarter made, which by *l' Encheres*, and *le Roc* two Aides *de Camp*, was at last brought to perfection; the last of which was slain in the attempt, the other came more happily off, though it was only soon after in a very handsome action, to meet the same misfortune. The day after, the Duke having renewed his Batteries, and by them made the two Flanckers useless, which rendred that Post very unsafe; the besieg'd fell into so great a fear, that seeing our men already lodg'd at the foot of their Walls, and that the Miners were about to sappe, they sued to be admitted to Capitulation, attributing by common consent the whole honour of the Siege to the Duke of *Espernon*, as indeed by his conduct it was evidently two months advanc'd.

St. Jean de Angely surrendred.

For the rest, as the Duke had most contributed to the reducing this place, or because it was a member of his Government, or that his Authority was more absolute with the Souldier than any of the rest, or out of deference to his Command as Colonel, or out of the respect his age, and merit had acquir'd him above all others: upon some, or all these considerations it was so order'd, that he himself was the first man that enter'd into the Town. And happy it was for that poor City he did so; for some *French* and *Swisse* Foot, having got over the ruines of the Breach (whilst those within were intent about letting such as were appointed to enter into the Gates) were already upon the spoil, and principally busie about plundering the Ministers house, which the Duke having notice of, he ran himself immediately to the place, where he caus'd all that had been taken away to be restor'd, drave away the rest from the other houses, and set all things in order; a care in him whereof I was a witness, and without which the King had had the dishonour to have seen his faith violated before his own eyes: but the Duke by this action made it plain, that if he knew how to conquer, he knew as well how to provide for the safety of those he had overcome.

The Duke of *Espernon* preserves the Town of *St. Jean de Angely* from being sack'd by the Souldier.

All

All the Commotions of those of the Religion having taken birth from the *Rochellers* obstinacy to continue the Assembly they had called together in their City, in defiance of the King's expres Command, and that they still continued to uphold to the prejudice of his Royal Authority; his Majesties Council conceiv'd it more than a little concern'd his reputation, to make this mutinous people feel the smart, their contumacy, and disobedience had so highly deserv'd. The ill example of this City had so corrupted the other parts of the Kingdom, and had begot so many disturbances to the publick peace, as had necessitated his Majesty in his own person to run up and down to so many several places to suppress them, that in the beginning he could never be at leisure to sit down before *Rochelle*, the living source of all those mischiefs; as he did some years after, and that with a success posterity will hereafter look upon, as a prodigy of Fortune, and Conduct. But for an undertaking of that difficulty, and importance, it was necessary his Majesty should make choice of some Subject of great Valour, and approv'd Fidelity, and such a one as could no way be suspected to have intelligence, either with the *Rochellers* themselves, or any others of their party: qualities that appear'd so eminent in the person of the Duke of *Espernon*, as that they seem'd to be in him united to no other end, than to point him out for this Employment. To which may be added, that as being Governour of the Country of *Aulnis*, where *Rochelle* stood, as also of the bordering Provinces of *Xaintonge*, and *Angoumois*; he could for a need upon the single accompt of his own Interest, and Authority, draw so great Forces from those places to his assistance, that his Majesty should not in the least be necessitated to slacken the vigour and progress of his other Victories, for any accident that could happen on that side.

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The Duke of *Espernon's* employment before *Rochelle.*

Upon these considerations his Majesty resolv'd to confer upon him the Command of the Army before *Rochelle*, the dispatches whereof were Sign'd at *Cognac* the 4th of *July*, and at the end of the same month, the Duke presented himself before *Rochelle*; so diligent he was in the execution of his Charge. He had only four thousand Foot, and six hundred Horse, wherewithal to block up this great City, whereof the Regiment of *Estissac* (which soon after fell to the *Count de Bury*) of the old, but one of the least of the old Regiments, was one; the others were all new rais'd men, and commanded by *le Chevalier de la Valette*, *Chasteliers*, *Barlot*, *Castelbayart*, and *Saint Geme*. The Horse were indeed exceeding sprightly, and good, and those compos'd of the Company of the Queens *Gens d' Armes*, commanded by the Baron *de Chantal*.

The Duke receives the command of the Army at *Cognac.*

of

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of that of the Camp-Master to the Light-Horse, commanded by *Viantais*, of the Company of the Duke's *Gens-d' Armes*, and some other very good Troops. He had for *Mareschaux de Camp*, *d' Auriac* Cousin to the Duke *de l' Esdiguieres*, a Gentleman of great valour and experience, *Biron* Brother to the late *Mareschal* of *France*, *Sauvebœuf*, and *le Massé*, Lieutenant to the Company of *Gens-d' Armes*.

He obtains of the King *Monsieur d' Autry* now Chancellor of *France*, for *Intendant de Justice* in this expedition.

The Duke finding he should stand in great need of an *Intendant de Justice* to ease him in part of the trouble, and care of his command, he cast his eye upon *Monsieur de Autry*, Nephew to President *Seguier* his very intimate friend, for that purpose, whom he recommended to the King, passionately beseeching his Majesty to invest him with that Employment: a person that we have since seen rais'd to the supreme Dignity of Chancellor of *France*; an Office that he does at this day discharge with so unblemish'd a repute, as is nothing inferiour to the greatest men of those who have preceded him in that charge; though at this time he had been but lately admitted into the Council in the quality of Master of Requests. He had not long continued with the Duke, before he gave as favourable a Character of his worth, and merit, as could possibly belong to a man of his condition, judging him thence forward worthy, and capable of all the great preferments a man of his Robe, and Profession, could reasonably expect, or pretend unto.

So soon as the Troops appointed for this Service could be drawn together, the Duke appointed the Rendezvous to be about *Surgeres*, a house belonging to the Baron *de Montendre*, which he took up for his own Quarter, and, without giving the Enemy further respite, brought them two days after before the City, to try if the *Rochellers*, who had had time enough to prepare themselves, would be so brave, as to receive him in the Field; though they contented themselves with bestowing upon him some Volleys of their great shot only (which did no body any hurt at all) without once offering to stir out of their Walls. At his return from this little piece of bravery, the Duke came to take up his Quarters in two great Burroughs, a quarter of a League distant from one another, whereof that he made choice of for his own Post was called *la Jarrie*, and the other *Croix-Chapeau*, where he dispos'd the rest of his Army (as eldest Camp-Master) under the command of *d' Auriac*. The distance of the Quarters from the City was a League, or thereabouts, far enough to discover the Enemy a great way, should he attempt to disturb him, and not so far neither as to leave him too much liberty of the Field.

The Duke of *Espernon* takes up his Quarters before *Rochelle*.

Having

Having thus ſettled his Quarters, he began to plant Garriſons upon all the Avenues of the City, as well to keep the Enemy in, as alſo to cut off from them all Commerce with the adjacent Countrey: In ſuch places as he found either Caſtles, or Churches he lodg'd them there, making ſhift elſewhere with Mills, and private houſes. Which Garriſons in ſome places conſiſted of an hundred, in others of fifty men: but ſcarce any above an hundred. To theſe he gave particular inſtructions to take eſpecial notice of all things within the obſervation of their own Quarter; to ſtop all ſuch as would either offer to go into, or come out of the City; and to hinder the Enemy from gathering in their Harveſts of Corn and Wine. The Foot being thus order'd, he caus'd the third part of the Cavalry to mount every day to Horſe to ſcour the Field, even to the very Gates of *Rochelle*: So that ſhould any thing by chance paſs by the Foot, it was almoſt impoſſible to eſcape the Horſe: by which means thoſe few Forces being carefully provided for, and ſo advantageouſly quarter'd, did in a few months ſo incommodate the *Rochellers*, that they found themſelves abſolutely depriv'd of all manner of Relief by Land; inſomuch that had any Shipping at the ſame time been employ'd to block up the Channel, they could not, without all doubt, long have wreſtled with thoſe neceſſities they muſt have apparently fallen into: but this was a Victory too glorious to be reſerv'd for any other than the King himſelf. *Anno* 1621.

Of all theſe little Garriſons (which (though they had drawn no lines of Communication) made ſhift nevertheleſs to make up the Circumvallation of the City) there was never any one forc'd by the Enemy: 'tis very true that they had attempted upon ſome of them, both by day, and by night: but the Duke having ever been ſeaſonably alarm'd, alwayes came in time enough to relieve his own men, and to make the Enemy with loſs to retire: Loſſes that were at laſt ſo frequent, and conſiderable, as that it is moſt certain they loſt in ſeveral engagements, betwixt twelve, and fifteen hundred men: Whereof ſome of thoſe Skirmiſhes had been ſo brisk, as that therein ſometimes two, ſometimes three hundred men were left dead upon the place; beſides a great number of Citizens, and Officers of note taken Priſoners, whoſe Ranſomes were very conſiderable.

The Duke every week duly twice, ſometimes thrice mounted on horſeback in his own perſon to viſit his Quarters; which could not be done, without coming very near the Town: and this commendation is due to the *Rochellers*, that they never ſaw the Duke's Horſe approach their City, without ſallying out to Skir-

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Skirmish: but it is also as true, that they never return'd with the least advantage.

They were sometimes so bold, as to attempt upon the Duke's own Quarters; but they were no more fortunate in assaulting, than when they were themselves assaulted. I shall not undertake a Narrative of all the several actions that pass'd in the beginning of this Siege, though very remarkable in themselues; forasmuch as they did not determine the business: There was one great engagement at *la Moulinette*, another at *la Font*, another at *Tadon*, and so many others that the Duke, and the Marquis *de la Valette* his Son (who alwayes made one upon all occasions) ran very often very great hazard of their lives. The first whereof had the brims of his Hat bor'd through with a Musquet-shot in one Encounter, and the truncheon he carried in his hand broke all to pieces with another Musquet-shot in another; the Marquis had one of his Stirrop-leathers carried away, and his Horse kill'd under him with such another shot: but the Enemy having in these Skirmishes lost a great number of their best men, and many of their Citizens (a loss at which they were more concern'd, than for theGentlemen of the best quality of their party) they at last resolv'd to make no more Sallies, contenting themselves for the future, with defending the circuit of their own Walls, and preserving their City from the practices and intelligence the Duke maintain'd with some of the Inhabitants; which was gone so far, that those he had dealt withal, were upon the point to deliver him up one of the Gates of the City; when upon several conjectures, the Magistrates having found out the truth at last, they expos'd the parties (whom they call'd Traytors) to the violence of the people, by whom they were all torn to pieces.

Several actions before *Rochelle*, betwixt the Duke of *Espernon*, and the besieged.

After the *Rochellers* had taken a resolution no more to hazard their Forces in the Field, some active spirits in the City impatient of lying idle, and immur'd, laid several designs to go further off to make trial of their Valour: amongst whom *la Noüe* was one of the first, and most eager, though not the most fortunate in the execution of his design. This Gentleman upon the intelligence he had receiv'd, that the *Count de la Rochefoucault* was parted from his Government of *Poictou*, on purpose to come visit the Duke at *la Jarrie*, had laid himself in ambush in the Forest of *Benon* to surprize him; but the Duke advertiz'd of his March by the Countrey people (who (to preserve their Houses from firing, and themselves from punishment) never fail'd diligently to inform of whatever they could discover of the Enemies designs) sending out his Company of *Gens-d' Armes*, took *la Noüe* in his own Ambuscado

buſcado; where, after he had made all the reſiſtance could be expected from a very gallant man, he was at laſt conſtrain'd to give way to his ill fortune, and to yield. He was therefore brought priſoner to the Duke, who for ſome time entertain'd him in his Camp with all imaginable civility; giving him leave moreover upon his parole to go ſee his Mother in *Poictou*: of which the King being inform'd, his Majeſty gave the Duke to underſtand he was infinitely diſſatisfied with that favourable proceeding towards a man, by whom he had been ſo often, and ſo highly offended; commanding withal that he ſhould forthwith ſend him to the Priſon belonging to the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, that he might there be brought to his Trial. *La Noüe* in the mean time had ſurrendred his perſon to the Duke to diſingage his word; whom the Duke (who could now no longer allow him the liberty of his Camp) ſent away by two of his Guard to the Caſtle of *Angouleſme*. *La Noüe* in this condition, and advertis'd of the expreſs and reiterated Orders the King had ſent to the Duke, to uſe him no longer as a priſoner of War, but as a Criminal, and a Rebel, began to apprehend he ſhould at laſt be deliver'd up into the hands of Juſtice indeed: and conſequently thence forward began to think of making his eſcape; as in the end, either through the negligence, or connivance of his Keepers he did; by that means delivering the Duke from the perplexity he was in, either of offending the King by inſiſting too long againſt his Majeſties pleaſure for this Gentlemans preſervation, or of giving his conſent and aſſiſtance to the ruine of a man of his condition, which he could very hardly have ever perſwaded himſelf to do. *Anno* 1621.

Whilſt the Duke lay before this place, he had ſeveral propoſitions made to him, about the ſhutting up of the Haven; for ſuch of his Majeſties Veſſels as were commanded to lie in the mouth of this Channel, finding they were not able to hinder the entrance into it to any that had a mind to go in; ſome other way was to be try'd to deprive the beſieg'd of the benefit of this Paſs. *Pompeo Targone* therefore, an *Italian* Engineer of great repute, and that had long ſerv'd in the King of *Spain*'s Armies in *Flanders*, was ſent to view the diſpoſition of the place, and to conſider of the means by which the Port was to be rendred uſeleſs: In order whereunto having long conſider'd the nature of the Channel, he propounded at laſt a Machine, which was an *Eſtacade*, or kind of floating Fort; though the Duke could never reliſh that propoſition, always diſputing it muſt be ſome ſolid body that could block up the mouth of this Harbour, and demonſtrating withal which way it was to be done: The very ſame in truth they were

The firſt propoſitions that were made to the Duke for the blocking up the Harbour of *Rochelle*.

Anno 1621. at last fain to resolve upon, after having made a vain and fruitless trial of all the rest. I have yet by me a Copy of what he afterwards writ to the Duke of *Angoulesme* upon this very subject, when that Duke commanded before the place: So that I may confidently say, the Duke of *Espernon*, what by his own proper Forces (as in his first expedition before *Rochelle*) what by his conduct of the King's (as upon this occasion) and what by his advice (as we shall hereafter see) did no little contribute to the glorious reducement of this place.

The surprizal of the Isle of *Maron* by the Duke of *Espernon*.

The Duke did yet another thing before he quitted his Command, which was not a little conducing to this great success. The Isle of *Maran* was of so great importance to the execution of this Enterprize, that it has ever been thought, whilst the *Rochellers* should have it at their dispose, a thing almost impossible to take that City, by reason of the communication this Island gave them with *Poictou*, from whence they might at great ease, and without any impediment at all, supply themselves at any time, with all sorts of Relief. The *Baron de Chandolan*, a man of great quality, and merit, who at this time shew'd himself very affectionate to the King's Service, was Governour of this Isle, but he was notwithstanding of the *Rochellers* Religion: so that the fidelity of a man, who having Religion for his pretense might, whenever he pleas'd, and without any blemish to his reputation, separate himself from his Majesties interest, was not in reason altogether to be rely'd upon; and the Duke also fear'd lest he might be perswaded into a thing he might do with great security, and almost without reproach. He therefore took up a resolution to possess himself of this Isle, to prevent any inconvenience for the time to come; and having receiv'd his Majesties command to do it by the best means he could contrive, he rose from his Quarters one of the coldest nights in Winter; a time when all the Ditches of the Island were frozen up, and which the Duke therefore chose, as it rendred his access more easie for the execution of his design. He therefore commanded some Foot Companies to steal over silently, and by single Files, who that very night possess'd themselves of all the Avenues; and in the morning, having caus'd the Ice to be broken, that he might himself pass over with his Horse, he made himself Master of the Island without the least opposition: an action that nevertheless he undertook with great reluctancy, so great an affection and esteem he had for the Governour: but his Duty ever carried it with him above all considerations. The *Chevalier de Valette* was therefore establish'd in this Isle, and very opportunely; for had not the Duke taken this course, and that the *Rochellers*

who

who had a deſign to ſeize it, had once got footing there, great force, and vaſt expenſe muſt have been employ'd to remove them: but the Duke by this foreſight ſav'd the King that charge, and labour. *Anno* 1621.

Certainly never was War carried on at greater convenience for the Souldier, than in this Countrey, which by its ſituation, and vicinity to the Provinces of *Poictou*, *Xaintonge*, and *Angoumois*, lay ſo exceeding conveniently for the bringing in of all ſorts of Proviſion, and other neceſſaries, that they were ſcarce to be had in greater abundance, or at cheaper rates in the beſt Cities of the Kingdom, than they were in the Camp continually to be ſold; as alſo the people came in with their commodities with as great confidence, and ſecurity, as to the publick and ordinary Markets: and they might do ſo, the leaſt violence to any Higler, Sutler, or other Proviſionary Perſon, being a crime ſo capital, as never eſcap'd unpuniſh'd. By which we may judge how much the continuation of our civil diſſentions has impair'd the flouriſhing condition the Kingdom was then in, and how much the conſtitution of War by being grown older, is alter'd from what it us'd to be in thoſe better times.

Whilſt the Duke thus bravely acquitted himſelf of his Command before *Rochelle*, his Majeſty had alſo with extraordinary vigour proſecuted his deſigns in *Guienne*; where he had compell'd moſt of the places poſſeſs'd by thoſe of the Religion in that Province to ſubmit to his Authority and Power. Of which he had reduc'd *Bergerac*, *Saint Foy*, *Puimirol*, *Tournon*, *Monflanquin*, with ſeveral others; beſieg'd, and taken *Clerac*, and at laſt laid Siege to *Montauban*, though herein he had not been ſo ſucceſsful, as in his other enterprizes: ſo that the year ending with this variety of Events, his Majeſty was conſtrain'd to return to *Paris*, to let the ſtormy quarter blow over, that he might in a more favourable ſeaſon recommence the interrupted progreſs of his Arms. The King's exploits in *Guienne*.

In his Majeſties return to *Paris*, a little paltry place ſituated upon the banks of the River *Garonne*, call'd *Monhurt*, had the impudence to ſtand out againſt the Royal Army; an inſolence which though it receiv'd its due reward, prov'd notwithſtanding fatal to the Duke *de Luines*, who by a burning Feaver there ended his days: by whoſe deceaſe both the place he poſſeſs'd in the King's favour, as alſo the Office of Conſtable of *France* became void: The Duke of *Mayenne* had likewiſe a few days before left a vacancy in the principal Government of the Kingdom, which was that of *Guienne*, by a Muſquet-ſhot he receiv'd in his head before *Montauban*; by the fall of which two great Miniſters the King The death of the Duke *de Luines*.

Anno 1621. (as we shall hereafter see) had means to recompense the Services of the Duke of *Espernon*, and the *Mareschal de l' Esdiguieres*, two of the eldest, and best deserving Servants of his Crown.

The Winter was no sooner a little abated of its fury, but that those of the Religion, more elevated with the raising of the Siege of *Montaubon*, than they had been dejected with the loss of so many other places, as the King had taken from them, took the field to give his Majesty a new, and greater provocation than before. Of these *Soubize* was the first that fell in his Majesties way, who having fortified himself in the Isle of *Reé*, and some other Islands of *Poictou*, thought the difficulty of their access would protect him from the Royal Power: but he soon found that all places are firm Land to Kings; when his Majesty overcoming all difficulties, that oppos'd his way, pass'd over the Marshes, and his own Fortifications within them, to fall upon him; where he gave him so notable a defeat, that he could not of a long time after recover that blow, nor put himself again into any tolerable posture of War.

Anno 1622. The Duke of *Espernon* goes to the King at *Poictiers*.

So soon as the Duke of *Espernon* had intelligence of the King's motion towards those Provinces, where he had the honour to command, he design'd a Journey to his Majesty, to give him an accompt of those discoveries he had made whilst he lay before *Rochelle*, that were of greatest importance to his design: a desire he had no sooner acquainted his Majesty withal, but that he gave him leave to come to him to *Poictiers*; where he accordingly arriv'd in the beginning of the year 1622. He could not possibly desire a more favourable reception, than his Majesty was here pleas'd to give him, who openly declar'd himself infinitely satisfied with his Service: neither indeed could it by any one have been perform'd with greater fidelity, or to better effect: so that the King being resolutely bent to punish the *Rochellers* disobedience, had a great desire, that the Duke should still pursue the Siege, as he had begun: But the *Count de Soissons* a young Prince of great courage and expectation, having been prompted by his friends to ask some employment, he was not handsomly to be denied any thing almost he could demand, every thing he would pretend to seeming justly due to his Birth, and merit. Amongst all the Commands of the Kingdom, that the Duke had before *Rochelle* was, without all dispute, the most honourable; and the Duke had notice given him a few days after his return to his Camp, of the importunate suit the *Count de Soissons* made to have the Command of the Army under his charge conferr'd upon him; an intelligence that perhaps the informer presum'd would have been very unwelcome

unwelcome to him: but if the Duke knew how to ſtand upon his punctilio, and to hold his own amongſt his equals, he alſo better underſtood than any man of the Kingdom, what deference was due to the Princes of the Blood. He was therefore no ſooner advertis'd of the *Count*'s deſire, but that he was himſelf the firſt man to ſecond it; repreſenting to his Majeſty in his diſpatches how much it ſtood him upon to favour the inclinations of this young Prince, that he might the ſooner be made capable of performing thoſe Services his Majeſty was one day to expect from his Valour and Conduct. He alſo renew'd the ſame inſtances by word of mouth, when his Majeſty came a few days after out of *Poiſtou* into *Xaintonge*; though when all was done he himſelf would never be prevail'd upon to ſerve any more in this Army under this new General. *Monſieur d' Herbaut* Secretary of State, his old and particular friend, was commanded by the King to ſpeak to him about it, who repreſented to him: "That his Majeſties in-"tention herein, was not in the leaſt to diminiſh his Authority "in the Army, nor to cut him off in the leaſt from the exerciſe "of his Command: That if they took from him the vanity of "a Title only, they added much more to his effectual power: "That the Army being augmented by one half (as it was to be) "there was no honourable exploit he might not be able to per-"form by ſuch an addition of Forces, ſince with ſo few, as he "had hitherto commanded, he had, to ſo glorious a pitch, ad-"vanc'd his Majeſties deſigns: That his Majeſty intended all "things ſhould be order'd by his wiſdom, and that this Prince's "youth might be govern'd by his experience; to the end that un-"der ſo excellent a Diſcipline, he might betimes be train'd up to "the profeſſion of Armes. The *Count* alſo either of his own accord, or by the King's order ſent him the ſame complement at the ſame time; but the Duke perſiſting never to have dependence upon other than Kings (from whom he ſaid, and from no other, all things by men of his condition, were to be expected) he humbly beſought his Majeſty to excuſe him from this employment, entreating *Monſieur d' Herbaut* to tell the King from him: "That "he did not think himſelf Souldier enough to inſtruct this "young Prince ſo well, as he ought to be; but that he likewiſe "thought himſelf too old to begin to learn of any whomſoever.

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After the Duke had ſent the King this anſwer by *Monſieur d' Herbaut*, and that he knew it had been well receiv'd, he went himſelf the ſame day to his Majeſty, where he told him: "That "he could never enough commend the good reſolution his Ma-"jeſty had taken in the *Count*'s favour: That he did with all his heart

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The Duke of *Espernon* sent to lay Siege to *Royan*.

In this sort the Duke quitted his employment at the Siege of *Rochelle*, after having lain before it eight months compleat: du-ring which time the Army had receiv'd five Musters, and yet complain'd of being ill us'd; though I believe now adays they would be very well content to be so paid. The Duke being ap-proach'd near *Royan*, mounted on Horseback to view the place. This *Royan* was a little City built upon a very high Rock by the Sea-side, inaccessible on that side towards the Water; the height whereof breaking off the impetuosity of the Winds, at the foot of the precipice afforded a very secure Harbour to so many Ves-sels as it could contain. This Harbour was defended by an anti-ent Castle rais'd upon the eminence of the Rock, and in the midst

of

of it a little way was levell'd, that lead to the Harbour by one of the Gates of the City. On that ſide towards the Land the ſituation was more even; but there alſo ſo well fortified, that in the opinion of all who view'd it either before, or after the Siege, it was one of the moſt tenable places, for its circuit in *France*. To which it had moreover this advantage, that it was almoſt without danger to be defended; foraſmuch as after their out-works ſhould be taken (which could not be till after a long Siege) the convenience of the Sea, and the vicinity of *Rochelle*, rendred their retreat at any time ſo eaſie, and ſo ſecure, that it was to be defended to the laſt extreme. The *Baron de Saint Surin*, a *Hugonot*, and a Gentleman of great quality, and valour, though very young, had in the beginning of theſe commotions ſurpriz'd this place from *la Cheſnaye*, one of the King's Domeſticks of the ſame Religion; but infinitely zealous for his Majeſties Service: neither was he ignorant of the advantages of the place; he knew what reputation he might gain amongſt thoſe of his own party, and what recompenſe from the King himſelf, after a long and obſtinate reſiſtance: but *la Mote Saint Surin* his Brother, the *Count de Marennes* his Brother-in-law, and *Navailles* his Couſin, having been taken priſoners at the Iſle of *Rhee*, and the King threatning to deal with them after another manner than with ordinary priſoners of War, gave *Saint Surin* to underſtand, that upon his determination depended the ſafety of his Allies. The Duke of *Eſpernon*, who had inſtructions from the King to manage this Affair with *Saint Surin*, had to the King's menaces added ſo many advantageous propoſitions for the Governour in his own particular, as had altogether brought the buſineſs to that paſs, that *Saint Surin*, who had a great reſpect for the Duke, of whom he was alſo very much eſteem'd, and entirely belov'd, touch'd with a tenderneſs towards his friends, and moreover very ill ſatisfied with the ill uſage men of his condition receiv'd from thoſe of their own party (who were eternally expos'd to the capricious humour of the moſt abject rabble of *Rochelle*) had made him an abſolute promiſe to ſurrender the place. The day was ſet, the hour concluded, and all things prepar'd for the execution, the King's Forces were advanc'd towards the Town to receive it, and the Duke's Guards appointed to guard the Gates of the City; when *Saint Surin*, more confident of his Garriſon, than he ought to have been, made no difficulty to go out of the place to ſettle ſome Articles with the Duke he had not thought on before. 'Tis true he had left his Lieutenant, whom he had made firm to his own reſolution, in the Caſtle; a Fort that rendred him abſolutely Maſter of the City, having

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Anno 1622. having a back Gate by which the King's Forces might at any time be introduc'd, notwithstanding any endeavour of the City to hinder his design: but *Favas*, *Saint Ravy*, *Moulines*, and some other Gentlemen of Command, upon the rumour was spread at *Rochelle* of this Treaty, ran thither in all diligence; where finding the Governour gone out, and his Lieutenant call'd *l' Arnaudiere*, being so senseless as to come open the draw Bridge of the Castle to talk with them in too great security, *Saint Ravy*, assisted by one *Poyanne*, gave him a Pistol-shot in the head, by which he was laid dead upon the place; which being done, they forthwith cry'd to Armes, when the City immediately revolting from *Saint Surin*, his own Garrison follow'd the same example; whereupon on a sudden such a noise was heard within, as sounded nothing of the expected surrender.

The Duke in his approach to *Royan* had taken up his Quarters in a house call'd *Saint Pierre de Royan*, which was within Cannon shot of the City and before which was a little Green, which overlooking the City, had drawn thither a great number of persons to behold, as from a Scaffold, the surrender of this place. The Duke himself was there, where *Monsieur d' Autry* had been long discoursing with him, and they were still walking together; when this cloud of people having invited those within to level all the Iron, and Brass Pieces they had at that eminence, there was heard on a sudden, one shot overtaking another, a Volley of eighteen pieces of Ordnance, which all plaid into this little place. And certainly after an example like this all Cannon-shot are to be despis'd, when had they shot with a design to do no harm, they could hardly have been so exact in their aim, as to miss so great a crowd of people, yet was not any one touch'd; so that excepting the fear, that made some of the over-timorous lay themselves flat upon the ground, it prov'd matter of laughter to all the rest. The Duke was still talking, whilst the Cannon play'd from the City, with the same indifferency, as if there had been no noise at all; neither did he once break off his discourse, though the Bullets flew very thick about his ears: but the tumult being over, conceiving these to be no Volleys of Triumph, and that it was necessary, before the Enemy could have time to look about them, to take all possible advantage of this confusion; he caus'd his men to betake themselves to their Arms, himself immediately going down into the Suburbs; which though very well Barricado'd, was nevertheless by reason of their disorder so weakly guarded, that he carried it at the first assault, with little or no resistance: a thing that in many days, and without the loss of a great many

good

good men, had he ſlipt this opportunity, he could not have done. *Saint Surin* ſurpriz'd at ſo unexpected an alteration, and not being able almoſt to believe his own eyes, went down to demand the cauſe of this confuſion; where all the anſwer he could get, was to bid him begone, his Souldiers yet retaining ſo much reſpect for his perſon, as not to ſhoot at him, though they would not receive him; and then it was that he ſaw the error his youth, and want of experience, had made him to commit. He therefore return'd back to the Duke to juſtifie himſelf, who more compaſſionate of his diſgrace, than troubled at his own diſappointment, receiv'd, and comforted him with great civility, and friendſhip; entertaining him in his own Quarters, and giving him opportunity by the Services he perform'd during this Siege, to wipe off the imputation of his ill conduct, and to give the world high proofs of his bravery, and valour. His good qualities after the War was over, and no more to do at home, carried him to ſeek his deſtiny in *Holland*, and by that means depriving *France* of one of the moſt accompliſh'd Gentlemen to all purpoſes, and in all qualifications commendable in a man of his condition, of his time. As to this buſineſs, the Duke having undertaken his intereſts, againſt the ill offices of many who were emulous of his deſert, not only prevail'd with the King to accept his excuſes, but as a recompenſe for the Paſſion he had obſerv'd in him to his Majeſties Service, moreover procur'd the enlargement of his friends; ordering it ſo, that his Piety was not rendred fruitleſs by his misfortune, and that what would have been puniſh'd in the perſon of another, was rewarded in him. *Anno* 1622.

The Suburbs of *Royan* being thus taken, they were now to proceed regularly in their approaches for the taking of the Town, wherein though the Duke had made choice of that part, where it was with greateſt difficulty to be aſſaulted; yet did he ply his buſineſs ſo well, that a Mine was brought up under the Baſtion he had undertaken. The King's Army in the mean time advanc'd to favour the Siege, when his Majeſty coming after to view the Trenches, reſolv'd at laſt upon an aſſault. The order therefore being given, and all things prepar'd for the deſign, the Marquis *de la Valette* put himſelf in the head of his men, ſeconded by the Guards of the Duke his Father, where he engag'd himſelf ſo far in the danger, that he was buried up to the middle in a Counter-Mine ſprung by the beſieg'd, and where he had run a great hazard of his life, had not *Montigny* the Gentleman of his Horſe, a tall, and very ſtrong man, help'd to diſingage him. The Guards that follow'd avoided the danger of the Mine, but they found ne-

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vertheleſs ſo ſmart an oppoſition at a work the beſieg'd had caſt up within the Baſtion, that of five and forty, whereof that Company conſiſted, two only eſcap'd without wounds. Fourteen were there ſlain outright, all the reſt being hurt more or leſs; but the three Officers, *Marſillac*, *la Roche*, and *Larcan*, Brother to the Baron of *Eſclignac*, who lead them on to the aſſault, were all ſo deſperately wounded, that there was ſmall hope of their recovery. The *Baron de Matba*, who had accompanied the Duke in this occaſion, was ſlain upon the Baſtion by a great ſhot, as alſo ſeveral Gentlemen of the Duke's houſhold; but the reſt, reſolute to overcome all difficulties, lodg'd themſelves at laſt in the Baſtion. The *Mareſchal de Vitry* who was preſent at this aſſault, and who in this, as in all other occaſions ſignaliz'd himſelf with extraordinary valour, gave them the glory of this performance, principally the *Chevalier de la Valette*, who did wonders in his own perſon, from the beginning to the end of the action. Thus by the Duke's admirable conduct, and the valour of his followers this Siege was brought to an end in fewer weeks, than months would have been allow'd him, had he carried it on with leſs prudence, or reſolution. In this, as it oft falls out upon other occaſions of this nature, ſo ſtrange Wounds were obſerv'd, as, their cures defeating all the rules of Art, paſs'd for miraculous. One of the Souldiers of the Duke's Guards call'd *Faure* receiv'd a Cannon-ſhot in his Belly, which paſs'd quite through, leaving an orifice bigger than a Hat Crown; ſo that the Chirurgeons could not imagine, though it were poſſible the Bowels ſhould remain unoffended that nature could have ſupply'd ſo wide a breach, which notwithſtanding ſhe did; and to that perfection, that the party found himſelf, as well as before. Another of the ſame condition call'd *Rameé*, and of the ſame place (they being both Natives of St. *Jean de Angely*) receiv'd a Muſquet-ſhot, which entring at his mouth, came out of the nape of his neck, who was alſo perfectly cur'd: which two extravagant wounds being reported to the King, his Majeſty took them both into his own particular dependence, ſaying thoſe were men that could not die, though they afterwards both ended their dayes in his Service.

Royan taken, to the Duke of *Eſpernon's* great honour.

Strange Wounds.

The march of the Kings Army into *Guienne*, and their progreſs there.

This place being reduc'd to the King's obedience, there remain'd nothing more in *Xaintonge* worthy his Majeſties Arms, ſo that he was at liberty to advance with all his Forces into *Guienne*. The Prince of *Condé* had been ſent thither before with the Vantguard of the Army; where at his Majeſties arrival he found *Monravet* taken by the Duke *d' Elbœuf*, and *Themeins*, after a long and obſtinate reſiſtance, ſurrendred to the ſame Duke. Saint *Foy* alſo,

alſo, *Clerac*, *le Mont de Marſan*, with ſeveral other conſiderable places, were reduc'd to his obedience, by the Marquis *de la Force*, *de Luſignan*, and *de Caſtelnau de Chaloſſe*, who had taken them in; ſo that his Majeſty finding little to do in *Guienne*, paſs'd ſpeedily thence into *Languedoc*. *Negrepoliſſe*, a little paltry Town upon his way, was ſo impudent as to ſtand a Siege; but it was ſoon taken by aſſault; and St. *Antonin* having after a Siege ſurrendred to mercy, their temerity having put the King upon making ſome examples, the neighbouring places thought it convenient to fly to his Majeſties Clemency, to evade the trial of his victorious Arms. *Anno* 1622.

Whilſt the King was taken up with theſe little exploits, the Duke of *Eſpernon* had taken opportunity to look into his own Domeſtick Affairs, the better to fit himſelf to follow, and ſerve his Majeſty in his main expedition; which he had ſo diſpatch'd, as to come before the King to *Tholouze*; who arriving there a few days after, the Army mov'd towards the higher *Languedoc* by the way of *Carcaſſonne*, *Beziers*, *Narbonne*, and other good Cities; and the ſeven and twentieth of *Auguſt* the whole Court arriv'd at *la Verune*, a little Town in *Languedoc*: where the Duke receiv'd the honour of a Patent for Governour, and his Majeſties Lieutenant General in *Guienne*, and for the particular Governments of *Chaſteau*, *Trompette*, as alſo of the City, and Cittadel of *Bergerac*, with the City and Caſtle of *Nerac*, in lieu of his Governments of *Angoumois*, *Xaintonge*, *Aulins*, and *Limouſin*.

From the time of their being together at *Tholouze*, the Prince of *Condé* having converted the animoſities he had conceiv'd againſt the Duke, during the Regency of the Queen Mother into a particular eſteem; he was the firſt man that thought of this Command in the Duke's favour: and though he had himſelf been Governour of that Province, yet thinking it no prejudice to his Birth and Dignity, to be ſucceeded by a man of his Merit, he firſt propos'd him to the King. His Majeſty underſtood as well as any the importance of this Command, and having a little before experimented in the perſon of the Duke of *Mayenne*, what a Governour of *Guienne* could do, when debauch'd from his Duty, had been at great debate with himſelf, upon whom to confer the honour of this great Employment. At the firſt mention notwithſtanding of the Duke of *Eſpernon*, he very favourably gave his conſent, and the conſtant teſtimonies he had always receiv'd of the Duke's fidelity ſeeming to be ſecurity for him for the time to come, he gave the Prince order to ſpeak to him about it, and to let him know

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But all we who were of the Duke's Family, can witneſs there was not the ſame facility in the Duke to receive this favour, there had been in his Majeſty to confer it: Not that he wanted ambition, or that his ſpirit did not prompt him with great confidence in himſelf to aſpire to the higheſt employments: but this ambition alſo was not blind, and if on the one ſide he conſider'd how great an honour it would be to ſucceed the late King *Henry* the great of happy memory, who had maintain'd himſelf in this Government, till he came to the Crown with other firſt Princes of the Blood, and to have his Authority rais'd to that height in his own native Countrey: he wiſely weigh'd on the other ſide, that amongſt ſo many advantages he ſhould meet with much trouble, and many difficulties to balance the luſtre of that Dignity, with many occurrences that he foreſaw would be very croſs and untoward. His preſent condition 'twas true was not ſo ſhining, but it was alſo more calm; and his Authority was ſo eſtabliſh'd in his own Governments, that there was none who was not acquainted with his Juſtice, and who from the Infancy of his Adminiſtration, had not paid ſo inviolate a reſpect to his perſon, that the reverence thoſe Countreys had for him, ſeem'd to be a natural quality in the people committed to his charge. The Gentry and Populacy were equally obedient to him, and he liv'd amongſt them as free from trouble, as envy: whereas in *Guienne*, where his Government would be ſhut up betwixt two Parliaments, he conceiv'd that in the adminiſtration of his charge it would be almoſt impoſſible to avoid many diſputes, with the members of the one or the other Body. Whilſt he had only had to do with them in the quality of a friend, he had found them exceedingly obliging, and all the Gentry of the Province had ever paid him a very great reſpect: but he very much doubted whether in ſuch a degree of Authority he could preſerve the friendſhip, and affection of ſo many perſons of quality as would be ſubjected to him. Theſe reaſons made him long deliberate upon this Affair, and he was often tempted to refuſe it: but he was ſo importun'd by his friends, and particularly by the Duke of *Guiſe*, who came to wait upon the King in *Languedoc*, that he at laſt reſolv'd to embrace his Majeſties gracious offer: though I heard him ſay then, and he has often confirm'd it ſince, that he would never have been perſwaded to do it, had he not been before diveſted of the Cittadel of *Xaintes*; aſſuring us, that could he have kept that in the condition he had once put it, he would

not

not have exchang'd thoſe Governments he was already ſeiz'd of, for any the beſt in *France*. *Anno* 1622.

Having therefore long deliberated before he could reſolve, he at laſt went to receive from the King's own hand his Patent for Governour of *Guienne*, dated from the Camp of *la Verune* the 27. of *Auguſt* 1622. the news whereof was no ſooner ſpread abroad, but that all *Guienne* was as much over-joyed at their good Fortune, to be govern'd by a Lord of their own Countrey, and one that had already laid ſo many obligations upon it (there being few Families of the Gentry, that had not been enrich'd by his bounty) as the Provinces that ſaw themſelves depriv'd of him, were afflicted, and diſconſolate at his loſs. A privation the miſeries they afterwards endur'd made them very ſenſible of a long time after; though they have at laſt found a remedy in the perſon of the Marquis *de Montauzier*, the preſent Governour there; who by his generous, and prudent adminiſtration, after having procur'd them all the eaſe and comfort, the condition of the time will permit has either ſo confirm'd them in, or ſo reduc'd them to their obedience to the King, as has ſecur'd them from many inconveniences, into which, by the ill example of their Neighbours, they would otherwiſe have heen ſeduc'd.

The Duke of *Eſpernon* receives his Patent for the Government of *Guienne*.

The Duke *de l' Eſdiguieres* was at the ſame time promoted to the Office of Conſtable of *France*: and ſince Fortune ſeems to have made choice of theſe two Lords (the moſt eminent of their time) to manifeſt what ſhe can do, when diſpos'd to favour men of extraordinary merit, it will not perhaps be altogether impertinent to conſider the ſeveral ways by which ſhe rais'd them to that infinite pitch of Honour. They were indeed very different both in the one and the others promotion: In the advancement of the Duke *de l' Eſdiguieres*, ſhe was obſerv'd to proceed with order, leading him through all the degrees of his profeſſion, and from the quality of a private Souldier, raiſing him ſtep by ſtep, in revolution of time to the Dignity of Conſtable of *France*. He had never been preferr'd from a leſs command to a greater, without having firſt been concluded worthy of it; wherein Envy (which has ſeldom been known to be reconcil'd to Vertue) never appear'd his adverſary; inſomuch that he ever poſſeſs'd all the advantages of the one, without once proving the malignity of the other, and by a favour particular to him alone, was ſo conſtantly fortunate, that his happineſs was never travers'd with the leaſt diſturbance. He never undertook any thing, how dangerous ſoever, where Fortune did not ſtill ſmooth his way, and level all difficulties before him, to favour his ſucceſs, even beyond his own expectation: and

A compariſon betwixt the Dukes of *Eſpernon* and *l' Eſdiguieres*, with ſome reflections upon the different ways of their advancement.

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and no leſs ſolicitous of his perſon, than partial to his Affairs, was ever ſo ready to defend him from the leaſt miſchance, that whatever he acquir'd of Greatneſs, Wealth, or Honour, ſcarce coſt him ſo much as one drop of blood. It is in truth very much to riſe by ſo honourable, and ſo eaſie a gradation, to ſuch a place of greatneſs: but yet methinks it muſt appear more ſtrange, as it is more rarely found, to ſee a young man at twenty years old rais'd to the higheſt pitch, to which Fortune, and Favour, when combin'd, could poſſibly advance him: That a man envy'd of every one, juſtled by all parties, abandon'd by his own Benefactor, and perſecuted by a mighty King his Succeſſor, ſhould keep himſelf ſtill upright, againſt all thoſe violent aſſaults. We have ſeen him wounded in ſeveral Engagements, blown up by Mines, and ſwallow'd in Precipices; notwithſtanding all which he overcame all difficulties by a vigorous reſiſtance, triumphing at laſt over Envy it ſelf: ſo that if the one obtain'd from the world a favourable opinion by his Conduct, the other forc'd it by his Vigour; conſtraining all *France* to confeſs, that thoſe Offices, and Honours which at firſt had prevented his deſert, fell at laſt very much ſhort of his Vertue. Inſomuch that if we find the one worthy of Eſteem, the other is no leſs worthy of Admiration; if the one was promoted by ordinary means, the other roſe to all his Advancements by extraordinary ways; if the one leiſurely, and by degrees arriv'd at greatneſs, there was a kind of impetuoſity in the promotion of the other; and yet his foot never ſlipt back: and if the one ſupported his Fortune erected upon ſure Foundations, the other (which is very ſtrange) even without any foundation at all, has rais'd his to that prodigious height, as to carry it almoſt out of ſight.

The Duke reſolves to attend the King's perſon in his expeditions.

The Duke of *Eſpernon*, though he had merited well enough from the Crown, to expect an acknowledgement like this wherewith the King thought fit to gratifie his deſert, did yet receive it rather as a new obligation for new, and greater Services, than as a recompenſe for what he had already done; and conceiving that thoſe he ſhould perform in his Majeſties own view, would beſt manifeſt his Gratitude; he deferr'd till a fitter ſeaſon, the taking poſſeſſion of his new Government, that he might not loſe ſuch opportunities, as the War was likely to offer him whilſt he ſhould continue about the perſon of the King. He therefore attended his Majeſty to *Narbonne*, where ſome overtures being ſet on foot by the Conſtable *de l' Eſdiguieres*, and the Duke *de Rohan* in order to an Accommodation: he thought he might conveniently make uſe of the interval of this Treaty, for the accompliſh-

ment

ment of a vow he he had formerly made to our Lady of *Monſerrat*. *Anno* 1622.

The Duke's deſign was to go this Journey *Incognito*, to avoid the trouble of many complements he was ſure would be put upon him, if he ſhould travel in his ordinary State, in all places through which he was to paſs; and to that end had reduc'd his Train to a very ſmall number, ſetting forwards almoſt ſo ſoon as he had taken leave of the King, that he might prevent any rumor of his motion: but he ſoon found it was far eaſier for him to reduce his attendance, than to obſcure his reputation, which had already ſo far got the ſtart of his preparation, and had ſo fill'd the neighbouring Kingdoms with the reverence of his name, that he was no ſooner enter'd into the King of *Spain's* Dominions, but he was receiv'd in all places with infinite reſpect, and extraordinary honours. He was in this Voyage accompanied by the Marquis *de Varennes* (made Governour of *Aiguemortes* at his return) the *Vicount de Fontrailles*, the *Count de Maillé*, the *Sieur de la Iliere* Governour of *Loches*, ſix Gentlemen of his houſhold, as many of his Guards, and a neceſſary number of Officers; yet could he not, with all his care to contract his Equipage, order it ſo, that he had not above fifty perſons in his Train: ſo troubleſome a thing is Greatneſs. He lay the firſt night at *la Palme*, a private houſe belonging to one of the Gentlemen who went along with him, and the next day paſs'd cloſe by the Caſtles of *Laucate*, and *de Salſes*, two little Fortreſſes which at that time divided the Kingdoms of *France*, and *Spain*; by the diſtance of which from our Frontiers as they now ſtand, it may be ſeen how far our Conqueſts have extended the limits of our own Kingdom. Two days after he came to *Perpignan*.

The Duke of *Eſpernon* takes a Journy into *Catalognia*.

Here it was that the Duke firſt perceiv'd how fruitleſs all his caution to conceal his perſon had been, he finding at his arrival there the Garriſon already drawn out to receive him; and the Governour ſo ſoon as he was alighted coming to his Lodging to kiſs hands, and to offer him admittance into the Cittadel; though the Duke making no other advantage of his Complement, than in ſuch a caſe he ought to do, after having return'd his thanks in the moſt civil terms ſo obliging an invitation requir'd, would ſtill remain in the Town. He parted thence the next morning before day, it being neceſſary to avoid the exceſſive heats of the Countrey, and the ſeaſon, to end his Journey by ſix of the clock in the morning, and to repoſe himſelf the reſt of the day. And here he was likewiſe conſtrain'd, either for fear of wanting forage for Horſe, or with leſs difficulty to paſs the Mountains and Rocks,

The Duke's reception in all the Cities through which he paſs'd.

Anno 1622. Rocks, to leave his Horſes, and to mount upon Mules. The Gates were ſet open for him at the appointed hour, and two Troops of the Garriſon Horſe were found ready to convoy him two Leagues from the City: he was moreover ſaluted by all the Artillery at his departure. A complement ſo loud, as the adjacent Countrey being thereby given to underſtand, that ſo unuſual an honour was not paid to a perſon of ordinary condition, he found at *Stelrie*, at *Girone*, at *la Roque*, and the other places through which he paſs'd, that the *Spaniſh* pride hindred not their gravity from paying all due honour, and reſpect to Vertue.

He came at laſt to *Barcelona*, where the Duke *de Alcala* Vice-Roy of *Catalognia*, ſo ſoon as he heard of his arrival, came in perſon to viſit him, excuſing himſelf in that he had not had timely notice of his coming, that he might have come out to meet him, and to receive him without the City, as he ſaid, he had order from the King his Maſter to do. Being return'd home, it was not long before he ſent the Duke his Coach of Ceremony, drawn by ſix great and very beautiful Gennets, for him to go abroad, and take the Aire. A ſight at which the Duke (who had ever been, and who continued to his death a great lover of the Horſes of *Spain*) was almoſt impatient, that ſo noble Creatures ſhould be ſubdu'd to ſo mean a uſe: nevertheleſs (ſo great is the contagion of example, eſpecially where the glory of emulation ſeems to be concern'd) that he was afterwards himſelf the firſt who ſhow'd ſuch another ſet of Horſes in *France*; he being a few years after, very often obſerv'd in the Cours at *Paris* in a very rich Coach, drawn by ſix dapple-Gray *Spaniſh* Horſes; to which I could add that it was in the company of Ladies too, and that at the age of three-ſcore and ten, he was content to be ſeen playing the young man, upon the greateſt Theatre of Europe. He ſtaid two whole days at *Barcelona*, during which time he view'd at leiſure the greatneſs, and beauty of the City. The Viceroy invited him to his Palace, where he had aſſembled the beſt company of men to wait upon him, and the fineſt women in the Town to entertain him, which was a very extraordinary favour. This civility was moreover attended with a Ball, a Comedy, and a noble Banquet: and from hence the Viceroy carried him to the Cours, which extends it ſelf in very great length upon the Sea-ſhore, and where we could not but wonder at the delicacy of that people, the Ghing of all the Gallies in the Harbour being drawn out every night to water this Cours, which is above two thouſand paces long. We at firſt thought it an extraordinary thing, done only in favour of the Duke: but we were ſoon diſpoſſeſs'd of that error, when we under-

underſtood that the Inhabitants, to defend themſelves from the duſt, and to qualifie the exceſſive ardours of the Sun, had impos'd this new task as an addition to the other intolerable labours of their miſerable ſlaves. *Anno* 1622.

From *Barcelona* the Duke went at laſt to *Monſerrat*, where he continued three days entire at his Devotion, not without admiring the excellent Oeconomy obſerv'd in this Abby, where there are ordinarily above two thouſand five hundred perſons provided for every day; for which all the proviſions ſo much as wood, and water muſt be fetch'd a great way off upon Mules, the Rock being ſo dry, and unfruitful, as neither to afford the one, nor the other of theſe, much leſs the other neceſſaries of life. The Duke preſented the Abby with many very rich, and noble Ornaments, adding to his Preſents an Almes of five hundred Crowns of Gold, for three thouſand Maſſes, and ſo return'd into *France*. The Religious Governours of this Abby never take any mony for their Hoſpitality, which they in Charity beſtow upon all Pilgrims indifferently of what condition ſoever for three days together: but they alſo never refuſe how much ſoever any one is diſpos'd to give for Maſſes.

During the Duke's abode in this place, thoſe of his followers who were nimbleſt of Foot, had the curioſity to climb the top of the Mountain to ſee the Hermitages, which, being thirteen in number, are ſituated upon the moſt inacceſſible precipices of the Rock, and inhabited by ſo many devout perſons, who ſubſiſt upon almoſt no other nouriſhment than Herbs, and Fruit. Though we met with great difficulty, and danger in this attempt, and had very much ado to ſatisfie our deſires; we ſaw nevertheleſs, that one of the moſt unwieldy, and unready footed Animals, that is to ſay, a Mule went twice a week the ſame way, alone, and without being guided, to carry theſe good people their allowance, and could with great ſecurity ſet his four feet in very narrow paths, where we had much ado to diſpoſe of our two; ſo great a priviledge has Cuſtom: but what we thought the moſt ſtrange of all, was, to ſee Birds of all ſorts, and of thoſe kinds which with us are the moſt wild, and untractable, ſo familiar with theſe Holy men, as to peck meat out of their mouths, and ſuffer themſelves to be handled, living in as great ſecurity with them, as amongſt us thoſe of more docile natures, which we have reclaim'd, and made tame with the greateſt diligence, and art.

At his return from this Voyage, the Duke found the Treaty abſolutely broken off, and the King ready to ſit down before *Unel*; an Enterprize wherein his Majeſty was pleas'd to make uſe

The Duke of *Eſpernon* returns out of *Catalognia*

Anno 1622.

uſe of the Duke's perſon, and particular Servants, as he did afterwards at the Siege of *Somnieres*, at both which Leaguers the Duke loſt many Gentlemen of great Valour and Deſert. Of which number *Paigeolet* a Captain in the Regiment of Guards, and who had but lately quitted a Lieutenancy in the Regiment of *Piedmont*, for this preferment, was one, as alſo *Courbon*, *l' Enchere*, *Brouls*, and ſome other Officers of name who depended upon him.

The Siege of *Montpellier.*

Theſe two places having given but a very little ſtop to the progreſs of the Royal Arms, and his Majeſty ſtill purſuing the Chaſe of Victory, he reſolv'd to lay Siege to *Montpellier*; a deſign of ſo high a nature, as requir'd the condition of the place ſhould be exactly, and maturely conſider'd, before they ought to come to a determinate reſolution. It had in one year been fortified to a miracle, even in the opinion of thoſe who were beſt read in Fortification; which if it had not been, the defects of the place would notwithſtanding have been ſufficiently recompens'd in the Valour of the Governour, that had been very conſiderable in an open Village. It was the *Sieur de Calonges* of whom I ſpeak, a Gentleman equally to be eſteem'd for his wit, and bravery; qualities that made him look'd upon ſo long, as he liv'd, for an extraordinary perſon in his own Province, whither he at laſt retir'd himſelf, as full of honour, as empty of ambition, to end his days, after having perform'd many ſignal Services for his Prince, by dying to expiate the glorious fault he committed againſt his Majeſty in his gallant behaviour at this Siege. The Duke of *Eſpernon* having long been acquainted with this Gentlemans vertues, who had formerly out of his own affection ty'd himſelf to his Service, and even in his diſgraces paid him a reſpect at Court above all other great men of the Kingdom, gave ſuch a Character of him to the King, as prov'd too true in the revolution of this Siege.

The Conſtable *de l' Eſdiguieres*, by the prerogative of his place, having the principal command of the Army, would (with good Title) go to view the place, and the Duke, who diſputed nothing with him, but who alſo receiv'd no more orders from him now he was Conſtable, than when he was only *Mareſchal General de Camp*, was alſo commanded by the King to do the ſame. The Conſtable went out firſt, accompanied with a ſtrong party of Horſe, as the Duke alſo was with ſome Gentlemen: but he forgot not to take his Guards along, who prov'd very ſerviceable to him, and alſo to the Conſtable in this occaſion.

The Duke of *Eſpernon* had not advanc'd far in order to his diſcovery, before he was fir'd upon by ſome Muſqueteers of the City

planted

planted in the hedges, in which Volley the *Count de Maillé* who was talking with him, receiv'd a Muſquet-ſhot in the face, which put him in great danger of his life: ſome others were alſo hurt, and the miſchief would have been greater, had not the Duke commanded *la Roche* the Lieutenant of his Guard with his Companies, to alight, and beat the Enemy from their Poſt; which he having without much difficulty perform'd, and the Duke conceiving that *Monſieur de l' Eſdiguieres* would meet with the ſame entertainment, he diſpatch'd away *la Roche* to do the ſame Service for him, if occaſion ſhould require. Neither could he have ariv'd in a better time, for the Conſtable having taken no Foot with him (as the Duke had very well obſerv'd) the Horſe that attended him, at the rattle of the Muſquet-ſhot, began to face about, the craggy, and difficult paſſes not permitting them to come up to charge the Enemy, who in great ſecurity fir'd very thick upon them; inſomuch that the Conſtable, abandon'd by his men, would perhaps have been himſelf oblig'd ſhamefully to retire, had not the Duke's Guards come opportunely in to clear his way. But meeting, after this little bruſh with no further oppoſition, he ſoon after joyn'd himſelf with the Duke near *Pont Juvenel*, where they both alighted, and where after the Duke had a little rallied him about his diſorder, they continued a great while in conſultation to conſider a Plot of the place preſented before them, and went afterwards together to the King's Quarter to make their report. *Anno* 1622.

Immediately upon their return, the King call'd a Council of War, to reſolve upon the manner of carrying on the Siege, where the Duke did not only propoſe, but did moreover with many powerful Arguments maintain, that they were eſpecially to poſſeſs themſelves of the Hill *Saint Denis*; an eminence near the City, from whence the inſide of all their Fortifications were ſo eaſily diſcover'd, that it was impoſſible (that poſt being well ſecur'd, and furniſh'd with good Artillery) for the Enemy, either to go from the Town, to the defenſe of their out-works, or to remain ſecure within. But this prudent advice, that being follow'd had infallibly made the King, within fifteen days, maſter of the place, and ſav'd the lives of as many perſons of Quality, and Valour, as ever his Majeſty loſt in any one Enterprize of this kind, was contradicted by *Chabans*, the ſame that has been mention'd before in the Queen Mothers Affair. This man had, during the time of the Duke *de Luines* his favour, obtain'd ſome employment at Court, where, being a man of ſenſe, and very well read in the buſineſs of the time, he had rais'd himſelf very conſiderable

A prudent counſel of the Duke of *Eſpernon*, which, not being follow'd, coſt the lives of a great many very brave men.

Anno 1622.

friends to support him: So that those who were enemies to the Duke (which were ever a very sufficient number) prompted *Chabans* to dispute his opinion in the Council, not considering the King's Service, and Intereſt, when they came in competition with the injury, and affront they intended againſt the Duke; which *Chabans* ſo effectually perform'd, as to cauſe a determination quite contrary to what the Duke had advis'd, to be reſolv'd upon. A thing I obſerv'd the Duke at his return from the Council very much nettled at, and heard him give *Chabans* ſome very bitter language about it: but the overſight was already committed, and the more unhappily, by how much it was never to be repair'd: of ſo great importance it is to husband the opportunities of War, where a moment's neglect draws after it an irreparable loſs.

Immediately upon the breaking up of the Council, they fell to work on all hands to advance the Siege. The Trenches were opened, when thoſe within ſoon perceiving of how great importance the foremention'd eminence was to their common conſervation, they there caſt up a little Work, and left ſome Souldiers to Guard it. Which Guard was no ſooner planted there, but that our Commanders eyes being opened, they ſaw the error they had committed in not poſſeſſing themſelves of that Poſt whilſt it might have been done without any oppoſition. They therefore now reſolv'd to force it, and ſucceeded in the attempt; for aſſaulting it by night, and the beſieg'd not daring to ſally out of the Town in the dark to relieve their men, they ſuffer'd it to be taken, the Guards giving our Souldiers leave to make themſelves maſters of their Works, almoſt without any reſiſtance: But (as it often falls out) the facility of this little Victory having made our people as negligent to its conſervation, as if it never ought more to be diſputed with them, they took no care at all to perfect the Works, that to their hands had already been begun: Neither was this the ſole over-ſight was committed in this Affair; for the Duke of *Eſpernon* (as true in his predictions, as unhappy in prevailing with theſe good counſels his long experience ſuggeſted to him) had advis'd that a ſufficient Guard of Horſe ſhould be planted near to the Fort, to beat back any that ſhould dare to ſally out of the Town, to drive our men from their poſt. He knew very well that the enemy had few, or no Horſe, and that therefore they durſt not without infinite danger hazard their Foot to come to us, the ſpace between being large enough to give our Cavalry room to come to charge, and to cut them in pieces before they could come to the Fort that we kept; and *Calonge* has ſince confeſs'd to me, that had his counſel been follow'd, he ſhould never have

have dar'd to ſally out, it being not to be done without manifeſt ruine, and that conſequently within ten dayes he muſt have been neceſſitated to a ſurrender: but this ſecond advice was rejected as well as the firſt, through the oppoſition of ſome who car'd not to overthrow the King's Affairs, provided they could thereby diſcredit the Duke's conduct, or traverſe his deſigns. *Anno* 1622. Another prudent advice of the Duke of *Eſpernon's* rejected.

All theſe over-ſights of ours being taken notice of by *Calonges*, he would no longer defer to re-poſſeſs himſelf of what had been taken from him; eſpecially conſidering, that he could not otherwiſe preſerve the place; to render therefore his action more illuſtrious by the light, and to put a greater infamy upon our confuſion, he ſallied out at high noon, at the head of five hundred Foot, ſeven and twenty Cuiraſſiers, fourteen Carabins, and two Trumpets: with which ſmall party he fell ſo vigorouſly upon the Fort, that it was abandoned to him with little or no reſiſtance. The noiſe of this ſally at ſo unexpected an hour, and the place where the action was perform'd (by its height expos'd to the view of the whole Army) ſoon call'd all the King's Forces to the relief of their Friends; inſomuch that many Lords of very great quality, and a great number of Gentlemen, who hapned to be at that time in the King's Lodgings, mounted upon little pad Nags, moſt of them without Boots, or other Arms than their Swords, to ſignalize their Valour in the ſight of their Prince, who was himſelf ſpectator of the Action. Of theſe the Duke of *Fronſac*, a young Prince of great expectation was one, the Duke of *Montmorency* another, the Marquis *de Beuuron*, *Hocquetot* (Lieutenant of the Gendarmes to the Prince) *Cambalet*, *Fabregues*, with many other Gentlemen of note; of all which not one eſcap'd, excepting the Duke of *Montmorency*; and he with two thruſts of a Pike in his Breaſt: ſo that this unfortunate ſuccour ſerving only to augment our loſs, and to condemn thoſe who had contradicted the Duke's opinion, he receiv'd, to his great grief, a publick reparation, which he could have been heartily glad to have fail'd of, rather than it ſhould have been purchas'd at the price of ſo much noble Blood, and ſo notable a diſadvantage to the Royal Armes. *Le Pleſſis Bauſſonniere*, *Mareſchal de Battaile* of the King's Armes, bravely fighting eſcap'd in this firſt occaſion, though he was therein deſperately engag'd: but he was not ſo fortunate in another that ſollow'd ſoon after, at the ſtorming a Half-moon; where after having given his orders for the aſſault, and put himſelf (as his cuſtom was) in the head of the Aſſailants, encouraging as well by his example as his voice thoſe he led on to fight, he loſt an eye by a Muſquet-ſhot, which ſoon after occaſion'd the loſs of his life.

After

Anno 1622.

The Peace concluded before *Montpellier.*

After so much blood spilt, the difficulties of the Siege daily encreasing, the Duke *de Rohan* was glad to make use of a juncture, wherein his party had some little advantage, to procure a more favourable Peace; which was accordingly sign'd before *Montpellier* the 22 of *October*, 1622. and *Calonges* surrendred up the place into his Majesties hands; who if he had by his Courage won himself a great reputation in the Siege, he obtain'd no less by his ingenuity in the handsome manner of his submission to the King.

The day after the Peace was concluded, the King made his entry into the City, when after his Majesty had taken order for the defense of the Town, he took the way to *Paris* by *Provence*, *Avignon*, *Dauphiné*, and *Lionnois*; so that the Duke of *Espernon*, who never parted from him in all this Journey, attended his Majesty into his old Government of *Provence*. There had formerly been (as you may have observ'd) various dispositions towards the Duke in that Countrey, as well friends as enemies; but time (which is the sovereign cure of all untoward passions) had reconcil'd them all by this time to one sense. All Animosities were now converted into a general esteem of his Vertue; insomuch that I have not observ'd him to have a greater reputation in any Province of the Kingdom, nor to be any where receiv'd with greater respect and applause. All mischiefs whether publick or particular, occasion'd by the former War, were buried in oblivion, and the people, after having seen the King, enquir'd aloud for the Duke of *Espernon*; which his Majesty taking notice of, fail'd not so often as he met a crowd upon the way, to shew them the Duke they were so inquisitive after, and when asking them some pleasant questions, about their past disorders, even their former miseries were at this time turn'd into delight.

The King returns towards *Paris.*

The King at his departure out of *Provence*, pass'd by *Avignon*, where his Majesty was visited by the Duke of *Savoy*. This Prince seeing almost none of the old Court, save the Duke of *Espernon* (for whom he had ever had a very great esteem, though he had been notably disappointed by him in all his designs upon *France*, as has been said before) was particularly, and infinitely civil to him. He came very frequently to his Lodgings, ever carrying himself with great familiarity, and very obliging fashion, living in the King of *France* his Court with as much liberty and freedom, as he had been all the while in his own. His aspect, which was gracious, open, and full of Majesty, giving evidences (though under a very moderate stature) of the great and generous soul he was really master of.

From *Auignon* his Majesty pass'd through *Dauphiné*, where arriving

riving about the end of the year, he there found the Queens, who by his order were thither come to attend him. And here it was that the Duke of *Eſpernon* receiv'd a new honour in the perſon of the Marquis *de la Valette* his Son, and which he preferr'd, with good reaſon, before all the reſt he had hitherto receiv'd from his Majeſties bounty. The King had a little before (as you have heard) honour'd him with the Government of *Guienne*, had by his Grace and bounty eſtabliſh'd, and confirm'd him in all the Offices, and Dignities, he had been inveſted withal, as the rewards of his Service: but now for the Crown of all his Favours, the King would yet honour him with his Alliance, and make him Father-in-law to *Gabrielle* a legitimated Daughter of *France*, one of his own natural Siſters, being Daughter to *Henry* the Great, by the Marquiſe *de Verneüil*, and half Siſter to Monſieur *de Metz*. This young Princeſs exceeding fair, and as finely bred as any perſon of her condition in the Kingdom, had been the ambition of moſt of the great men of the Court: but the Duke of *Eſpernon* was preferr'd before all. The Queens had brought her along with them to *Lyons*, and her inclination, as well as her duty, having ty'd her particularly to the Queen, the excellency of her Wit, and Nature, the moſt acceptable, the ſweeteſt, and moſt accompliſh'd of her time, having acquir'd her a very good ſhare in this Princeſs affection, ſhe ſtood doubtleſs at that time poſſeſs'd of the higheſt place in her Majeſties favour.

Anno 1622.

The King comes to *Lyons*, where the Marriage is celebrated betwixt the Duke *de la Valette*, and *Mademoiſelle de Verneüil*.

So many advantageous conditions, and ſo many admirable qualities having rendred this Lady one of the moſt conſiderable matches in *France*, his Majeſty would yet make her overweight, by giving her himſelf two hundred thouſand Crowns in Dowry; aſſigning her the County of *Senlis* (a Member of his Crown Lands) to enter upon for payment of part of the ſumme; to which the Marquiſe *de Verneüil* her Mother added a hundred thouſand more. The Ceremony of this Marriage was perform'd in the Marquis *de Saint-Chaumont's* Houſe, the Kings Lieutenant in the Government of *Lionnois*; but the Magnificences at the Duke's own Lodgings, where the Feaſt was honour'd with the preſence of the King, both the Queens, and all the great perſons of the Court. From ſuch an illuſtrious Marriage what could be expected leſs than what we now ſee? a Son, and a Daughter Inheritors of their Mothers Vertue, and good Qualities, as imitators of the Fathers, and Grandfathers Bravery, and Wiſdom; whoſe youth is in ſo great eſteem with all the Court, that if the Courage, and Merit of the Son (which have already been ſignaliz'd in many honourable occaſions) have got him a reputation through-

Anno 1622. throughout all *France*; the Daughter (who was nothing inferiour in all the qualities becoming her Sex) has obtain'd an equal share of opinion with all that knew her: but the world was unworthy to possess her long, and the Solitude she made choice of amongst the Carmelites has manifested to us, that nothing but God alone could be the object of so elevated a mind, and so devout a spirit.

The end of the Second Part.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF THE Duke of ESPERNON, THE GREAT FAVOURITE OF FRANCE.

ENGLISHED BY

CHARLES COTTON, Esq;

The Third Part.

Vivos interdum Fortuna, sæpe invidia, fatigat: ubi anima Naturæ cessit, demptis obtrectationibus ipsa se Virtus, magis, magisque extollit. Salust. de Rep. ord. Orat. 2.

LONDON,

Printed for *Henry Brome*, MDCLXX.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF THE Duke of ESPERNON

THE HISTORY Of the LIFE of the Duke of Espernon.

THE THIRD PART.

The Ninth Book.

WE are now entring upon the third, and last part of the life of the Duke of *Espernon*; and if in the preceding two you have met with great Actions, you will meet no fewer here, though perhaps not altogether so shining as the first. He had much to do, and no little to suffer; his Government of a vast extent, and fruitful in Novelty, would never suffer him to be long at rest; and the hatred of the great Minister Cardinal *Richelieu* gave him now occasion as amply to manifest his constancy, as he had before in more favourable occurrences manifested his other Vertues; as you shall see in the pursuit of his History. *Anno* 1623.

Soon after the accomplishment of the Marriage of his Son the Marquis *de la Valette*, their Majesties took their way towasds *Paris*; when the Duke of *Espernon* having left the new married

Anno 1623. couple, together with his Son the Cardinal *de la Valette*, to attend the Court, took his leave of the King, to retire into his own Government. In which Journey it was necessary for him to pass through *Angoumois*, to take order for the transportation of his Furniture, Arms, and Equipage, in the Castle of *Angoulesme*; which he had there in so great quantity, as requir'd no little time, nor no few hands to remove them: though he found it a greater trouble to part with the Friends and Servants he had in that Countrey; it being hardly possible to see in any particular Family, upon the saddest occasion, so many real tears, as were shed by the people in general at this separation.

The Duke of *Espernon*, goes towards *Guienne*.

From *Angoulesme* he went to *Coignac*, and from thence to *Xaintes*, which was yet one of the principal Cities of his Government, and where he had too dear a concern not to give her a visit before his departure. And this was *Marguarite de Foix*, Abbess of *Xainites*, a Virgin illustrious for her Sanctity, and Vertue, and in so great a repute amongst the Sisters of her Order, that her example serves to this day for a Model to all those who aim at perfection in that way of devout living.

The Duke, before he departed from this place, would first return an answer to a Letter he had receiv'd a few days before from *Marc Antonie de Gourgues*, first President of the Parliament of *Bordeaux*. The Father of this man had had several very profitable employments under the *Mareschal de Matignon*, in the time of his being the King's Lieutenant General in *Guienne*, which had enrich'd him so, as that he had provided very plentifully for his posterity; of which this *Marc Antonie* being his eldest Son, he had by the help of the wealth his Father left him, advanc'd himself to some publick employments, and being a man of notable wit, and understanding, his parts, together with his fortune, recommended him so as to be receiv'd into the Family of *Segnieres*, a Daughter of which he married, Sister to the Chancellor of *France* now being, who in those days went by the name of *Autry*; and in the end through the interest of his Wives Relations was preferr'd to the Dignity of first President in his Countrey. This *Gourgues* in the time of his being at Court had made great professions of particular honour and service to the Duke of *Espernon*, who also either out of respect to his Allies, or to himself, had given him reciprocal testimonies of no ordinary affection: So that this kindness having pass'd beforehand betwixt them, the Duke expected that at his coming into his Government, he should meet with a sincere friend at the head of the most illustrious Body of the Province, whose mediation in occurrences, that might happen, would

The beginning of the ill intelligence betwixt the Duke, and the first President *de Gourgues*.

be

be able to qualifie many little diſcontents, that the jealouſie of Authority uſually begets in great Commands: but at the ſight of this firſt Letter he was of a contrary opinion, from which thoſe diviſions ſprung betwixt him and the Parliament, that hardly ended, but with the Duke's death; though they were begun even before he was receiv'd into his Adminiſtration. *Anno* 1623.

Which begets that betwixt the Duke and the Parliament.

The Letter of which I am ſpeaking, after having treated of ſome Affairs of little importance, that reſpected the general concern of the Province, gave the Duke at laſt plainly to underſtand: "That a difficulty having been ſtarted in the Parliament about "the manner of his reception, they had determin'd to moderate "the exceſſive honours had formerly been paid to the Sons of "*France*, or the firſt Princes of the Blood, who had been Go-"vernours of the Province, in going to receive them in their "Scarlet Robes; a punctilio that though it was true, it had been "wav'd in deference to the Duke of *Mayenne*, it had nevertheleſs "been done meerly out of reſpect to the high favour wherein "he was, when advanc'd to the Government of *Guienne*: but "that at this time they were reſolv'd to be more reſerv'd. I never in my life ſaw the Duke more ſurpriz'd, than at this news, who, jealous of his Honour and Dignity to the higheſt degree, would rather never have enter'd *Bordeaux*, than to ſuffer the leaſt diminution of what had been granted to the Duke of *Mayenne*. He therefore return'd an anſwer to this Letter, dated the 27. of *January* 1623. wherein after having briefly anſwer'd what concern'd the general Affairs, he inſiſted with great vehemency upon the denial of thoſe honours had been paid to his Predeceſſor; telling him amongſt other things: "That if they had never appear'd in "their Scarlet Robes, but in honour of the Sons of *France*, or "the Princes of the Blood, he ſo well underſtood the reſpect due "to them, as they were in a capacity of ſucceeding to the Crown, "as not to deſire a new example in his favour; but that he had "not the ſame conſideration for others. The whole Letter being writ with his own hand, he commanded me to take a Copy of it, from whence I have taken the very words I preſent you here.

The Duke, not yet ſatisfied with delivering his ſenſe of this Affair in writing, would moreover diſpatch away *Conſtantin* the Comptroller of his Houſe to *Bordeaux* to communicate his reſolution to ſeveral Members of that Parliament, who were his particular friends; wherein he ſucceeded according to his own deſire, and his reception was concluded in the ſame form his Predeceſſors had been receiv'd, ſome of the Company totally diſowning all the firſt Preſident had writ concerning this buſineſs:

Anno 1623. by which the Duke having just reason to believe him the Author of this scruple, he conceiv'd he had a mind to oblige the Society at the price of his Friends Honour: so that being offended to the last degree, that he should so much as bring a thing into dispute, thas was his apparent due; he from thenceforward entertain'd very siniſter impressions of his friendship: neither was it long before he made him sensible of it.

The Duke arrives in *Guienne.*

Whilst these things were in agitation, the Duke was still advancing towards *Cadillac,* where he intended at leisure, from the Parliaments proceedings to take his measures, what he was to do about his entry into *Bordeaux.* He was here visited by all the Nobility of the Province, by several of the Parliament men in particular, and by an infinite conflux of Gentry, who came to attend him at his entry, which was concluded to be upon the last of *February* 1623. Whilst he here waited in expectation of the appointed day, he dispos'd of the Governments of those places committed to his charge; whereof that of *Chasteau-Trompette* was given to *Plessis*, *Nerac* to the *Count de Maillé*: but *Bergerac*, which was a command of the greatest profit, and the most important place, was put into the hands of the *Chevalier de la Valette*, the Duke's natural Son, who by his bravery had infinitely gain'd upon his love and opinion. The King had besides these places, moreover assign'd him two Regiments in constant pay, *viz.* That of the said *Chevalier de la Valette*, and that of *Castelbayart*, together with his Company of *Gens-d' Armes*; so that his Authority supported by these Forces, was much more considerable, than any of his Predecessors had ever been.

The Duke's reception at *Bordeaux.*

The Duke, having thus settled the Governments of these places, would now no longer defer his entry, but came to *Frans*, a house belonging to a private Gentleman, about half a League only distant from the City, and upon the Banks of the River *Garonne*; where the * *Jurats* of *Bordeaux* came to receive him in a Boat they had prepar'd for that purpose. He was by them convey'd by water to a place call'd *Port du Caillau*, where he was met without the Gate, by all the Companies of the Town, excepting the Parliament, who in their Scarlet Robes receiv'd him at the entry of the City. I shall not here undertake to describe every circumstance of this Ceremony, nor the Magnificence, respect, or applause observable in the solemnity of this reception; it being sufficient to say, that therein nothing was omitted, or diminished of what had formerly been paid to his illustrious Predecessors, and that the old affection, both the City, and Province had for his Person, and Name, produc'd a greater, and more general joy

* *Jurats de Bordeaux* are the same with the Sheriffs in other Cities

joy at his arrival, than had amongſt that great people been obſerv'd of many years before. *Anno* 1623.

There was only the *Mareſchal de Themines*, the King's Lieutenant in the Province, who neither paid him honour, nor civility, either by Letter, or Viſit, a man, who although he had ever till this time had the Duke's perſon, and friendſhip in very high eſteem; yet having been conſtituted the King's Lieutenant in that Province, ſometime before the Duke was promoted to the Government, he could not without infinite impatience ſee himſelf abſolutely depriv'd of all the functions of his Command. He knew very well the Duke would be ſo active on his part, that very little would be left for him to do; whereas he pretended this Lieutenancy had been conferr'd upon him with a promiſe, that if a Governour ſhould happen to be ſet over him, it ſhould be no other than a Prince of the Blood, who ſhould never continue upon the place, and that conſequently, by his abſence, would leave him the abſolute command of the Province: and in truth the *Mareſchals*, *de Matignon*, and *d' Ornano*, had formerly enjoy'd it after that manner: ſo that the ſeeing himſelf by this uſage defeated of that expectation, was, as he himſelf declar'd, the ſubject of his diſcontent.

A difference betwixt the Duke, and the *Mareſchal de Themines*, the Kings Lieutenant in *Guienne*.

The Duke was very much ſurpriz'd at this proceeding; he had, as there was juſt cauſe, ever had the *Mareſchal* in very high eſteem, and could have been glad he would by gentle means have been reconcil'd to his duty, that he might not have been oblig'd to make uſe of thoſe remedies the authority of his Command put into his hands: which that he might not do, he conſented that ſome who were friends to them both ſhould treat with him about a better underſtanding betwixt them; he being unwilling, what provocation ſoever he had, to have recourſe to violence: wherein perhaps he was more temperate, than ever in his life before: but in the end, ſeeing his patience ſerv'd only to make the *Mareſchal* more obſtinate in his unkindneſs, laying aſide all thoſe conſiderations that had hitherto withheld him, he would no longer defer to make him ſenſible of the difference betwixt a Governour and a Lieutenant of *Guienne*. He therefore began imperiouſly to cancel and overthrow all his Orders. A *Conſul* of *Agen*, who had been created ſo at his recommendation, was diſplac'd by the Duke's command, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he had been preferr'd at his requeſt; ſuch of the Gentry, or the People, as were known to be affectionate to the *Mareſchal* were certain to obtain little favour with the Governour: if any order was preſented him ſign'd by the *Mareſchal*, he would preſently iſſue out another to ſuperſede

Anno 1623.

ſede the firſt; whatever carried the name of *Themines*, was invalid, and whatever he own'd as his act muſt ſignifie nothing at all. And moreover to let him ſee he had the ſame Authority over him in his own particular Countrey, he had in other places; the Duke prepar'd himſelf to go to *Cahors*, whither the *Mareſchal* was retir'd, and accordingly went. The *Mareſchal*'s Houſe ſtood near this City, he was moreover inveſted with the * *Seneſchalſy* of the Countrey, his chiefeſt Relations, Friends, and Acquaintance inhabited there: notwithſtanding all which, at the Duke's arrival the *Mareſchal* quitted him the place, and retir'd to his own houſe; where ſeeing himſelf as it were ſhut up, without Reputation, without Authority, and almoſt without Friends, he began, though ſomething with the lateſt, to ſee the error he had committed. He then plainly ſaw himſelf ſo overmatch'd, that he could not contend, but to his ruine; nor longer ſtand out to other purpoſe, than thereby to make the advantages of his Superior more manifeſtly appear; and then it was that he rendred himſelf more facile to his friends perſwaſions, who had before been fruitleſly importunate with him, to reconcile himſelf to his Duty, to acknowledge the Duke's Authority, and to ſeek his friendſhip. He therefore ſent to the Duke to make an Apology for what had paſs'd, and to let him know, that if he had hitherto fail'd of paying the reſpect due to his Quality, and Command, it had not proceeded from any diſlike he had of his perſon, which he had in as high reverence, and eſteem, as any man living; and that he ſhould have look'd upon it as a very great honour to obey him, had not the ſweetneſs of ſome years Authority wherein he had commanded in Chief, and the aſſurances had been given him he ſhould do ſo ſtill, blinded his Judgment from ſeeing his duty: That he did therefore beſeech him, he might be permitted to come tender his excuſes for what had paſs'd, and to aſſure him of his obedience for the time to come. The Duke was very well pleas'd to find this Lord, a man full of years, and honour, in ſo good a diſpoſition; neither had he begun to juſtle him, till after having expected the return of his good humour with the extremeſt patience; ſo that he ſent him word he ſhould be infinitely glad to ſee him, and that he might be confident for the future of as civil uſage, as he had hitherto found rough, and perverſe dealing in the exerciſe of his Command.

* Or chief Juriſdiction.

An Accommodation betwixt the Duke and the *Mareſchal Themines.*

A day for their interview being agreed upon by their friends, the Duke would by no means ſuffer it to be in the Capital City of his Government, being unwilling to expoſe the Age, and Perſon of the *Mareſchal* to ſo publick a ſatisfaction; but appointed it to be

be at *Saint-Foy*, whither he himſelf accordingly came, accompanied with many perſons of Quality of the Province; thither the *Mareſchal* alſo came to wait upon him, when coming into the Duke's Lodgings, he receiv'd him without ſtirring out of his Chamber, for which he made his being ſurpriz'd at Play his excuſe. It had been concluded that the *Mareſchal* at their meeting ſhould ſay (as he did) "*My Lord, I am your very humble Servant,* "*and am come to give you an aſſurance that I am ſo, and that I ſhall be* "*proud of any opportunity wherein I may by a better teſtimony manifeſt* "*it to you, and therein ſatisfie the King's Command, and my own Du-*"*ty.* To which the Duke return'd for anſwer in as few words, which had alſo been ſet down in writing: "*Sir, you oblige me* "*with your Friendſhip; you and I are both of us in a capacity of ad-*"*vancing his Majeſties Service in this Province; I ſhall gladly concur* "*with you in any thing that may be conducing to it, and embrace any* "*occaſion wherein I may let you ſee, that I have ever had an eſteem for* "*your Valour, and Merit, and that I am your Servant.* This firſt viſit continued but very little longer, when the *Mareſchal* taking his leave, the Duke brought him only to the top of the ſtairs, without going any further, by which he would let him ſee, that he both underſtood his place, and knew how to keep it. *Anno* 1623.

The *Mareſchal*, having after this firſt complement, continued two days at *Saint-Foy* in perfect intelligence with the Duke, at laſt frankly told him: "*That he had us'd him according to his deſert;* "*that he had made him know his duty; and that he took it for a greater* "*honour to be ſubſervient to him, than to any other perſon of* France. And in truth he afterwards continued, both whilſt he ſtaid in the Government, and when he was made Governour of *Brittany* (which hapned a few years after) to render him ſo much honour, and reſpect, and to give him ſo many teſtimonies of friendſhip, that I do not think the Duke had a truer friend in the Kingdom. Yet did not all this paſs in the order it is here ſet down, there having been ſome years of interval, betwixt their coldneſs, and their reconciliation: But I choſe rather to record theſe paſſages all together, than to diſperſe them into ſeveral pages of my Hiſtory; conceiving ſuch a diviſion would more have intangled the thred of my diſcourſe, than would have been recompens'd by the order, in a more exact obſervation of the ſucceſſion of time.

The Duke comes to an open rupture with the firſt Preſident.

This Quarrel with the *Mareſchal de Themines* was not yet compos'd, when the Duke (who had never enough to do) reſolv'd to come to an open rupture with the firſt Preſident *de Gourgues*, without diſſembling any longer his reſentment of the ill Offices he had receiv'd at his hands. I have already given an accompt of the

Anno 1623. the Injury, which was the Presidents proposing a diminution of Honours at the Duke's reception; a thing that, bearing with it a shew of contempt, pass'd in the Duke's opinion for an irreparable offense. Neither could he forbear at his first visit, to give him some hints of his displeasure, nor from manifesting a little reservedness towards him: and (as heated spirits never want occasion of new offense) his passion making the lightest pretenses, to pass for reason, and just causes, there soon after fell out new accidents, which animated the Duke against the first President to the last degree. This man, subtle and dextrous as the best, very well foreseeing, that without the concurrence of his Brethren, he should never be able to withstand the power of the Duke he had so highly provok'd, began betimes to think of interesting his Fraternity in the Quarrel, to the end that under the protection of the whole Body, he might the better defend his own particular interest. Neither did he herein fail to use some artifice, which he manag'd so, that in putting sinister interpretations upon the Duke's best intentions, he possess'd the whole Company with a jealousie, that the Duke labour'd to encroach upon the Authoriry of their Estate: A part wherein all Societies of men are so sensible, and tender, as that from the least shadows, the highest divisions are very frequently observ'd to arise. And here, though the Duke labour'd to clear their suspicion, by laying the truth before them; yet the first impressions were so deep, and the President knew so well how to manage their mis-apprehension, that it was impossible to dis-unite him from his Colleagues.

Who engages the company in his quarrel.

The Duke exasperated, as he had just cause, at the mis-understanding *Gourgues* fomented betwixt the Parliament and him, would not give him altogether the advantage of an Aggressor; but speedily sought out all occasions to vex him, and to assault him both in his Reputation and Fortune. He was therefore by his order disputed with about some priviledges, he pretended to, and usurp'd (as was said) to the prejudice of the City of *Libourne*, near unto which he had a dwelling house: but he gave him a more sensible blow, by prohibiting the Post-Master of *Bordeaux* in his absence any more to carry the Couriers, that came through the City, to the first Presidents house, though for some time it had been their custom so to do; pretending that it was without any right at all, and that consequently he might by his Authority overthrow that custom, as a new thing, and that depended absolutely upon his Command. It is most certain, that had matters rested here, the President would have receiv'd a notable affront; his most intimate friends having generally blam'd him,

for

for applying himſelf much more to Politick, than to Judicial Affairs, and for that by doing more, than he was concern'd to do in the one, he left himſelf no leiſure to perform what he was oblig'd to do in the other. *Anno* 1623.

The firſt Preſident being a crafty man, as has been ſaid, dextrouſly taking hold of this occaſion, as ſuddenly remonſtrated to the Company: "That if in this Affair, as in the other of *Libourne*, "there had been nothing, but what pointed at his own private in-"tereſt, he ſhould not have been concern'd in the leaſt; but that "it aim'd directly at the honour, and dignity of the whole Body, "of which he was much more tender, than of any concern of "his own. That the diſpatch of the Poſts did no more reſpect "him in particular, than the other Officers of Parliament, he ha-"ving therein only the priviledge of priority, without having "any power limited to his perſon: That in his abſence, he who "was next in order in the Company, had the ſame right to ex-"amine the Couriers, to enquire of their news, and to diſmiſs "them: That therefore ſince the Injury was common to them "all, and that the Duke made it manifeſt enough, he endeavour'd "to deſtroy the Authority of Parliament, it was neceſſary they "ſhould unanimouſly concur with him in the ſupport of their "own Dignity and Power: That if they did not vigorouſly op-"poſe this firſt attempt upon them, they would ſee themſelves in-"ſenſibly depriv'd of all their Priviledges; and that the Sovereign "Authority, they were inveſted withal, would in the end be leſs "conſiderable, than that of their ſubalternate Judges: That "though in this Affair he was meerly animated by the common "intereſt, he nevertheleſs freely offer'd himſelf alone, to ſtand "the ſhock of the Duke's utmoſt Indignation; wherein though "he ſhould periſh, and be cruſh'd under the weight of his Power, "he ſhould nevertheleſs be proud of ſo glorious a Fate, as to be "ſacrific'd for the honour of that Aſſembly.

It is not to be imagin'd how ſtrange an impreſſion this Harangue made upon the minds of this Fraternity, the whole body almoſt being thereby betray'd into the Animoſity of their head, ſome few only of the eldeſt, and moſt affectionate to the Duke, endeavour'd to qualifie the heat of this diſpute, but in vain; it being impoſſible for them to ſtop the violence of the Torrent: ſo that the Duke, who thought he had only one enemy to deal withal, found above an hundred rais'd up in mutiny againſt him. Nay their impatience was ſuch, that they would not defer a moment the paſſing of an Act, at that very ſitting, in oppoſition to the command he had given concerning the Couriers: it is indeed

Anno 1623.

true, that there was after some propositions of Accommodation tendred: but after this Thunder-clap from the Parliament, the Duke was deaf to all overtures of agreement, his invincible spirit, that had ever been inflexible in all the undertakings of his life, suggesting to him, that it would be an eternal blemish to his honour, should he in the least moderate his first resentment, for all the great number of enemies that were declar'd against him.

The beginnings of this Feud were so light, and trivial in themselves, that I should not have been so particular in the relation of them, had they not brought on those greater disputes, that since hapned betwixt the Duke, and this Parliament: and this is so unwilling a Record, that I could heartily wish all that is further to be said of this Affair, might be totally raz'd out of the Duke's life, that the memory thereof might for ever be extinct. Neither the Parliament, nor he got any advantage by it: the publick was the greatest loser, as it will ever fall out in such dissentions.

The Duke settles his Domestick Affairs.

The Duke of *Espernon*'s mind was not so wholly taken up with these divisions, but that he had a care of the settlement of his own Domestick Affairs, which the Queen Mothers escape from *Blois*, the War that succeeded, the several expeditions he afterwards undertook for the King's Service, and his chargeable Journeys whilst he attended the Court, had brought into very great disorder. He was at this time above seven hundred thousand Livers in debt, that he had taken up at *Paris* upon a Rent-Charge; which one of his Domesticks, that had been brought up in his Family, undertook to acquit him of, shew'd him which way it was to be done, and perform'd what he had undertaken: and this was the foremention'd *Constantin*, Comptroller of his House; who as he could by no better way express his Gratitude to his Benefactor, than by doing him so important a piece of Service, he, without any visible diminution of the Duke's ordinary way of living, manag'd the business so, that his Master in a few years had the satisfaction of seeing himself disingag'd from that prodigious Debt. Which, as I have said, was effected without any other inconvenience than the retrenchment of some superfluous expenses only (which his distance from the Court (where he was resolv'd no more to reside) rendred altogether unnecessary. So great a blessing is an intelligent, and faithful Servant.

But to establish the order which for the future was to be observ'd in reference to this work, the Duke was upon the matter oblig'd to make a Journey to *Paris*, to examine the Accompts of his Agents there; he therefore sent to the King to entreat his Majesty, whilst the peace of the Kingdom, and the good condition

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he had ſettled his Government in, rendred his preſence leſs neceſſary there, to give him leave ſo to do. His requeſt was eaſily granted, and he accordingly departed from *Bordeaux* in the latter end of *November* 1623. and came to *Paris* about the end of *December* following. Some have ſuppos'd he did not ſo much deſire this Journey, for any thing that concern'd his Domeſtick Affairs, as to ſee if any benefit was to be made of the Queen Mothers good inclinations towards him, and to try the grateful return ſhe made him to expect for the ſignal Services he had done her in the time of her diſgrace. She was of late years become all in all at Court, and many of her Servants, that had not ſo well merited from her, as the Duke had done, had receiv'd very great rewards: but he could not perceive the ſame diſpoſitions towards him, nor diſcover the gratitude ſhe had promis'd him, when ſhe was in the worſt condition to expreſs it: on the contrary, as if with her Fortune ſhe had chang'd her Nature, and as if by being become happy, and powerful, ſhe had been no more the ſame Princeſs the Duke had ſo well ſerv'd, when ſhe was under perſecution, and had no power at all: ſhe no more remembred him, ſhe was oblig'd to have recompens'd, by all ſorts of benefit and favour.

Anno 1623.

The Duke of *Eſpernon* goes to Court.

The Duke came to *Paris* ſo well attended, that of many years before, there had not been ſeen any perſon of his condition enter the City with ſo numerous a Train. Many perſons of very eminent quality went out as far as *Chaſtre* to meet him, and his coming was very remarkable by the ſolitude was obſerv'd in the *Louvre*, where there ſcarce remain'd any, ſave the King's own Domeſtick Servants: A thing his Majeſty very well obſerv'd, and was nothing diſpleas'd at it: but on the contrary, having that day taken notice of ſome Gentlemen in the Preſence, who had dependence upon the Duke, he merrily ſaid to them, *How comes it to paſs you are not gone out to meet the Duke of* Eſpernon? *he'l talk with you for this when he comes.* So ready his Majeſty was to cauſe that honour to be paid him that was juſtly his due.

Arrives at *Paris.*

He was receiv'd at his coming by the King, and the Queens, with very great kindneſs; and falling to his buſineſs preſently after his arrival, *Mauroy* a Councellor of State, and one of his Agents, a man of great vertue, and very good at buſineſs, gave him up his Accompts exactly juſt and right; but *Valliech* his old Secretary having employ'd ſome people under him, who had either been not very careful, or not very honeſt, fell ſhort above fifty thouſand Livers, which this good Maſter franckly forgave him, his noble nature, it ſhould ſeem, not being able to conſent

Anno 1624.

A generous act of the Duke of *Eſpernon.*

Anno 1624. that even so great a fault as his negligence should ruine the Affairs of his own Family.

All his Accompts, and the other Affairs that most requir'd his presence at *Paris*, were in less than four months dispatch'd; so that towards the latter end of *April* he began to think of his return into *Guienne*. The Court was then at *Compiegne*, whither the Duke went to receive the King's Commands, supposing this should be the last leave he was to take; and not expecting that his Age, which was now very far advanc'd (he being at this time near upon threescore, and ten years old) would permit him to make another Journey eight years after, as he did in a marvellous health, and vigour.

Whilst the Duke staid at *Compiegne*, the King who would have been very glad to have the mis-understanding betwixt him and the Parliament compos'd, caus'd *d' Herbaut*, Secretary of State, to treat with him about it: wherein the Duke expres'd himself very willing to an Accommodation, and so far as to consent to the Act about the Couriers, which was, in his own presence, by the Council determin'd in the Parliaments favour: He was moreover satisfied with the Order the King sent to suspend the Election of the Maire of *Libourne* (which was another main thing in dispute) till his return into the Province: But the first President was not so well dispos'd to peace; he conceiv'd this Accommodation would infinitely lessen the Authority he had got amongst his Brethren during these controversies; and therefore without any regard either to the King's Command, or the Duke's Order precipitated the Election of the Maire, whom the Duke found establish'd at his arrival; from whence arose a new, and higher quarrel than before: So that if in truth the Duke was herein to be condemn'd for having in the beginning prosecuted things with too much heat, the President cannot, in my opinion, be excus'd, for thus urging them to the last extremes, without ever yielding to such a reconciliation, as might, being timely apply'd, have prevented the ensuing mischiefs.

The Duke goes from *Paris*.

The Duke having thus settled those of his Domestick Affairs, that requir'd his presence at *Paris*, and done his part to provide as well for the future quiet of his Government, departed first from *Compiegne*, and soon after from *Paris* to return into *Guienne*. He would in this Journey take *Espernon* in his way, that he might touch at *Chartres*, in order to some Devotions. Whither *Cartier*, whom he had left at Court, to solicit his Affairs in the place of *Valliech*, dispatch'd an express Courier to him to let him know that Cardinal *Richelieu* was since his departure created prime Minister of

Cardinal *Richelieu* created chief Minister of State.

of State. I was preſent when the Duke receiv'd this news, at which he was the more ſurpriz'd, foraſmuch as he had diſcover'd nothing of that deſign in the time of his being at Court; though he had been very frequent with the Queen Mother, who had alſo conſtrain'd her ſelf to diſſemble a little forc'd ſhew of particularity, and confidence in him; by which he evidently ſaw he was not upon ſo good terms with her, as they had a mind to make him believe he was: he notwithſtanding ſaid no more at preſent but this: That the Cardinal was indeed a man of great dexterity; but that he would very much change the face of Affairs, ſhould he long continue at the Helme. Upon the inſtant he, according to his cuſtom, ſent him a Complement upon his new promotion, which doubtleſs was not very acceptable to the Cardinal, there being ſcarce any ſpace left at the top of the Letter, and nothing more than, *Your very humble Servant*, ſubſcrib'd at the bottom; a ſtyle that he continued a great while, and perhaps too long for the intereſt of his Affairs, though it was indeed no other than what he ever us'd to all other Cardinals. *Anno* 1624.

After having diſpatch'd this Complement, he continued his Journey towards *Guienne*; where he arriv'd in the beginning of *July*, and where the firſt thing he did after his arrival was to commit the pretended Maire of *Libourne* to priſon, he having been advanc'd to that Magiſtracy in contempt of the King's Order. The firſt Preſident had herein his hearts deſire; neither did he fail to make uſe of this occaſion, to intereſt the whole Body in the affront, which he ſaid was the greateſt violence imaginable upon their Authority; a high Complaint whereof was immediately ſent away to the Council. The King though very much diſſatisfied with the firſt Preſident, would not nevertheleſs abſolutely countenance the Duke in the Juſtice he had executed in his own behalf; but writ to him to ſet the Priſoner at liberty, though that Letter could not prevail, the Duke pretending to believe that this Command had been procur'd either at the importunity of ſome of the intereſted party, or negligently granted, as many times a Letter under the Privy Seal was not hard to obtain. But the Cardinal become now (as has been ſaid) all powerful in Affairs, having undertaken to eſtabliſh his Majeſties abſolute Authority (which was in effect the eſtabliſhment of his own) upon the contempt of this order, caus'd a poſitive ſentence to be paſs'd in the Council, bearing date the 12th. of *Auguſt*, wherein it was order'd: That the Priſoner ſhould immediately be enlarg'd. By which magiſterial proceeding, it was then believ'd, as it was very likely, that the Cardinal would exerciſe this ſeverity towards the Duke, that his will

New differences betwixt the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and the Parliament of *Bordeaux*.

The Cardinal *Richelieu* oppoſite to the Duke.

Anno 1624. will might no more be disputed; not doubting but that after an example like this all the other great men of the Kingdom would acquiesce in his Commands. This Arrest was directed to the Chief Justice *d' Autry*, to cause it to be put into speedy execution, without so much as forbearing to hear any Reasons the Duke could represent to justifie the demur he had given to his Majesties first Order.

His Sons who were at Court, and *le Plessis* (whom he had sent thither not long before upon several accompts) us'd their utmost endeavour, that the sending away of this Arrest, so highly prejudicial to the Duke's Honour, might be some time deferr'd; they were vehemently importunate with the Queen Mother, and the Cardinal to that purpose; but all to no effect, the Queen in so light, though nevertheless so sensible an Affair, totally abandoning the Duke's Interest, who had so passionately embrac'd hers in so important occasions, and the Cardinal being obstinate in his resolution, all the favour they could obtain in this business, was from *d' Autry* himself, who was perswaded not to produce the Order: but it was upon condition the Duke should enlarge the Prisoner, as he immediately did, and that too the Court would have him understand to be a special Grace. After this manner then they began to reward the Duke's, and his Sons Services, they gave them things of no moment, for the highest obligations, and most current pay: they were continually us'd at this rate, and it is not to be believ'd what prejudice these inconsiderable things were to the Duke's more important Affairs, nor what encouragement it gave little people frequently to offend him. It had therefore been to have been wish'd, either that he could have supported these affronts in his Administration, with a better temper, or totally have retir'd himself out of their way: but his great spirit that had never encountred any difficulty it had not overcome, was impatient to be resisted by men, who as they were single incapable of contesting with him, being embodied, would neither relent, nor obey.

The Cardinal, stung no doubt, with the Conscience of having in so trivial a thing, disoblig'd a man, who had formerly been serviceable to him in so many important occasions, would make himself Mediator betwixt the Duke and the Parliament, and consequently dispatch'd away *Guron* to *Bordeaux* for that end; with Instructions that joyntly with *d' Autry*, he should labour an Accommodation betwixt them. By *Guron* the Cardinal writ to the Duke, that his Journey was absolutely upon his accompt, and in his favour, offering withal his Service in this, and in all other

occasi-

occaſions: but theſe Complements were accompanied with no marks of honour and reſpect, the Cardinal (doubtleſs nettled, at the little Ceremony the Duke had obſerv'd with him in his congratulatory Letter at his promotion to the Miniſtry) leaving by his example, but a very little ſpace above the firſt line, and concluding his Letter with only *Your affectionate Servant*. Before *Guron's* arrival the difference had been already compos'd by the mediation of *d' Autry*: but the Duke touch'd to the quick at the ill uſage he had receiv'd from Court, was not to be appeas'd with ſo light a ſatisfaction; and I have ever thought that the injury he apprehended upon this occaſion, was perhaps the firſt, if not the only motive, that totally alienated his heart from the Cardinal's Intereſts, which (as you may have obſerv'd) he once had in as high conſideration as his own. *Anno* 1624.

The Peace that had been concluded before *Montpellier*, in the year 1622. had hitherto continued the Affairs of the Kingdom in ſome repoſe, and though thoſe of the Reform'd Religion expreſs'd great diſpoſitions to a new Commotion, there was as yet no manifeſt breach; ſo that men rather liv'd in expectation of freſh Alarms, than in any diſorder of open War: When *Soubize*, by an attempt he made upon the King's Shipping at *Blavet*, began firſt to break the Ice. All the reſt of the Party broke into Arms at the ſame time, and the Duke of *Rohan*, who had long been known to be the head of that Faction, infecting all parts of the Kingdom which were affectionate to his cauſe, with his diſcontents, ſtirr'd them into Inſurrection, without ever moving from *Sevennes*, and without meeting the leaſt contradiction. A promptitude in his Partizans ſo much the more to be wondred at, as he commanded a ſort of people, whoſe obedience was only voluntary, and from which every one conceiv'd himſelf to be diſpens'd by all, both Divine, and Humane Laws. *Anno* 1625. A new War.

Montauban was one of the Cities not only of *Guienne*, but alſo of the whole Kingdom, that engag'd the deepeſt in this Revolt, the Inhabitants whereof by having had a Siege rais'd from before their Walls, and by having baffled a Royal Army, even when animated by the preſence of the King himſelf, being elevated to ſuch a degree of Vanity, as to think themſelves invincible, and their City a place not to be taken. A preſumption that it was nevertheleſs very neceſſary ſhould be corrected, and the people by ſome exemplary Puniſhment made ſenſible of their Crimes. It ſhould ſeem that the Duke of *Eſpernon* was by his Deſtiny call'd into *Guienne* only for this end; he had formerly ſubdu'd the pride of *Rochelle*: neither did the King doubt but that he would be as The Revolt of *Montauban*.

ſucceſsful

Anno 1625. successful at *Montauban*, and that his Vertue (which had ever been fatal to the Capital Cities of those of the Religion) assisted by his powerful Arms, would also cause his Authority to be acknowledg'd and obey'd here, as it had done in other places.

He sent order therefore to the Duke to take Arms, and to wast the Countrey all about *Montauban*; in order whereunto (though the King in his own judgment thought it an Enterprize of great difficulty) he notwithstanding allow'd him no more than 3000. men, in three new rais'd Regiments, to wit, that of St. *Croix*, *d' Ornano*, *Foncaude*, and *Maillé*, wherewithal to effect it. He receiv'd a Command withal to make some Leavies; his own Company of *Gens-d' Armes*, and four more of Light Horse were also drawn into the Field for this Expedition. With these Forces he departed from his House *Cadillac*, to advance to *Moissac*, a little Town about four Leagues distant from *Montauban*, the appointed Rendezvous for the Volunteer-Troops, and Gentry; of the latter whereof, the number was so great, that there was an appearance of above six hundred Gentlemen.

The Duke's Forces.

It was said that there had hardly been seen so great a conflux of Gentry, under any Governour, as frequently attended this, he having never any occasion to mount to Horse, for his Majesties Service, that there was not more complaints of unkindness taken, that they had not been summon'd to their Duty, than excuses made because they did not come.

It will perhaps seem strange, that the Duke's humor enclin'd rather to austerity than sweetness should acquire him so many lovers, and friends; for certainly he was serv'd out of affection, it being impossible that fear could ever have drawn after him so many free, and voluntary persons. Such as have before me reflected upon this observation, have conceiv'd that this universal love was deriv'd from his Justice, of all others the most popular vertue (as in truth the Duke was a man of most unblemish'd equity) or that it might proceed from the infinite number of Employments, Offices, and Benefits he had, dispers'd throughout the whole Province of *Guienne*; wherein there were very few Families of any note, that stood not highly oblig'd, either immediately to him, or to his Interest for some signal favour. To which they have moreover added the generous disposition he had to do all good offices for his Friends, who although he was not apt to be familiar, was nevertheless very civil, constant in his friendships, and always the same; insomuch that one good word from his mouth, or one gracious undissembled look, prevail'd more upon those who receiv'd those petty favours, than the larger promises,

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and more winning behaviour of ſome others, who in two days would no more know the very man, to whom they had ſo lately before vow'd the Friendſhip of their whole lives. *Anno* 1625.

The Duke came to *Moiſſac* in *June*, and removed thence towards *Montauban* in the beginning of *July*, with a Commiſſion equally extending as well into *Languedoc*, as *Guienne*, by reaſon that City, which is ſituated upon the Confines of both thoſe Provinces, has a great part of its Territory lying in *Languedoc*. He took up his Quarters at *Montleigh*, and *Caſtelſarrazin*, from whence, as occaſion ſerv'd, advancing with his Forces ſtill nearer the City, he executed the King's Command whereever he went with ſo much vigour, and ſeverity, that the footſteps of this expedition were to be ſeen a long time after. The Country about *Montauban* laid waſte.

Yet was not this perform'd without great reſiſtance, thoſe of *Montauban* had had early intelligence of the preparations againſt them; neither had they neglected any thing that might conduce to the defenſe of their fruits, or to the ſupport of the Reputation they had acquir'd in the preceding War. Beſides the great number of warlike Inhabitants, they had within their City, they were moreover reinforc'd with a ſtrong Garriſon without, commanded by *Montbrun*, a Gentleman of great Quality in *Dauphiné*, and a man of very great Valour, ſent thither for that purpoſe by the Duke of *Rohan*; to which they had alſo call'd in ſeveral of their Neighbours to their aſſiſtance; ſo that the Duke never approach'd their Walls (which notwithſtanding he did almoſt every day) but that there follow'd very ſmart Engagements, with great loſs of men on the Enemies ſide: In ſome whereof there were left ſometimes 200. ſometimes more dead upon the place; wherein certainly the numerous Gentry, that attended the Duke in this expedition, were of infinite great uſe; for the place being environ'd almoſt on all ſides with Plains of very large extent, and the Enemy having many more, and much better Foot, than the Duke, had not thoſe brave Troops of Horſe continually repell'd them, it had been to be fear'd, that Victory would not always have been ſo partial to the Royal ſide. Thoſe of the Religion make a vigorous reſiſtance.

The Duke perhaps never expos'd his perſon more, than in theſe frequent Engagements; the precincts of the City were ſo great, that they requir'd above a months time totally to deſtroy their fruits, of all which time few days paſs'd, as has been ſaid, without an Encounter, and in all thoſe Encounters the Duke was ever in perſon, at the head of his Troops, encouraging his men, not ſo much by his voice, as by his example.

How great ſoever the faults of thoſe of *Montauban* might be,

Anno 1625.

it was not nevertheless without great reluctancy, that the Duke executed his Majesties Order upon the fruits of the Countrey with so great severity, and certainly he must have had a very obdurate heart, that would not have been touch'd with compassion at the sight of so many lamentable objects, as were every where to be seen. I remember that from *Pickqueros* (a place famous for having been the King's Quarter during the Siege of *Montauban*, and from whence the whole Plain betwixt the Rivers *Tarn*, and *Vairan* lay open to the view) so soon as the obscurity of the night gave colour to the Fire that had been kindled by day; one might see a thousand Fires at once: the Corn, Fruit-Trees, Vines, and Houses were the Aliments that nourish'd this Flame: a sadder sight I never saw; neither can I imagine that the horrors of War can be represented in a more dreadful form. Yet was not this severity altogether unprofitable, even to those upon whom it was inflicted; I having heard several of them since confess, that nothing so much dispos'd them to the acceptation of Peace, as this austere usage; and they were indeed the first that embrac'd it, and who serv'd for a leading example to the other rebellious Cities of their Party to do the same.

Soubize endeavours to divert the Duke.

While the Duke was thus taken up at *Montauban*, *Soubize* thinking either to divert him from his Enterprize, or to make use of his absence, and the great number of Gentry, who were gone along with him, for the effecting some notable exploit in the lower *Gascony*, was landed with three thousand five hundred Foot, and some few Horse in the Countrey of *Medoc*. This little Countrey, which is almost all the Duke's, environs a great part of the Metropolis of *Bordeaux*, extending it self to the very Gates of the City; many of the richest Inhabitants whereof having possessions there, and *Soubize* having a design to draw from the City a large Contribution, he threatned the Citizens to destroy their Houses and Fruits in the Countrey (of which he thought himself without contradiction the absolute Master) if they did not speedily ransome them with a very considerable Summe. As he himself press'd the City on the one side, he had of another caus'd *Verger Malagnet* a Gentleman of his party, to come ashore at a little point of Land, in the River of *Bordeaux*, that divides the Rivers of *Garonne*, and *Dordongne*, call'd *Bec-Dambez*, hoping by that means to cut off the Commerce of those two Rivers from the City, and by streightning it both by Land, and by Water, the sooner to perswade the Inhabitants to give him his demand.

This design (which was not ill projected, if it had been as well executed) alarm'd both the Parliament, and the people to such a degree

degree, that a greater confuſion was hardly any where to be ſeen: they knew not which way to turn them for their defenſe; and though they had but too many Forces within themſelves to defend their City from the threatned miſchief, yet had they no mind to examine their own ſtrength, that they might not be oblig'd to put them to the Teſt. In this extremity the firſt Preſident (though upon no very good terms with the Duke, notwithſtanding the late Accommodation) made no difficulty to have recourſe to him, to implore his Aſſiſtance, for this time laying aſide all Animoſities, and Averſions: but it was only to aſſume them again, when the Duke had deliver'd him from this fear, as will hereafter appear. *Anno* 1625.

At the firſt intelligence the Duke receiv'd of *Soubize* his landing in *Medoc*, though he could not himſelf leave the work he had begun, without infinite prejudice to the King's Service; yet would he not omit his care to the preſervation of the principal City in his Government. He therefore in all haſte diſpatch'd away *le Pleſſis* to *Bordeaux*, to adviſe with the Parliament what courſe was to be taken, for the relief of the City, and Countrey, againſt *Soubize* his attempts; giving him order withal to draw out part of the Garriſon of *Bergerac*, and to raiſe new Forces within his own Territories, to ſerve himſelf withal upon this occaſion; writing moreover to his Friends and Servants in the Countrey to joyn with him, and to *Toiras* who lay in the Iſle of *Ré*; entreating him to advance with all the men he could conveniently draw out of the Regiment of *Champagne*, of which he had the Command. Inſtructions that were ſo well obſerv'd by *le Pleſſis*, and he ſo well ſeconded by the Parliament and *Juratts* (who were very ready to concur in an Affair that ſo much concern'd their common ſafety) that all things were in a ſhort time put into a very good Poſture: By which means the Duke, without ſuffering himſelf to be diverted from the employment he had before *Montauban*, not only fruſtrated the Enemies deſign, but alſo extracted thence the opportunity of obtaining the honour of a ſecond Victory. *Soubize* being ſhamefully repuls'd, his Forces routed, the few that eſcap'd the Victors hands, and with much ado, recover'd their Ships, leaving their Dead, Arms, Artillery, and Baggage, as infallible teſtimonies of a total Defeat.

The War was carried on in all places, ſo much to the diſadvantage of the *Hugonot* Party, that the principal Heads, and beſt Cities of their party apprehending a continuation of thoſe evils they had already ſuffer'd, thought fit to ſue to the King for Peace. Which was accordingly granted them; but upon conditions far

Anno 1625. The Peace concluded.

different from those they were us'd to insist upon in former times; *Rochelle* if self not being in this Treaty able to obtain, that they might be freed from the slavery of *Fort-Loüis*: but on the contrary, for an augmentation of their grief constrain'd by the Articles to admit of a Chief Justice set over them by the King, oblig'd to slight all their new Fortifications, to receive his Majesty with all due honor, and respect, so oft as he should please to honor them with his Presence, and to keep no more Ships of War in their Haven. The *Rochellers* would never have submitted to these hard Conditions, had not the other Cities of their party, and above all the rest *Montauban* positively declar'd they would no more expose themselves to those Miseries they had suffer'd in the burning up of their Countrey: so that if we will consider the Duke's conduct throughout the whole business, we shall find it more than a little conducing to the general Peace the King granted upon conditions so disadvantageous to his *Hugonot* Subjects.

Anno 1626.

But this Peace, to the acceleration of which the Duke had so highly contributed, begot a new War betwixt the Parliament and him; and upon this following accompt. The King's Declaration in favour of the *Hugonots*, was by his Majesty sent to the Duke to cause it to be publish'd, with expres order nevertheless not to do it till after those of *Montauban* had accepted the Grace in all due forms of Submission; which were the very words of the Dispatch, dated the 18. of *February*, 1626. But the first President having receiv'd a Copy of the same Declaration, without ever acquainting the Duke, who was come no further than *Cadillac*, caus'd the Peace to be openly proclaim'd, and that with so much precipitation, that he would not forbear so long as till he could hear from *Montauban*, to know whether they had there accepted the Peace or no. This impatience the Duke could not but interpret purposely put on to affront him; 'tis true, that, had no unkindness pass'd betwixt him and the President before, the business was of it self so light, that it might well enough have pass'd without any great notice taken: but the preceding Differences giving him to understand, that it must needs be done out of design, he not only complain'd of it to those Friends he had in the Parliament, but moreover writ about it to Court, and gave the President plainly to understand, that he would no more suffer such Contempts.

A new breach betwixt the Duke and the Parliament of *Bordeaux*.

This proceeding of the first President's was by no means approv'd at Court; it was there look'd upon as an occasion of noise and bustle, maliciously and unseasonably sought, and for which he receiv'd a little rebuke: but this spirit not much delighted with rest, having met with another that was never tir'd out either

either in War, or Buſineſs; it was almoſt neceſſary that ſucceſſive differences ſhould continually ariſe betwixt them. This at the laſt proceeded ſo far, that the publick Peace was therein no little concern'd: the Parliament paſs'd many Acts, and the Duke as many Ordinances to contradict thoſe Acts. From Acts, and Ordinances they proceeded to Invectives, and from words to ſome untoward effects. Some of the Preſidents Servants were ill us'd, and himſelf threatned; whereupon the Palace was ſhut up, and a ceſſation of Juſtice decreed. The Duke's Friends and Servants fear'd to fall into the Parliaments hands, and thoſe who were affectionate to the Parliament, were not well us'd by the Governour; many Decrees by reaſon of the diſſention betwixt the two parties remain'd unexecuted, for not being juſtified by Power, which gives life to Juſtice. Such as were the moſt moderate, and beſt diſpos'd of the Company, could not without great grief behold theſe confuſions; but thoſe were not the prevailing part: ſo that things being every day more and more exaſperated, it was infinitely to be fear'd they would in the end ſhoot up to the laſt extreme, though they were already grown to a ſufficient height.

Anno 1626.

Which grows to a very great height.

The King inform'd of this ſtrange confuſion, diſpatch'd away *Leon Brulart* (one of the Council of State, and a man who, having manifeſted his prudence in many great employments, had acquir'd himſelf a great reputation both within, and without the Kingdom) to oppoſe his Royal Authority to the Torrent of theſe diſorders. This man arriv'd at *Bordeaux*, in the month of *June*, and labour'd with great ſincerity, and diligence betwixt the parties till *September* following; but all in vain: his dexterity that had unravell'd many great intricacies, and overcome the greateſt difficulties in his former employments, could not be ſo ſucceſsful here, the Animoſities were too great, and the parties too ſtiff to admit of any Reconciliation; yet did he well enough diſcover that the greateſt averſions to it were not in the Duke, as he ſatisfied the Court at his return; to which both parties at laſt were forc'd to appeal, and to ſubmit unto a ſevere, and definitive Determination, after they had rejected all rational, and moderate ways.

Leon Brulart ſent to *Bordeaux*, to labour an Accommodation.

Wherein he does not ſucceed.

This Quarrel was on both ſides carried on with extraordinary heat, the firſt Preſident himſelf was deputed by the Parliament to maintain their cauſe before the Council; to whom Preſident *du Bernett*, a man of great eſteem, and approved wiſdom (and then thought very worthy, one day to poſſeſs the firſt place in that Company, as he afterwards did) was alſo joyn'd. The Duke alſo on his part diſpatch'd away firſt *le Pleſſis*, and after him

Magnat

Anno 1626.

Magnac his Kinſman; a Gentleman of great Courage, of an excellent Wit, and very great Learning. All theſe Deputies were ſeveral times heard in open Council, where after having long, and with great reverence pour'd out themſelves in eloquent Orations, a Regulation enſu'd, at which both parties were equally diſpleas'd. And then it was that all the world plainly ſaw, and chiefly thoſe who were immediately concern'd, that they were not ſorry at Court at the continuation of theſe diſſentions; and that the deſign being already laid to diminiſh all the Authorities of the Kingdom, to unite them in one ſingle perſon, they were glad to ſee them inſenſibly put their own hands to their own deſtruction.

The buſineſs is referr'd to the Council, who make an Award prejudicial to both parties.

A diſorder at Court.

Theſe little diſorders were not yet fully compos'd, when another of much greater importance began to diſcloſe it ſelf at Court, which occaſion'd the death of *Chalais*, and the impriſonment of the Duke, and the Grand Prior of *Vandoſme*. They would alſo have involv'd the Duke *de la Valette*, who at this time retir'd to *Metz*, in this Affair; and to that end tempted him by *la Louviere*, the Confident of *Chalais*, to receive the Duke of *Orleans* into that City: but they had to do with a man ſo well fortified in his Duty to his Prince, that all *la Louviere* could obtain of the Duke was only a civil repulſe in theſe terms: "That the "place was none of his: That he was only a ſubſtitute to the "Duke his Father: That he was therefore to apply himſelf to "him, and that for his part he ſhould do whatever his Father "would pleaſe to command him. He could not have ſerv'd the King more faithfully, than by retaining this reſpect to the Duke his Father, whoſe principles he knew to be perfectly Loyal, and himſelf inſeparably ty'd to his Majeſties Service; yet was not the Court ſatisfied with this proceeding: but the Duke, who had alſo been tamper'd withal from the ſame part, through the Negotiation of the Abbot *d' Aubazine*, by the candour of his deportment, ſo clearly juſtified their common intentions, that both the one and the other had all the ſatisfaction they could themſelves deſire. Yet was this ſatisfaction in words only, and the Duke was notwithſtanding very ill us'd in ſeveral occaſions; of which ill uſage he could not forbear highly to complain: neither in his complaints were the Queen Mother, as powerful as ſhe was, nor the Cardinal himſelf excepted: The hard meaſure he receiv'd under their Adminiſtration being ſo much the more ſenſible to him, by how much he had infinite reaſons (as may be gather'd out of the former paſſages) to expect they ſhould have been altogether partial to his Intereſts: but though his great and advantageous ſervices had been ſo lately perform'd, the memory of them was notwith-

notwithſtanding totally worn out, and the Cardinal was already exaſperated, though by occaſions of ſo little moment, as ſcarce ought to have been taken notice of: Neither doubtleſs would they have been, had he been in another condition: but as great Authorities are uſually very tender, in the great height of State, and Power he then ſtood, they carried, in his opinion the quality of moſt high injuries, which thenceforward diſpos'd his heart to thoſe ſtrange Animoſities, which we ſhall ſee in time break out. *Anno* 1626.

The Marriage betwixt the *Monſieur* and the Dutcheſs of *Montpenſier*.

After the death of *Chalais*, and the removal of ſuch of the *Monſieur*'s Creatures, as were ſuſpected by their evil Counſels to debauch his good Nature, and to alienate the affection he had to the King, and the proſperity of the Kingdom; it was no hard matter to diſpoſe him to a Marriage with *Madamoiſelle Marie de Bourbon*, Dutcheſs of *Montpenſier*. This match had been thought worthy of him by *Henry* the Great his Father, and the Duke of *Eſpernon*, who had the honour to be great Uncle to this Princeſs, prepoſſeſs'd with the hopes of ſo great a Fortune for his Niece, and ſo great an honour both to himſelf, and his whole Family, had made no difficulty to expoſe himſelf to the hatred of the late *Count de Soiſſons*, in refuſing him (as you may have obſerv'd before) this Lady in Marriage for *Lewis* his Son. And truly what rubs ſoever had hapned in the way of this Match, the Duke notwithſtanding never loſt the hope, nor the ambition to ſee it one day brought to effect. It is not therefore to be doubted, but that the accompliſhment of a thing by him ſo ardently coveted, muſt be highly pleaſing to him. The firſt news he heard of the conſummation of theſe Nuptials was by a Gentleman diſpatch'd away purpoſely to him by *Madame*, the day after her Marriage, wherein the high Dignity, to which ſhe was arriv'd, nothing hindred her from paying the Duke the reſpect that decency, and proximity exacted from her; ſhe writ to him therefore with her own hand, and the expreſs words of the Letter were theſe.

Uncle,

Madames Letter to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, her great Uncle.

"*I doubt not but you will receive as much joy, and ſatisfaction, as* "*any perſon, at the happy accompliſhment of my Marriage; the news* "*whereof I would no longer delay to ſend you, aſſuring my ſelf you will* "*look upon it as a very great Honour, and good Fortune, to one who* "*is ſo near and dear unto you. I think my ſelf the more happy therein,* "*as I hope to be in a better capacity of letting you ſee the great eſteem I* "*have ever had of your friendſhip, which I deſire to preſerve by manifeſt-*"*ing how much I am,* *Uncle*,

From *Nantes* the 7th. of *Auguſt*, 1626.

Your very good Niece,

Marie.

There

Anno 1626. There was a ſtrange and ſudden alteration in *Madames* ſtyle, before her Marriage it had us'd to be *Monſieur my Uncle*, and her Letters always ended with *Your moſt humble, and moſt affectionate Servant*: but one ſole night had ſo rais'd her above her former condition (though very illuſtrious before) that there was now very little difference betwixt her ſtyle, and that us'd by the Queen, and Queen Mother; neither was the Duke, it may be ſuppos'd, diſpleas'd to be ſo us'd, and the advancement of ſo near a Relation, being in part his own; that which ſeem'd a little to leſſen him in this new way of writing, he conceiv'd to be amply recompens'd in the honour of this Alliance. The Dutcheſs of *Guiſe* alſo accompanied this Letter of *Madame* her Daughter with another from her ſelf; wherein ſhe made an excuſe for not having written to the Duke before the Marriage, as it had been her Duty to do: "Telling him they had met with ſo many difficulties in the buſi-"neſs, that ſhe could never believe it would take effect, till ſhe ſaw "it abſolutely done, which uncertainty had occaſion'd that neg-"lect. The King preſently after did him the ſame honour, as alſo the two Queens, the *Monſieur* himſelf, with the reſt of his new, and illuſtrious Allies: but before he receiv'd the honour of theſe laſt Complements, the Duke had ſent the *Count de Maillé* to Court to prevent them, and with all humble reſpect to let them know, how infinitely ſatisfied he was, to ſee his Family, by his Majeſties Royal Bounty, rais'd to ſuch an eminent degree of honour, as it was by this Marriage.

Anno 1627. The Peace of the Kingdom, the ſucceſs of the Marriage of *Madame*, and the news of the Dutcheſs *de la Vallette's* being great with child, hapning almoſt at the ſame time, had altogether ſo overcharg'd the Duke of *Eſpernon* with an exceſs of joy, that it muſt of neceſſity overflow: He would therefore communicate part of his own ſatisfaction to the publick; and as all his Paſſions would ever break out after an extraordinary manner, ſo this of ſo exceſſive a joy, gave him a new occaſion of ſhewing the world the largeneſs of his heart. He therefore deſign'd a Tilting at *Bordeaux*, wherein inſtead of the vain, unprofitable, and fabulous repreſentations that are uſually exhibited upon ſuch occaſions, he would make the people with delight, and in ſecurity to ſee the various faces of War, and in the midſt of peace would divert himſelf with the exerciſes of his own profeſſion. To this entertainment he invited all the perſons of Quality of both Sexes in the Province; and the Duke *de la Valette* came purpoſely from *Metz*, to ſupply the Duke his Father's place in all theſe noble exerciſes, wherein he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that he was not the leaſt

The Duke appoints a Tilting at *Bordeaux*.

leaſt Ornament of that great Solemnity. As the expenſe of this Feſtival was exceeding great, the Aſſembly continuing for above fifteen days together; ſo Fortune would ſeem to contribute ſomething to this profuſion: but ſhe did only ſeem to do it, when after having preſented the Duke with Millions, and brought them almoſt to his own door, ſhe rather choſe to bury them in the Sea, than to make good what ſhe had ſo fairly promis'd. It is of the wrack of the Carricks that I am about to ſpeak, which hapned at this time; and having had a Relation of ſo remarkable an accident from the Maſter's Mate, of that of thoſe two great Veſſels, which periſh'd upon the Coaſt of *Medoc*, I ought not, I conceive to paſs by ſo memorable a misfortune, and of which I am able to give ſo true an accompt. *Anno* 1627. The Shipwrack of the *Portugal* Carricks.

After the Conqueſt the King of *Spain* had made of the Kingdom of *Portugal*, the ſame Cuſtom the *Portugals* had formerly paid to their natural Princes, for the Liberty of their *Eaſt India* Trade, devolv'd of courſe to the King of *Spain*: but with this condition nevertheleſs, that the *Portugals* ſhould not be oblig'd to unlade their Merchandize in any other part of the Catholick King's Dominions, than that of *Lisbon* only, for a Mark of the antient Right thoſe of their Nation had ever had to that Traffick with the *Indies*. This priviledge was the loſs of thoſe two Carricks; they had ſet ſail from *Goa* the fourth of *March*, 1626. laden with Merchandize of very great price, as Diamonds, and other Stones; Amber-gris, Beſoar, Spices, Drugs, Silks, and other rarities both of the *Indies*, and the Kingdom of *China*, to the value of above two Millions and a half of Gold at leaſt in either bottom. They had been mann'd out with above four hundred and fifty, what Mariners, and Souldiers, beſides ſeveral Gentlemen, and other perſons of condition, that either by the curioſity of Travail, or thirſt of Gain, had been tempted into thoſe remote parts of the world. All theſe together made up above ſix hundred perſons, and one might indeed more properly have call'd theſe prodigious Hulks (which were each of them of two thouſand Tun) floating Cities, rather than Ships built for Navigation; they having in them all ſorts of Artizans, eſtabliſh'd Markets, Victuallers, and almoſt all ſorts, and conditions of men, with the ſame policy, and civil Regiment, that is uſually obſerv'd in the greateſt, and moſt populous Cities. Theſe two great Veſſels that ſeem'd to be Sovereigns of the Sea, and that deſpiſing any thing of a Storm, fear'd nothing but Quick ſands, Fire, and Rocks, after a proſperous Voyage, were ſurpriz'd in the Road of *Lisbon* with foul weather, and driven back to *Coruna* a very good

Anno 1627. Port, upon the Coast of *Galicia* in *Spain*. Where the storm continuing very long, the Captains of the Carricks were by those of the Town importun'd to unlade their Goods in that Harbour, and no more to expose so great Riches acquir'd with so much peril, and pains, to the dangers of the Sea: but they were deaf to that motion, and on the contrary highly insisting upon their priviledge, the King of *Spain* at last gave way to their obstinacy; commanding only the Admiral of the *Portugal* Navy, *Don Manuel de Menezes*, with six of the best Gallions of his Squadron to put to Sea, and to Convoy them safe to *Lisbon*, though this precaution only serv'd to augment his loss. The Gallions came up to the Carricks, to which the Admiral gave express order, not to stir thence till a calmer season. But what good Counsel can prevent Mischance? the Carricks contrary to all order and advice, upon the first little Truce of the Tempest (which, as it often falls out at Sea, only retir'd to return with greater fury) weigh'd Anchor, and put out to Sea: but they had no sooner committed their Carricks to the mercy of the winds, but that they found themselves engag'd in the greatest stress of weather, that perhaps has at any time been seen; and after a Tempest of two and twenty days, without any intermission, they came at last to suffer Shipwrack, one at *Cap-Breton*, near to *Bayonne*, and the other two days after upon the Coast of *Medoc*; in which exigent of Fortune the Gallions were so faithful to them, as to bear them company in ruine: so that three attending either Carrick, the loss was equal in both places.

The Duke receiv'd the first news of this accident from the Common Bruit, and that not till three days after it had hapned; and indeed the rains that had fall'n, during this tempestuous weather, had so overflow'd the ways, that although this Coast be no more than ten or twelve Leagues distant from *Bordeaux* only, it had been impossible sooner to have pass'd: but it is likewise true, that the Inhabitants of the Countrey, a barbarous and inhumane people (as generally Sea-borderers are) and inur'd to the spoil of Wracks, were not over hasty to acquaint the Duke's Officers with this, that they might not be disturbed whilst busie ravening after Booty. At last, and whilst preparing for the approaching solemnity, he heard of this misfortune, and that a great number of *Spaniards*, who deliver'd themselves for men of Quality, preserv'd out of a greater number that perish'd, were upon their way coming to implore his assistance; and accordingly the next day this miserable company, consisting of two hundred, or thereabouts, were seen to enter the City, in the lamentable plight may be

be imagin'd of men, that had been expos'd to the fury of a Wrack. The Duke took care to lodge them in the City, furniſh'd them with Victuals, took order for Cloaths for them, and reliev'd them with money; when being by ſome of them inform'd of the great Riches that was in the Carrick he mounted to Horſe to hinder the Pillage, and Diſorder, which had already continued five or ſix days together without intermiſſion; it was nevertheleſs impoſſible for him to get to the ſhoare, the ways were ſo impaſſible; ſo that he was conſtrain'd to return back, to begin his Triumph. *Anno* 1627.

The Solemnity was begun, with a Skirmiſh of ſixſcore Cuiraſſieres, divided into two Troops, and arm'd Cap-a-pie; the next day they ran the Ring in the ſame Equipage they fought: after which they ran diſarm'd with Vizors, and afterwards ran at Tilt, for five or ſix days together, doing all the Exerciſes that are to be perform'd on Horſeback.

The Horſe Exerciſes being gone through, they muſt now come to a repreſentation of Foot Service, that the angry trade of War might be ſet forth in all its Forms. In a ſpacious place therefore, at one of the Extremities of the City, the Duke caus'd two regular Forts to be built, and fortified according to all the Maxims of Art. Theſe Forts were mann'd with arm'd Souldiers to defend them, they were batter'd with Cannon, aſſaulted, and in the end taken, ſo much to the delight of the beholders, as made it appear, there can be no ſo dreadful Original, from whence pleaſant Copies are not to be taken.

The Combat of the Forts was follow'd by a noble Maſque, and a Ball, and thoſe by a Combat at Barriers, which concluded the Solemnity; the laſt Act of which was ſet out with infinite Expenſe, and very great Art. There were in it ſeven Entries, and all thoſe uſher'd in with great Machines, contriv'd by the principles of the ſeveral parties, who were all perſons of eminent Quality. I ſhall not however undertake a deſcription of all the remarkable paſſages therein, there having been then a collection taken of them that made up a Volume of it ſelf, and I having no need to ſwell this with unneceſſary relations.

The Duke *de Candale* the Duke of *Eſpernon*'s eldeſt Son comes to the Solemnity.

It was no little addition to the Duke's particular joy, and to the general ſatisfaction of the whole Aſſembly, to find it honour'd with the preſence of the Duke *de Candale*, the Duke's eldeſt Son. It had now been ten years complete, that their common misfortune had caus'd a ſeparation betwixt them; wherein though the Father had high cauſes of Diſcontent, yet had the gallant behaviour of the Son been ſuch, and had ſo far prevail'd upon his natural affection, that at this time without all doubt he had an equal

Anno 1627. share with his Brothers in the Duke's Favour. Neither indeed could the Heroick Son have better spent these years of his disgrace, who seeing he could not honourably live in his own Countrey, whilst out-law'd in his Fathers Favour, went to exercise his profession of Arms in *Holland*, at that time the most conspicuous Theatre of War in all Europe: He had not there long continued, before by his brave deportment he so far won the opinion of *Count Maurice* Prince of *Orange* (acknowledg'd by all the world to be one of the greatest Captains of his time) that he doubtless possess'd the highest place in his confidence, and esteem. A short Truce being concluded in that Countrey, he went from thence to *Venice*, where he commanded some of the *Venetian* Militia in the *Valtoline*; and in process of time, having gain'd the favourable opinion of that Serene Republick, he was at last honour'd with one of their principal Commands, and made General of all their Land-Forces; an Employment wherein he serv'd upon so many brave occasions, as would deserve a particular History; when at last more ardently desir'd, than well us'd by *France* his native Countrey, he came to end his days in his own Princes Service, and in the Command of one of his chiefest Armies. The Duke his Father, when sometimes speaking of him, would say, that he could hardly wish his Son had never done amiss, since he had done so glorious a Penance for his faults, and by so many Heroick Actions expiated the afflictions he had brought upon him.

The arrival of this long absent Son, was not yet the utmost bound of the Duke's satisfaction; he receiv'd another at the same time, that touch'd his heart with a more sensible joy, than any thing that has been mention'd before: and doubtless it would have been greater now, than it was then, had God been pleas'd to have prolong'd his life till these days, that he might have seen the fruits of the just expectation he had conceiv'd at the Birth of as hopeful an Heir, as he could possibly have wish'd. I have already told you, that the news of his Daughter-in-law the Dutchess *de la Valette*'s being great with child, was one of the occasions that caus'd this Publick rejoycing, and that Assembly was scarce broke up, when he receiv'd by a Courier, dispatch'd away for that purpose certain news of her being brought to bed of a Son: a Blessing he had more zealously begg'd of Almighty God, than any other thing in this world; and that he had the most reason to desire, that he might see his succession continued in a hopeful Heir: But as this was the richest Present, this young Princess could possibly make him, so it was (God knows) the last; she ten days only survi-

The Birth of the Duke of *Candale*, the Duke of *Espernon*'s Grandchild.

ſurviving the Birth, who being deliver'd upon the fourteenth of *April*, and dying the four and twentieth after, left her noble Huſband a Widower, and all *France* her mourners. *Anno* 1627.

The Duke receiv'd this ſad news as he was upon his return from *Medoc*, to which place the Wrack of the Carrick had oblig'd him to make a ſecond Journey, and where, now that the ſeaſon gave him leave to come nearer to the Sea, we ſaw a moſt incredible thing; which was the Relicks of this mighty Veſſel, ſeveral pieces whereof were to be ſeen, for above a quarter of a League together, along the ſhoar, and in ſo great number, that whoever had ſeen thoſe floating Spoils, would rather have judg'd them the ruines of ſome demoliſh'd City, than the remains of one ſingle Ship. The Duke with much ado recover'd twelve great braſs Pieces, that were buried in the Sands, which were alſo all that could be ſav'd, of an hundred and eight, or ten, that were aboard, either the Carrick, or the Gallions that Convoy'd her. Upon his return from this ſhort Journey, the Duke receiv'd intelligence of the Death of the Dutcheſs *de la Valette*, at which, though his Affliction ſeem'd to be ſo great, that nothing could be more, it was nevertheleſs exceeded by that of the Husband; who having ſtaid behind at *Bordeaux*, during this Journey into *Medoc*, knew nothing of his misfortune, till the return of the Duke his Father: but then all the comfort they were capable of, was, their mutual Affliction, wherein, as a more juſt occaſion of ſorrow could not poſſibly arrive, ſo could it not poſſibly be expreſs'd with more, or with more unfained tears. The death of the Dutcheſs *de la Valette*.

Upon this ſad occaſion both the Father, and the Son receiv'd many Complements of Conſolation from the whole Court, the King, the Queens, the *Monſieur*, and *Madame*, with all the other Princes, and Princeſſes; and almoſt all of any eminent condition at Court, manifeſted their intereſt in this dire misfortune. But they had ſcarce wip'd off the tears for this firſt diſaſter, when it was ſucceeded by another of almoſt equal concern; for I remember that the Gentleman ſent by the *Monſieur*, and *Madame* upon this conſolatory Envoy, was ſcarce departed from *Bordeaux*, when they receiv'd the intelligence at once, of the happy delivery of *Madame*, and the deplorable accident of her death: an occaſion by which they were oblig'd (to their great grief) to make a quick return of the *Monſieur's* Complement, and to recommence a new ſhowr of tears, even before the firſt ſtorm was overblown. The death of *Madame* the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*.

In this variety of good, and evil events but (as it uſually falls out in the courſe of humane life) ſuch as had more in them of evil than good, the Duke ſaw himſelf neceſſitated to engage in a Diſpute

Anno 1627.

New occasions of misunderstanding betwixt the Duke, and Cardinal *Richelieu* about the wrack of the Carrick.

Dispute with the Cardinal, and upon this occasion. The rumour that had been spread abroad of the infinite Riches the shipwrack'd Carrick carried in her, had allur'd the Cardinal, to put in that title to the spoil, which he pretended his Office of Superintendent of the Navies (with which he had also confounded that of Admiral) gave him to all the wracks that should happen upon the Coasts of *France*. Wherein doubting nevertheless that the ordinary Officers he had establish'd at *Bordeaux*, as in all other parts and Havens of the Kingdom, would not be sufficient to justifie his Claim against the Duke of *Espernon*, who was upon the place, and whom he knew to be a man, that would not easily be baffled out of his Right; he caus'd a Commission to be directed to one *Fortia* a young Master of Requests, that under the Authority of the Royal Name he might with greater facility obtain his own desires. This business was at first debated with great civility and moderation, and the Duke was very willing to satisfie the Commissioner of his Right, and Title, by shewing him Evidences of above three hundred years standing, by which his Ancestors had ever been maintain'd in their Title to all the Wracks that hapned upon the Coast of *Medoc*, exclusively not only to the Officers of the Admiralty, but even to the King himself: by whose predecessors it had been formerly demis'd in free gift to the Lords of *Candale* for ever. After which he moreover deliver'd him Copies of those Evidences, clearing to him by several Authentick Writings and Records, his antient, and lawful Right; which he desir'd him to prefer to the Council, together with his Reasons, and the equity of his cause. But this was not the thing was desir'd at Court, and *Fortia* was blam'd for having taken cognisance of the Duke's Title, and for having receiv'd Copies of his Deeds, as if he had a mind to bring a business to the issue of a Suit, and Tryal, wherein they intended that Authority should stand for Law. *Fortia* therefore having receiv'd this check, would for the future endeavour by violence to repair, what he had by moderation, and respect to Equity overthrown; and to that end began to talk to the Duke in other terms, than he had us'd at first; wherin meeting with a Spirit that was not to be frighted with the menaces of the Court, the heat of their disputes grew at last to an open Quarrel betwixt them. Whereupon the Commissary, either unwilling, or not daring to have any more to do with the Duke, desir'd to be recall'd, as he was; and it is not to be doubted at his return to the Cardinal fail'd not to lay all the evil success of his own ill carriage at the Duke's door, by whose ill offices the former discontents were not likely to be any thing qualified, much less appeas'd.

The Cardinals pretensions.

The Duke's Title.

The

The Duke had in the mean time diſpatch'd away *le Pleſſis* to the King, to beſeech his Majeſty that he would pleaſe to ſend to the Parliament of *Paris*, to do him right in his lawful claim; giving him moreover inſtructions to go to the Cardinal, and in his name to conjure him to ſue forth his Title, by ſuch of his own Council as he ſhould himſelf think fit; and that he for his part would willingly ſtand to their award: but the Duke's caſe was too clear for the Cardinal to ſubmit his to reference. He had already ſeen his Title, which was ſuch as he knew nothing but the Sovereign Authority could ſuperſede, and that made him deaf to any thing of Arbitration. He choſe therefore rather to continue his pretenſe under the protection of the Royal Name, and to that purpoſe procur'd *Monſieur Servient*, another Maſter of Requeſts, to be put into Commiſſion to proſecute his Title in *Fortia*'s ſtead; a man that by his dexterity and handſome carriage prevail'd ſo far upon the Duke's inclination, and eſteem, that he obtain'd that from him, and in a very few days, which the other had been conſtrain'd to give over, as a hopeleſs thing, and impoſſible to be effected.

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The Duke offers to ſubmit to a reference, which is refus'd by the Cardinal.

The Duke in fine condeſcended ſo far, as to conſent that all the Goods ſav'd from the Wrack, ſhould be depoſited in the hands of two ſufficient Citizens; of which Goods there were ſeven or eight thouſand little rough Diamonds, valued generally at forty or fifty * Sous a piece, ſome pieces of Amber-gris, (or rather black Amber, for it was of that colour, and nothing near ſo good as ours) ſeveral Bezoar Stones, and ſome other Merchandize, of no great value; and this was all that was recover'd of the rich lading of this prodigious Carrick, the reſt being either buried in the Sea, or pilfred away by the Countrey people; though all put together was but a very ſmall part of this mighty loſs. *Servient* therefore by a gentle, and inſenſible violence, having (as has been ſaid) won upon the Duke's inflexible temper, obtain'd all the ſatisfaction he could deſire, and in exactly obſerving his Commiſſion, acquir'd the Duke withal for his friend, performing therein what is only reſerved for men of extraordinary Conduct, which was to reconcile ſo oppoſite Intereſts, and yet to diſoblige neither party.

Monſieur Servient employ'd in the buſineſs, who reconciles the difference.

* *Sous*, a peny, the *Sous de Paris*, or *Sol Marqué* is peny farthing Engliſh.

The differences, thus moderated by the prudence of *Servient*, were ſoon totally huſh'd up by the noiſe of a War with *England*, which at this time unexpectedly broke out. The Duke of * *Buckingham*, Favourite to *Charles* King of *Great Britain*, as (by an extraordinary privilédge of Fortune) he had been before to King *James* his Father, was (as it was ſaid) highly preſs'd by ſome of the Houſe

* By my Authour call'd the Duke *de Boulzinghem*

Anno 1627.

Houſe of Lords, of the Parliament of *England* to give an account of the Treaſure, that (as they pretended) had been imbezzeld during the Reign of the late King: upon which occaſion, the Severity natural to that Nation in ſuch Inquiſitions, making him juſtly to apprehend the iſſue of an Enquiry; wherein perhaps it had been impoſſible for any man living to have ſatisfied their Judgments, or their Malice; he choſe rather to withdraw himſelf from the inconvenience of ſuch a Trial, and to put himſelf into a poſture of ſtanding upon his own Guard, than to run the hazard of a Sentence that he could not expect ſhould be favourable to him, from men that were envious of his Favour and Fortune: and this has been ſaid to have been one motive to this Invaſion. Another, and which was no leſs prevalent with the Duke (as ſome have deliver'd, who pretended to be very privy to his thoughts) was the jealouſie he had of the Cardinal's greatneſs, of whom he had been ſo ill ſatisfied in a late Embaſſy into this Kingdom, as thenceforward to conceive either ſo mortal a hatred to his Perſon, or at leaſt ſo high an emulation of his Power, as it is believ'd by many prompted him to undertake this War with *France*; from whence it may be judg'd, how light the cauſes commonly are, that bring on the ruine of Nations, and the deſolation of Kingdoms. But the better to perſwade the *Engliſh* to approve of this expedition (it being no eaſie matter to raiſe money there for any preparation of this kind without the conſent of the people) his pretenſe was to ſuccour the *Rochellers*, that were infinitely oppreſs'd, and the Proteſtant Party, which he ſaid, ſince the laſt Peace, was very much weakned in *France*.

Our *Engliſh* Authors, that as they muſt needs be better inform'd of the motives of this War, are likely better to inform us, give a far different accompt. *Vide* Bakers *Chronicle*.

Having with this pretext palliated either his Animoſity, or his Ambition, with a Fleet conſiſting of a hundred and fifty Sail, upon which he had Ship'd * ten thouſand men, he preſented himſelf before the Iſle of *Ré* in *July* 1627. This Enterprize, which in all probability was likely to be favour'd with an Inſurrection of thoſe of the Reform'd Religion at home (who were not depreſs'd to that degree, but that they were yet very conſiderable) put the whole Court into a very great Alarm: wherein the Cardinal, who very well underſtood this affront, to be particularly directed againſt him, look'd upon it as his own immediate concern: neither did he fail on his part of his utmoſt endeavour to fruſtrate his Adverſaries Deſign, and to maintain himſelf in the advantages of his Princes Favour. He ſent diſpatches therefore to all parts of the Kingdom, for the raiſing of new Forces, and caus'd a Commiſſion to be iſſued out to the Duke of *Angoulême*, to call together ſuch as were already on foot, with them to go to the defenſe of

The *Engliſh*, land in the Iſle of *Ré*. * Six thouſand our Hiſtorians ſay.

The Cardinals Orders to oppoſe the *Engliſh*.

Fort-

Fort-Loüis, built before *Rochelle*, upon which it was likely the *Engliſh* would make their firſt attempt, and therein alſo to endeavour to curb *Rochelle* it ſelf, which yet retain'd a mutinous diſpoſition, under a diſſembled ſhew of Obedience, and Duty. *Anno* 1627.

Le Pleſſis hapned in this juncture of time to be at Court, whither (as has been ſaid) he had been before diſpatch'd by the Duke his Maſter to ſolicit his Intereſt about the Wrack of the Carrick. This Gentleman was ſo generally eſteem'd by all both for his Valour, and his Experience in matters of War, and principally by the Cardinal (who had been a witneſs of his behaviour throughout the Queen Mother's Affairs, and had in thoſe times contracted a ſtrict League of Friendſhip with him) that he immediately apply'd himſelf to him in this urgent neceſſity; neither did he herein forget any promiſes that might induce him, or omit any endearments that might oblige him to render the Duke his Maſter favourable to his deſigns, and himſelf to accept of an Employment, upon this important occaſion: Aſſuring him withal, that no more mention ſhould be made of the Carrick, or of any other croſs Affair he had been perplex'd withal, and had now depending at Court. Upon this aſſurance *Le Pleſſis* departed from Court, provided with ten Commiſſions for the raiſing of a Regiment in his own name, and with all the civil Language, and fair Promiſes could be deſir'd for the Duke his Maſter, whoſe aſſiſtance was exceedingly conſiderable, by reaſon of the ſhort cut by Sea, betwixt *Bordeaux*, and *Rochelle*.

Le Pleſſis the Duke of *Eſpernon's* Domeſtick Servant, has the command of a Regiment conferr'd upon him, upon this occaſion.

Le Pleſſis arriv'd in *Guienne* in the beginning of *Auguſt*, where he firſt gave the Duke an accompt of his own Affairs, and afterwards acquainted him with the Commiſſion he had receiv'd for himſelf; who was ſo aſſiſting to him in the raiſing of his Regiment, that it was one of the firſt that was ready for this Service. The Duke no ſooner ſaw *Le Pleſſis* Companies compleat, but that he fell to making ready the Succours were requir'd of him for the Fort of the Iſle of *Ré*, already beſieg'd by the *Engliſh* Forces, though I muſt confeſs it was (contrary to his cuſtom in other occaſions) exceeding ſlowly: not that he did not heartily deſire to ſee *Rochelle* reduc'd to the King's Obedience, but he could have been glad that the Cardinal, whom he had no reaſon to love, might have had no ſhare in the honour of this great Enterprize; as if he had then foreſeen that the addition of Reputation, and Greatneſs, he muſt infallibly derive from that ſucceſs, would one day prove fatal to him. Yet in this diſtraction of thoughts he fail d not nevertheleſs to prefer his Duty before all other reſpects, that regarded either his own Paſſion, or Intereſt; and in effect the

Anno 1627. great Succours that were drawn together upon *Olome* Sands, and by which the Isle was preserv'd, consisted principally of those Forces he sent away from *Bordeaux*.

Anno 1628. Yet was not this the only thing wherein the Duke was highly serviceable upon this important occasion, his instructions contributing as much at least to the taking of *Rochelle*, as any other means whatsoever: for it was he, without all contradiction that gave the first advice for the bringing up a Cawsey to block up the Harbour, and who rejected all the propositions of *Pompeo Targone*, as frivolous, and of no use; and indeed the success of those floating Forts, and Bridges contriv'd by this *Italian* Engineer, proving such, as the Duke had propheſied it would be, they were fain when all was done to follow his advice. A Copy of which advice I here present you, as it was written by his own hand to the Duke of *Angoulesme*, before the Cardinal came before *Rochelle*; the Duke rather choosing (it should seem) to communicate his opinion to this Prince, than to any other of the Commanders of the King's Army, as he had his person in much greater esteem.

The Duke of *Espernon*'s Letter of advice to the Duke of *Angoulesme*.

SIR,

"I should have been glad of an occasion wherein by some signal Service, rather than by fruitless, and ill couch'd words to "have manifefested my Affection to you: But since my good "Fortune will not so far gratifie my ambition, I must content my "self with what I have, and make it the business of these lines "to give you an assurance of the great obligation you have con-"ferr'd upon me in sending Captain *Marsillac* with the Relation "of the Relief my Lord the Duke of *Orleans* has happily put in-"to the Fort *St. Martin*. I doubt not, Sir, but your Wisdom has "contributed much to this great performance; the success "whereof makes me believe, that at his Majesties arrival, the "glory of chasing the *English* shamefully out of his Kingdom, is "assur'd, and consequently that of reducing *Rochelle* to the last "necessity of absolutely submitting to his obedience; for the de-"sign of blocking it upon the Land-side by Forts, and Redoubts, "with lines of communication, is an infallible course: it is in-"deed somewhat a tedious way, but in a year or two at most the "place must inevitably fall into the King's hands, without loss of "men, and less expense of money: but the Port must of neces-"sity be shut up, which is not to be done, but by some solid ma-"terials; and whosoever will undertake to do it by a floating "Bridge, will find himself mistaken, at least my opinion tells me "so; for the impetuosity of the Winds, and the force of the Tides,

will

" will break whatever ſwims above water, there being no ſtabi- " lity in floating bodies to reſiſt them. Several other reaſons " might be given, which would be too long for a Letter; and be- " ſides it would be a great preſumption in me to think my opinion " ought to have any place amongſt ſo many great, and prudent " perſons, as you are in the King's Army, *&c.* From *Cadillac* the 4th. of *October* 1628. The Duke of *Angouleſme* ſignified to him, how much he approv'd of his opinion, by the anſwer he ſent him the 21. of the ſame month, in theſe terms. *Anno* 1628.

My Lord,

" The new aſſurances you are pleas'd to give me of your affe- " ction together with your prudent advice, have given me an " equal ſatisfaction, and deſire, to purſue the courſe you conceive " moſt conducing to the happy iſſue of the Enterprize in hand. I " do aſſure you, I am abſolutely of your opinion, and I think my " ſelf very fortunate in it: but the diverſity of Judgments amongſt " us, producing variety of counſels, I fear may be ruinous to a " deſign; the beginning whereof might otherwiſe promiſe a " ſucceſsful event, *&c.* And elſewhere he writes him word: " That " he ſubmits to his advice, as to a thing that ought to ſtand for " a Law, and a Rule; as well out of reſpect to the great Wiſdom " upon which all his opinions were grounded, as to the perfect " knowledge he had of all things, that might prejudice, or ad- " vance the deſign of *Rochelle*. And in truth from the year 1621. that he had been employ'd before this place, he had meditated nothing more, than how to reduce it into his Majeſties obedience. So that I have ſeen in his hands at one time thirty ſeveral deſigns for the ſhutting up of the Port. *Pompeo Targone* (as has been ſaid) came thither at that time to view the place, and the Duke call'd in ſeveral other Engineers to adviſe about it: but in the end concluded upon the Cawſey, as the only thing that could poſſibly block up the Channel. The Duke of *Angouleſme*'s anſwer.

The ſitting down before *Rochelle* ſoon ſtirr'd the whole *Hugonot* party into Commotion; and although moſt of the other Cities of their Faction, utterly diſclaim'd having any hand in the *Engliſh* Invaſion, and ſeem'd to condemn *Soubize* for having call'd them in: yet was there not one of them nevertheleſs that in the concluſion did not joyn with them, or that refus'd to be involv'd in the ruine of that Rebellious City. It was impoſſible the root of this Faction could be ſo violently ſhaken, and the incorporate branches remain inſenſible of the motion: ſo that the extremeſt members thereof, foreſeeing a certain, and general ruine in the The Commotion of the whole *Hugonot* Party.

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fall of *Rochelle* (which was, as it were, the body where the soul of their Interest did inhabit) they no sooner saw it threatned by these mighty preparations: but that the common safety made them concur in the common defense, and break into open Arms in all parts of the Kingdom. In *Languedoc*, the *Sevennes*, and *Guienne* they were excited by the instigation of the Duke of *Rohan*: *Montauban* follow'd the example of the rest, and what Protestations soever the Inhabitants of that City had made to the Duke of *Espernon*, that they would continue firm in their duty, their destiny notwithstanding over-rul'd all those temperate resolutions, and the hour was now come, that the King's Victories must (in spight of their own endeavours to oppose it) establish them in a happier degree of Peace, and Safety, than till this time they had ever enjoy'd, even in the greatest prosperity of their Affairs.

And of *Montauban*.

It was no fault of the Duke of *Espernon's*, that they did not obtain this benefit better cheap, and by better ways, and that they were not at once both happy, and innocent: he often by Letters put them in mind of their duty, and of the promises they had so faithfully made him, to continue firm therein, and, for a final testimony of the zeal he had to their preservation, sent to them one of the most powerful instruments he could possibly make choice of for so good a work. And this was *Morin*, a Councellor in the * *Chambre de l' Edict* of *Guienne*, a man of admirable Wit, and great Eloquence, to perswade them to their own good, had they been capable to understand it; and one the Duke conceiv'd the more proper for this imployment, as being one of their own perswasion, who had born Arms amongst them with great Reputation and Valour, and who having upon very good considerations reconcil'd himself to his Duty, was the more fit to perswade them to do a thing, wherein he had himself been a leading example.

* *Chambre de l' Edict*, and *Chambre Me-partie* is all one, it being (as has been said elsewhere) a Court erected in favour of those of the Religion, consisting the one half of Catholicks, and the other of those of their own party.

So soon as these, and the rest of their Party had declar'd, the King seeing the War kindled in almost all the Provinces of his Kingdom, sent away the Prince of *Condé* into *Languedoc*, in the quality of Lieutenant General of his Armies, not only in *Languedoc*, and *Guienne*, but likewise in some other adjoyning Provinces; to whom he also deliver'd two Commissions of Lieutenant Generals under him, for the Dukes of *Montmorency*, and *Espernon*. The latter of these had no sooner intelligence of the Prince's arrival at *Tholouze*, but that he immediately posted thither to pay him the respect due to a Prince of the Blood, and from his own mouth to receive his Majesties Commands. He was there receiv'd by the Prince with all the tenderness, and manifestation

The Prince of *Condé* made the Lieutenant General in *Guienne*, and some other adjoyning Provinces.

of

of entire confidence he could poſſibly expect, or deſire: but how kindly ſoever he took this entertainment, he could not nevertheleſs force his complacency ſo far as to accept of the Commiſſion the Prince had to give him of Lieutenant General under his Command. He at firſt defended himſelf from it by ſeveral very civil, and reſpective excuſes; telling him, amongſt other things: "That "being his moſt humble Servant (and he was effectually ſo) no "condition whatever could more ſubject him to his Commands, "than the reſpect he had for his Quality and Perſon had already "done, and that for any thing elſe, the power he had as Gover- "nour of *Guienne*, giving him of it ſelf ſufficient Authority to "cauſe him to be obey'd in whatever he ſhould pleaſe to com- "mand within that Province, he did not ſtand in need of any "further Commiſſion for that end. But at laſt (the Prince unwil- ling to underſtand his excuſes, and ſtill preſſing him to receive it) the Duke with his uſual liberty franckly told him: "That from "his youth till that time he had ever been honour'd with ſuch "Commands immediately under the King's, his Maſters, with- "out having ever accepted that quality under any other than "themſelves; and that he did therefore beſeech him he would "pleaſe to permit him in this laſt Act of his Life, to retain a privi- "ledge he had for ſo many years, and under ſo many glorious "Maſters enjoy'd. After ſo candid a Declaration, the Prince would no more importune him; neither did he diſcover the leaſt offenſe, or unkindneſs, at the Duke's refuſal; which he had the more reaſon to be ſatisfied withal, as he very well knew he had formerly rejected the ſame Employment under the *Count de Soiſſons*.

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The Duke had no ſooner taken leave of the Prince, but that he return'd back in all diligence towards *Bordeaux*, to take order for the raiſing of ſuch Forces, as he was to ſet on foot. He had at preſent no more, than the ſame Regiments of Foot, and the ſame Troops of Horſe, that had ſerv'd before in the like occaſion, and thoſe the Marquis *de Monferrat* (whom he had lately made Lieutenant of his own Company of *Gens d'-Armes*) had order to draw into the field: but theſe ſmall Forces were ſcarce ready when the Duke receiv'd intelligence that a little Town call'd *Cauſſade*, near to *Montauban*, had had the confidence to declare for the *Hugonot* Party. Upon this news the juſt apprehenſion he had, leſt the other Cities of his Government, that were inclin'd this way, ſhould follow this ill example; and leſt in the end, inſtead of *Montauban* alone, he ſhould find thirty good Cities oppos'd againſt him, made him haſten that way to chaſtize theſe firſt Rebels: but

he

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he was hardly there arriv'd, when he understood both by several Letters from the Prince, and by other pressing intelligence from the Court it self, that the Duke of *Rohan* had gather'd together a considerable body of an Army in *Sevennes*, where he was still rallying so many other Forces of his Party, that of them he doubted not to make up such an Army, as would be able by some notable attempt to divert the King from the Enterprize of *Rochelle*. It was therefore necessary for him to strive with all his endeavour to obstruct his passage, wherein consisted the main concern of the whole Affair, and accordingly he went about it, though not without great reluctancy, that he should approach so near to *Caussade*, and not stay to besiege it: but on the other side he durst not do it, lest whilst he should be taken up with an Enterprize of so little importance, the Duke of *Rohan* might take that opportunity to execute his design. I heard many of his Servants murmur, that he was not more eager of this Siege, and he himself knew very well, that the Prince had writ something unhandsomely of him to the Court about it: but he was nothing moved at all that noise, and having good reason for what he did, nothing had power to alter his determination.

The Duke of *Espernon* opposes himself to the Duke of *Rohan*, who was moving with an Army to the relief of *Rochelle*.

Whilst he was thus vigilant about *Montauban* to obstruct the Duke of *Rohan*'s passage, the Prince of *Condé*, who had made a very considerable progress in *Languedoc*, by the taking of *Pamieres*, *Realmont*, and several other places, resolv'd to pursue his Victories into *Guienne*. There was a little corner in the lower *Roüergue*, and bordering upon the *Sevennes*, that had never yet felt the power of the Royal Arms; it was therefore agreed upon betwixt the Prince and the Duke of *Espernon*, that the Army should advance that way, their design herein being, either to disunite this little Countrey from the Duke of *Rohan*'s Interests, or at least by this Enterprize to divert him from the design he had of moving towards *Rochelle*; it being very unlikely he should think of that, whilst the Cities of his party should be so dangerously engag'd in the most advantageous Post he had upon any occasion to retire himself unto.

The Prince of *Condé* lays Siege to *St. Afrique*.

The Prince of *Condé* who was very punctual in all his designs, at the appointed day, which was in the latter end of *May*, presented himself in sight of *Vâbres*, an Episcopal Sea, and almost the only Catholick City of all that Countrey; to whom the Duke also the next day joyn'd himself with his Forces. Their design was suddenly to clap down before *Saint Afrique*, a Town very considerable in those parts, and exceedingly well fortified: but the success of this Enterprize did by no means answer their expectation,

ſtation, they being after a very brisk aſſault, vigorouſly ſuſtain'd by thoſe within, conſtrain'd to raiſe the Siege; after which the Prince's Forces being very much decreas'd in the preceding Service, and infinitely dejected with this repulſe, as the Duke's alſo were, it was neceſſary to diſpoſe them into ſeveral Garriſons to refreſh them. *Anno* 1628. With ill ſucceſs.

It ſeem'd as if this baffle at *Saint Afrique* had hapned for no other end, but to juſtifie the Duke about the buſineſs of *Cauſſade*, wherein the miſcarriage of the one caus'd his wiſdom to be highly magnified for not having attempted the other; whereas before both the Court, and the whole Kingdom talk'd a little odly of his proceeding; ſo ready is ill natur'd mankind to cenſure the braveſt Spirits upon the leaſt ſhadow of occaſion, though after having perform'd in the ſight of all the world innumerable actions that ought the leaſt of them to defend the Author's name from Calumny, upon any accident of Fortune. The King lay at this time before *Rochelle*, and *le Pleſſis*, who had ſerv'd in the Iſle of *Ré* at the defeat of the *Engliſh* with marvellous reputation, continued to ſerve with his Regiment at this Siege; where being upon the great Scene of Affairs, and hearing what was ſaid of the Duke his Maſter, he fail'd not to let him know what cenſure the world paſs'd upon him concerning the buſineſs of *Cauſſade*, and how he had been repreſented to the King: inſomuch that the Duke finding it neceſſary to give his Majeſty an accompt of what had paſs'd upon this occaſion, he diſpatch'd away *Monſieur Fabert*, who was then in his entertainment, to Court, to that effect. This *Monſieur Fabert* was a Gentleman of whoſe education the Duke had had ſo particular a care, that he had ever been either under his own eye, or with the Duke *de la Valette* his Son; and having obſerv'd in him, in a very green youth, great courage, and underſtanding, and an extraordinary aſſiduity, and application to matters of his profeſſion; and thence conceiving the hopes of thoſe rare fruits we now ſee, had ever honour'd him (which was not ordinary with him to young people) with great demonſtrations of particular favour and eſteem. The Duke ſent *Monſieur Fabert* to Court.

Fabert being arriv'd at Court, preſently acquainted the King with the occaſion of his coming, preſenting with all his Letters of Credence to the Cardinal, wherein he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that his Majeſty remain'd highly ſatisfied with the Duke's Conduct; and as touching the Cardinal, *le Pleſſis*, who had an old eſtabliſh'd familiarity with him, writ to the Duke in a Letter dated from *Ferigny* the 24th. of *September*, 1628. in theſe terms: "Before the arrival of *Monſieur Fabert*, there were various

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"rious discourses of your proceeding at *Caussade*; wherein, though "some were prompted by their malice, yet even the most mode- "rate, and who spoke neither out of Envy, nor Disaffection, could "not absolutely acquit your Reputation: but since his coming, "all men unanimously applaud your Wisdom; insomuch that "Cardinal *Richelieu* himself, who before in obscure language "would sometimes give me private touches of reproach (to "which I could return no other answer, than to entreat he would "suspend his Judgment, till you writ to Court) has confess'd to "me since, that had you engag'd in that Siege, *Monsieur de Rohan* had "doubtless pass'd by, as he had promis'd the *Rochellers*; and that "you had been so long in possession of well doing, that it was "henceforward impossible for you to do amiss.

After the raising of the Siege of *Saint Afrique*, they were now to think of a second devastation of *Montauban*, and to make the innocent Countrey suffer for the Crimes of that rebellious City: to effect which, the Duke had only two Regiments remaining of three that he had rais'd; the third which was that of *Saint Croix d' Ornano*, having by the Prince been taken into the Body of his own Army: yet did he not for all this refuse to undertake this difficult Enterprize, which nevertheless I do verily believe he could never have been able to execute, without the assistance of a great number of gallant Gentlemen Volunteers, to whose Valour (as has been already said) he stood oblig'd for most of the Services he perform'd for the King in that Province.

The business was therefore perform'd with very good success, not that the Enemy did not make a stout Opposition, and did not daily engage the Duke's small Forces: but it was ever to their own loss. Whilst matters went thus prosperously on, the continual toil wherewith the Duke had been exercis'd during this whole Campagne, had so overcome his spirits, that he fell dangerously sick at *Castelsarrazin*; where, how importunate soever his Physician was with him to retire from the ill air of that Countrey, corrupted no doubt by the excessive heats, and the length of the War, which had there continued for almost five years together without intermission, he was notwithstanding obstinate to continue in his Camp, and would by no perswasions be drawn to forsake his Army. Neither, though his indisposition confin'd him to his bed, could it hinder his indefatigable mind from still working upon his business: he would have his people to bring him an hourly accompt of all that pass'd, and his Genius inspiring his followers with the same good Fortune had ever attended him in all his designs, he (even in the most violent height of his distem-

The Duke of *Espernon* falls sick.

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per) gave himſelf Orders, the execution whereof made him ever victorious. But after having long ſtrugled with his Diſeaſe, he muſt at laſt give way to its violence; and his ſtrength by the agitation of his mind viſibly impairing, made his Phyſician begin to apprehend a more dangerous iſſue of his diſtemper, than was at firſt ſuſpected. They were therefore conſtrain'd whether he would or no to force him from his Camp, and to carry him aboard a Boat, in which he was convey'd upon the River *Garonne*, and the next day brought to his own Houſe *Cadillac*; where he was ſcarcely arriv'd, but that the change of air produc'd a manifeſt alteration in his health, which in a few days was ſucceeded by a perfect recovery. *Anno* 1628. The Duke recovers.

The waſte having been made about *Montauban*, it was ſtill neceſſary to leave ſome Forces thereabouts, to hinder the excurſions of thoſe of the City; which Forces, though very few, were notwithſtanding ſo conveniently diſpos'd, that the Enemy could never make any advantage of their own numbers. The Marquis *de Monferrant* (who together with the Lieutenancy of the Duke's *Gens d'-Armes*, had at his recommendation moreover obtain'd the Office of *Mareſchal de Camp*) was left to command them; an employment wherein he ſo well diſcharg'd himſelf, as beſides the honour he deſerv'd for having with ſo few men bridled the Licence of ſo populous a City, he further acquir'd that of having kept thoſe men in ſo admirable a Diſcipline, that there was never the leaſt complaint made of any diſorder, or the leaſt inſolence committed by any of his party.

Whilſt in *Languedoc*, and *Guienne* the King's Forces were taken up with theſe petty Enterprizes, his Majeſty in his own perſon continued to ſtreighten *Rochelle* both by Sea and Land; carrying on the Siege with ſo much vigour, and conduct, that after having made the beſieg'd ſuffer extremities, far beyond what we read of with horror in the moſt ſenſleſs obſtinacies of other deſperate Cities; he at laſt reduc'd them to a neceſſity of ſubmitting to his Royal Mercy. In which Surrender, though the wilful blindneſs wherewith the *Rochellers* had been ſo long poſſeſs'd, had kept them from looking into their own miſerable condition, till they had conſum'd not only all proviſions fit for the uſe of man; but alſo all that the extremeſt hunger could compel the uncleaneſt creatures to convert to food: they yet found they had not exhauſted the King's Royal goodneſs, who had enough left to pardon the miſerable remains of thoſe wretched people, the length, and ſufferings of the Siege had yet left alive, preſerving ſo thoſe that had try'd, and had not been able to effect their own deſtruction, and *Rochelle* ſurrendred to the King.

Anno 1628. exerciſing his Clemency, upon ſuch as had no compaſſion of themſelves. To conclude he made himſelf Maſter of *Rochelle*, that is to ſay, abſolute King of *France*, which, till this City was reduc'd, he could not properly have been ſaid to be.

Anno 1629. This glorious year was concluded by this happy Victory, a ſucceſs by which all the occaſions of thoſe civil diſcords, which the difference of Religions had hitherto almoſt continually fomented, were ſo totally rooted up, as gave us for the future leiſure to proſecute our Forein deſigns; wherein we have ſince been ſo fortunate, as by the ſucceſs of our Arms to be ſecur'd of a firm, and laſt repoſe for the time to come, if we can continue this good union, and intelligence amongſt our ſelves; the breach whereof can alone encourage our Neighbours to attempt upon our Peace.

The King being yet before *Rochelle*, and the Town upon the point of Surrender, his reſolution was abſolutely bent upon reducing the remaining Cities of the *Hugonot* Party to the ſame obedience; in order whereunto his Majeſty ſent a Letter to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, to acquaint him with ſo much of his deſign as concern'd the Province where he had the honour to Command; a Diſpatch that was ſent away by *Servient*, who was to be both the Bearer of this Miſſive, and the Interpreter of his Majeſties further Intentions. The Employment this Gentleman had been upon into that Countrey the preceding year, about the buſineſs of the Carrick, and the dexterity, and prudence he had diſcover'd in the management of that Affair, had made him by the King thought worthy of, and ſufficient for the Office of *Intendant de la Juſtice, & Police* in *Guienne*, with which he was at this time inveſted: but that being ſuch a Commiſſion as is hardly to be executed in Provinces, that have Parliaments of their own, without intrenching upon, or at leaſt, giving offenſe unto their Authority, ſoon begot a feud betwixt the Parliament of *Bordeaux* and him; which grew at laſt to ſuch a height, that *Servient* was fain to prefer a complaint to the Council of ſome affronts he had receiv'd from that Aſſembly; whereupon he had granted him a Sentence of Prohibition, together with a Citation of perſonal appearance againſt the firſt Preſident *de Gourgues*, and ſome other Members of that Court. They muſt therefore of neceſſity appear, and accordingly the firſt Preſident came in at the appointed time; where preſenting himſelf before the King, to juſtifie the proceeding that had occaſion'd this Citation, his reception was a little ſevere. The King, diſſatisfied with him, as was ſaid, upon other accompts, commanded him to ſpeak kneeling; which the Preſident making

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ſome difficulty to do, as an unuſual form; the King, riſing from his ſeat, pull'd him by the Robe to compel him to it. 'Tis ſaid, that even in this very act, and the confuſion the face of an incens'd Prince might reaſonably have put any man into, the Preſident immediately recollecting himſelf, ſpoke of the violence was offer'd to him, with an Efficacy, and Eloquence that aſtoniſh'd all that heard him, and that was ſo powerful, as to extract ſome gentle and ſatisfactory expreſſions even from the King himſelf: but this was alſo the laſt lightning of his Wit, and he ſeem'd to have muſtred all his Forces for this one piece of Service, ending his Life almoſt as ſoon as his Oration; who though of a contemptible ſtature, and an infirm conſtitution, but of a ſtrange vivacity, and courage, was ſo wounded with the ſenſe of the King's ſeverity, that he was never after to be comforted; but retiring, already ſick, out of his Majeſties preſence, dyed a very few days after. He had this obligation to the Duke of *Eſpernons* unkindneſs, that it diſcover'd in him a great many excellent qualities, that would otherwiſe have been buried in his Aſhes; for had he in truth had nothing more to do, than meerly to have exercis'd the ordinary functions of his place, he would even in that capacity have met with concurrences enough to have diſputed that honour with him: but having had opportunity to manifeſt his courage in ſo mighty, and dangerous a diſpute, his Eloquence in ſo many Illuſtrious Aſſemblies, and his Zeal for the dignity, and honour of his Fraternity, in ſo many notable, and important occaſions, has left behind him ſo fair a memory, that he does at this day paſs, in the opinions of all that knew him, for one of the greateſt men that ever preſided in that Court.

Anno 1629.

The death of the Chief Preſident *de Gourgues.*

If the King's ſucceſs in the reducing of *Rochelle* gave a high reputation to the Royal Arms, the quick diſpatch of that Siege was of no leſs utility to his other Affairs; for every one imagining this Victory would have coſt as many years, as he was months about it, that opinion was ſo generally receiv'd, and concluded for ſo infallible a truth by all the neighbouring Princes, that there was hardly one, who had not propos'd to himſelf ſome advantage, or other from this long diverſion; either to the prejudice of his Majeſties Reputation, or to that of his Affairs. The King of *Spain* therefore, the King of *England*, the Dukes of *Savoy*, and *Lorain*, entred into a powerful League, that every one might make his benefit of this Civil War: Wherein *Spain* and *Savoy* doubted not, without any reſiſtance, to poſſeſs themſelves of the Territories of the Duke of *Mantua*, an Ally, and a Vaſſal to this Crown: The deſign of the *Engliſh* was not only to relieve

Anno 1629. and reeſtabliſh the remains of the Reform'd Religion in *France*; but alſo to revenge themſelves for the loſſes they had ſuſtain'd in the buſineſs of the Iſle of *Ré*, and the Duke of *Lorain* (an ambitious, and offended Prince) propos'd to himſelf, and that without much difficulty, the uſurpation of the three Biſhopricks of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, which, as they were naturally members of it, would bring an equal addition of benefit, and honour to his own Dukedom.

The laſt of the foremention'd Princes not daring to begin the quarrel, ſtaid expecting when the other Confederates ſhould break the Ice, in the mean time concealing his deſigns under a diſſembled ſhew of Friendſhip; and the King of *England*, not well recover'd of the late Blow, had no mind to declare without the concurrence of the Duke of *Lorain*: ſo that whilſt theſe two Princes ſate ſtill in mutual expectation, which ſhould lead the Field, the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, falling ſmartly to work, had by Arms ſo far advanc'd their deſigns, that they had already poſſeſs'd themſelves of moſt of the Duke of *Mantua*'s Cities, and excepting *Caſal*, and *Mantua* it ſelf, were maſters of the whole Dutchy.

Spain and *Savoy* invade *Mantua*.

The King, juſtly incens'd at ſo great an injury offer'd to him in the perſon of his Ally, might reaſonably enough have reveng'd himſelf by the ſame way, by which he had been offended; but retaining, it ſhould ſeem, a greater reſpect for the Duke of *Savoy*, than he had done for him, he diſpatch'd an Ambaſſadour to him to complain That without denouncing of War, and to the violation of their former Treaties, he had taken Arms againſt a Prince, whom as an Ally he was oblig'd in honour to protect; adviſing him in the concluſion, either to reſtore things to the condition wherein he had found them, or to prepare himſelf to withſtand the utmoſt power of his Arms, which he was reſolv'd to employ for the vindication of his own Honour, and the protection of his Friends, and Allies.

If the Duke of *Savoy* (a Prince truly great in all things) had not yet been more ambitious, than he was great, it had been no hard matter for him to have found out ſuch a remedy, as might eaſily have prevented the enſuing War; but being big with the hope of taking *Monferrat*, he was not to be perſwaded to give over an Enterprize, which he thought as good as certain to him. He could not imagine that the King's Army tir'd out, as it was, with the incommodities of a tedious Siege, could be in any condition of coming to trouble his deſigns; neither did he believe that the King himſelf, who had been expos'd to the ſame inconveniences

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his Army had ſuffer'd, could be ſo ſoon able in his own perſon to undertake ſo troubleſome a Journey, which being preſuppos'd, nothing could have power to hinder his Affairs; ſo that endeavouring to hold his Majeſty in hand, without giving his Ambaſſadour any poſitive anſwer, or abſolutely engaging his word, he ſtill continued his Uſurpation. *Anno* 1629.

The King impatient of this injury to his own perſon, and more of the injuſtice done to the Duke of *Mantua*, with a Reſolution as generous in it ſelf, as the execution prov'd glorious to his Name, concluded the following *February*, to croſs the *Alpes*, and through all the difficulties of Snow, and Ice, to force his way to the defenſe of his Honour, which in *Italy* was ſo highly engag'd. An Expedition that the Duke of *Savoy* finding he could not with all his dexterity prevent, he reſolv'd by Arms to guard the Entry into his own Dukedom: and to that end he caus'd the paſſage of *Suze* (a paſs nature her ſelf had made inacceſſible (if any thing could be ſo to Valour) to be ſtrangely fortified: but this ſtrong Poſt the King made no difficulty to aſſault, in which Service the Duke *de la Valette* Colonel of the Foot, putting himſelf in the head of the Forlorn Hope, drawn out of the Regiment of Guards, firſt mounted the Enemies Works, and ſhewing himſelf as much Superiour to his Followers in bravery, as he was in Command, in a few hours overcame all difficulties, both of Mountains, and men that oppos'd his way. The King goes into *Italy*. The Duke *de la Valette* forces *le pas de Suze*.

The Duke of *Savoy* after this defeat, not knowing what to oppoſe againſt the King's victorious Arms, ſince his beſt Forces, when fortified in a Poſt of ſo great advantage, had not been able to withſtand them, began to ſee his danger, and to perceive he had no way left but by an Accommodation to defend himſelf from manifeſt and apparent ruine; which made him ſue to the King for Peace, and obtain'd it upon condition, the Duke ſhould favour the paſſage of his Army to the relief of the Duke of *Mantua* ſo unjuſtly invaded: An Accommodation with *Savoy* being thus concluded, the *Spaniard*, who deſpair'd of being able to make good his ground in the open Field, againſt an Army that had with ſo great facility forc'd the Duke of *Savoy*'s people in their own Trenches, thought fit to accept of the ſame conditions; and accordingly not only roſe from before *Caſal*, but moreover reſtor'd all the places they had already taken in the Duke of *Mantua*'s Dominions, wiſely chooſing rather to give way to the King's Fortune, than to run the hazard of a Battel, the event whereof they fear'd would be fatal to them: though this diſcretion only ſerv'd to defer for a time the Victories heaven had deſtin'd for us over that inſolent, and implacable Nation.

Doubt-

Anno 1629.

Doubtleſs had the King pleas'd to have made uſe of this occaſion, and the power he had to effect any deſign he would have undertaken, he might at this time with great facility have given the *Spaniſh* Forces ſuch a blow, that they would not of many years after have been in any condition to have brav'd him again in *Italy*: but his Majeſty, contenting himſelf with having reſcu'd his Ally from the oppreſſion of thoſe two mighty Enemies, would not in his own perſon ſeem to violate that Equity and Juſtice he had travell'd ſo far to defend.

If the Forein Princes had taken a wrong meaſure in the belief they had entertain'd of the length of the Siege of *Rochelle*, the Duke of *Rohan* was no leſs miſtaken in the Expedition of *Italy*; wherein he doubted not his Majeſty would meet with ſo many great, and tedious difficulties, that he hop'd himſelf (who was the ſoul of his whole Party) might in the mean time, and in the interval of the King's abſence, infuſe ſo much vigour into his declining cauſe, as that they would be in a condition for ſome time at leaſt, to defend themſelves.

The Duke of *Rohan* takes Arms whilſt the King is in *Italy*.

He had therefore taken Arms in the *Sevennes*, and with the aſſiſtance of the Cities of *Montauban*, *Niſmes*, *Millaut*, *Caſtres*, *Privas*, *Uſetz*, and ſome others, had got ſuch a body of an Army together, as therewith he hop'd to maintain himſelf in that little angle of the Kingdom, and either preſently to obtain ſome advantageous conditions, or to expect a more favourable time for the reeſtabliſhment of his depreſſed party. In the mean time he treated ſecretly with *Spain*, from whence he had alſo obtain'd a promiſe of ſome ſupply of money: but the King, who had intelligence of his practice, returning with the ſame celerity out of *Italy* into *France*, in the moſt violent heats of Summer, with which he had paſs'd out of *France* into *Italy* in the greateſt extremity of Winter, preſented himſelf before *Privas* (one of the Rebel Cities) in *June*, which alſo at his firſt coming he carried by aſſault: after which *Aletz*, another of the ſame principles, ſurrendred without any reſiſtance. The Duke of *Rohan*, obſerving what a terror the taking of theſe two places had infus'd into his whole Faction; and knowing on the other ſide that a Peace with *Italy*, and *England* was alteady concluded, began to apprehend at laſt he ſhould be totally deſerted by all his Confederates, and Friends, and left alone to bear the ſhock of his Majeſties victorious Arms; which made him in time ſeriouſly to apply himſelf to his mercy, to avoid the ſevere effects of his Juſtice.

One of the moſt powerful motives that induc'd him to ſue for this Peace, was doubtleſs the blocking up of *Montauban*, and the waſte

waſte that, now the third time by expreſs order from the King, was made round about that City. The Duke of *Rohan* had plac'd his lateſt refuge in the ſtrength of this place, and had ever hop'd, whilſt it could maintain it ſelf in a condition to ſuſtain a tedious Siege, that reſiſtance would infallibly put him into a capacity of obtaining very good Conditions: but the King, who had foreſeen this deſign, writ to the Prince of *Condé* to joyn himſelf with the Duke of *Eſpernon* (to whom he alſo writ at the ſame time to the ſame effect) to deprive *Montauban*, by deſtroying their Fruits, of all poſſibility of ſubſiſtance, and therein the Duke of *Rohan* of the aſſiſtance he promis'd to himſelf from thence in the laſt extremity of his declining Affairs. *Anno* 1629.

The Prince would himſelf be the bearer of this Diſpatch, dated from *Suze* the 27th. of *April*, and accordingly arriv'd at *Bordeaux* in the latter end of *May*; where betwixt him, and the Duke, all things were ſoon concluded on for the execution of his Majeſties Commands: an Enterprize, that although the Duke had neither competent Forces, nor other means wherewithal to perform it, that no order had been ſent either for money to raiſe men, to furniſh ammunitions of War, or to buy proviſions for the ſupport of the Army; his affection to the Service notwithſtanding ſupplying all other defects, he ſoon put himſelf into a condition to ſecond the Princes deſires; wherein he was indeed neceſſitated almoſt alone to undertake the buſineſs, how difficult ſoever he knew it to be: For the Prince being oblig'd by his Command to have an eſpecial eye to the higher *Languedoc*, his preſence was there very requiſite, and almoſt continually requir'd: but the Duke fail'd not, for any other conſideration, according to his cuſtom, to acquit himſelf very exactly of his ſhare of the work.

Whilſt the Duke was in the heat of this execution, the Peace was concluded with the Duke of *Rohan* in *July*, which all the other Cities of his Faction likewiſe accepted, excepting *Montauban* which for ſome days ſtood out; not that they did not deſire it equally with the reſt, they had ſuffer'd too much, and were reduc'd to too neceſſitous a condition to oppoſe their own quiet: but the Duke (whatſoever thoſe of *Montauban* could pretend) to wit, *That having ſuffer'd ſo much by his Arms they could not conſent to allow him the honour of having ſubdu'd them*) very well underſtood that all thoſe excuſes were ſuggeſted to them by the Cardinal, who ambitious to have the honour of totally ſuppreſſing that party attributed to himſelf, did eſpecially deſire, that this City (which after the ſurrender of *Rochelle* was become the Metropolis of the Faction) ſhould be deliver'd up into his hands. He had therefore acquainted

Anno 1629. acquainted the principal of the Inhabitants, that it was from him alone they were to expect whatever advantages they could propose to themselves from this Accommodation, and that it would therefore concern them to reserve themselves entirely for him, to be the more worthy of his protection, from whence they might derive a greater support, than from all other powers upon earth.

The Duke nettled at this usage, and unable in the interests of Honour to give place to any whomsoever, retir'd himself to his House *Cadillac*, with a resolution seeing the Cardinal would by his Authority ravish from him an honour, he had by his Services so highly deserv'd, not to pay him so much as the civility of a Visit in his Government, into which he was now coming, to take possession of *Montauban*, as if he had been the man had reduc'd it: But the Cardinal, whose design it was (as has been said) to engross to himself the whole reputation of this War, thought nothing would so much illustrate his Triumph, as to receive a Visit from the Duke of *Espernon* in one of the principal Cities of his own Government, and conceiving such a Complement would pass in the opinion of all the world for an absolute testimony of an entire submission, he was infinitely desirous to have him won to that complacency; which being he could not handsomely try to do directly from himself, he caus'd him to be very highly importun'd to that purpose, by some of the Duke's own peculiar friends, who were at that time about his person. These Gentlemen therefore, and amongst others particularly *Mareschal Bassompierre* represented to the Duke, that all this time an enterview betwixt the Cardinal and him was highly necessary to the good of his own Affairs, without which he could not possibly avoid giving a mortal Affront to a man become absolute at Court by the ruine of a Faction, which alone had hitherto serv'd for an allay to the excess of his power. An advice that was so well seconded by *le Plessis*, who of all others had the greatest sway with the Duke, and fortified with so many powerful Arguments, that at last he resolv'd upon this Visit. Yet do I very well remember with how great reluctancy it was, and with how strange a violence upon his own humour, and haughty spirit, that he suffer'd himself to be overrul'd in this particular, and how unwillingly he set out towards *Montauban*.

The Cardinal comes to *Montauban*.

Though the Cardinal was very much press'd by his own Interests to go in all diligence after the King, who had taken the way to *Paris* immediately upon the conclusion of the Treaty, it is notwithstanding most certain, that he waited two whole days together the Duke's coming to *Montauban*; where when he came, he receiv'd

receiv'd him with extraordinary kindneſs, and reſpect, and though many things had paſs'd upon ſeveral occaſions that might reaſonably enough beget ill blood betwixt them, the Cardinal by an exceſs of freedom, and civility, gave manifeſt teſtimonies, that he retain'd no memory of any former unkindneſs: but on the contrary proteſted, that he would value the Duke's friendſhip preferrably to any other perſons in the Kingdom, which was his own expreſſion; and upon an intimation the Duke gave him, that he had occaſion to make a Journey to Court, promis'd him, that ſoo ſoon as he ſhould ſee the King, he would procure him leave ſo to do; a thing, which with all the importunities he could make, the Duke had before not been able to obtain: Neither did the Cardinal limit his offers here, he aſſuring him moreover, that he would ſerve him in all things, and if he would give him leave, ſupply the place of a fourth Son to him, wherein he would contend with the other three, which ſhould pay him the greateſt honour, which were the expreſs terms of his Complement.

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The Duke gives the Cardinal a viſit at *Montauban*, and is very well receiv'd by him.

The next day after his arrival, the Cardinal treated him in his own Lodgings, where he gave him the chief place of honour at the Table, notwithſtanding the Duke of *Montmorency* was there preſent, omitting no civility that might beget a ſtrict League of Friendſhip betwixt them: ſo that it is moſt certain, could the Duke have bow'd a little, and diſcreetly have husbanded theſe good diſpoſitions, he might have improv'd them infinitely much to his own advantage: but according to his cuſtom, either as if he had repented the having done too much; or as if he had a mind to blot out what any one could lay to his charge for having condeſcended too low in this viſit, by retaining a kind of a grum reſervedneſs in the reſt of his Actions, he overthrew in a moment all the good his friends expected he ſhould reap from this complacency: inſomuch that I have often heard *le Pleſſis* wiſh he had never advis'd him to it.

After they were riſen from the Table, the Duke being withdrawn to a Window in the Room where they had din'd to entertain the Duke of *Montpenſier* in private; the Cardinal, who had the Archbiſhop of *Bordeaux* in very high conſideration, came to preſent him to the Duke to reconcile him to him. This Prelate had apply'd himſelf particularly to the Cardinal's Service, and by a great complacency in all things, having adapted himſelf to his humour, and by that means got into a high degree of favour with him, had entreated the Cardinal by his Intereſt to put him upon good terms with the Duke; there having ſince the Archbiſhop's advancement to that Dignity (which fell to him by the death of

Anno 1629.

the Cardinal *de Sourdis* his Brother) some differences hapned betwixt the Duke, and him, that had begot a little distance betwixt them. I was present at this Dinner (led thither by my curiosity as some others were) and (if it may be call'd one) consequently at this Reconciliation: When the Cardinal, who had already prepar'd the Duke for the business, and thought he had conquer'd his animosity, coming to him to the Window, where he stood, said to him these words, "*My Lord, I here present you the Archbi-*"*shop of* Bordeaux, *who is resolv'd to be your Servant*; *and I there-*"*fore intreat you to be his friend upon my accompt*: to which the Duke scornfully turning that way, coldly reply'd, "*My Lord the Arch-*"*bishop and I know one another very well*: After which, and a salute as cold as his complement, he turn'd again without more Ceremony towards the Duke of *Montpensier*, and follow'd on his discourse. The Duke of *Espernon* had no friend, nor Servant there, that could not heartily have wish'd this action had pass'd after a more obliging fashion: but that was all could be got from him. It is not to be doubted but that this indifferency highly disoblig'd the Cardinal, who found by that he had not yet acquir'd so great an Empire over the Duke's haughty spirit, as by his great civilities he hop'd he had gain'd upon him: he nevertheless retir'd into his Chamber without taking any more notice at all, and conquering his own passion, chose rather to attribute that odd carriage to the Duke's imperious humour (which he had practis'd so long, as to be well enough acquainted with it) than to lose the earnest he had already given towards the purchase of his friendship. He continued therefore to use him with the same respect he had hitherto done, and was yet so highly civil to him, that the next day when he departed from *Montauban* to go towards the Court, accompanied with the Duke of *Montpensier*, *Mareschal Bassompierre*, and several other persons of very great quality, that follow'd his Litter on Horseback; he was so highly respective to the Duke, that he would not offer to go into it, so long as the Duke staid with him, which was nevertheless half a League at least from the City, but entertain'd him all the way on Horseback, though so soon as he took his leave he went into his Litter, without retaining the same respect to any of the rest.

The Duke of *Espernon* gives Cardinal *Richelieu* new cause of offense.

Which is nevertheless dissembled by the Cardinal.

I cannot, before I proceed any further, omit an observation I made at the Entertainment, of which we are now speaking, and of which the several misfortunes of the most eminent persons there have often put me in mind. There was scarce any body at the Cardinal's Table, excepting the Dukes of *Montmorency*, and *Espernon*, the *Mareschal Bassompierre*, and *Marillac*; three of which were

were the Cardinal's moſt intimate friends, and he would needs ranck the fourth in that degree: from whence, if we conſider what advantage, he amongſt them all, that was the beſt us'd in ſucceſſion of time, reap'd from his friendſhip; we ſhall underſtand upon how tickle, and dangerous a point, all Court-favour depends. *Anno* 1629.

The Duke of *Eſpernon* was no ſooner reſolv'd upon a Journey to Court. but that he would in the firſt place acquaint the Prince of *Condé* with his purpoſe, and therein conſult his advice; the reſpect he bore to this Prince, and the confidence he repos'd in his Friendſhip being ſuch, as would not permit him to ſettle the leaſt reſolution, without making him privy to his deſign: wherein there was nothing of diſſimulation, for he was effectually the Princes Servant, and to ſuch a degree, that it muſt have been a ſervice of a very foul nature, he would not chearfully have undertaken for him. He therefore diſpatch'd away his Secretary to him, to acquaint him with his determination, and thereupon to beg his advice. The Prince was at this time at *Rabaſtens* in* *Albigeois*, where after the Secretary had deliver'd what was given him in charge from the Duke his Maſter, the Prince with great civility return'd this anſwer: "That he concern'd himſelf very much in "all the Duke's intereſts: That in another time, and during the "favour of the *Luines*, he might have been capable of giving "him ſuch advice, as he durſt have anſwer'd would have been "ſerviceable to him, they having been men of ſo candid diſpoſi-"tions, as that their intentions might have been perfectly diſco-"ver'd; but that at preſent he was ſo totally in the dark, as to "any underſtanding in the deſigns of thoſe who were now at "the Helm: That he durſt not adventure to give the Duke any "counſel, leſt ſomething might happen as prejudicial to his ad-"vice, as contrary to his deſire; only he had very good intelli-"gence that the *Garde des Seeaux* had been very buſie, and inqui-"ſitive in making a collection of what Warrants the Duke had iſ-"ſued out, for the ſubſiſtence of ſuch Forces as had ſerv'd in his "Government: That indeed he could not tell to what end he "had done it; but he could not imagine it would be to any good "intent, and that therefore the Duke might, if he pleas'd, conſi-"der of it. With which uncertain anſwer the Secretary was diſ-miſs'd. The Duke, who was very ſecure of his own innocency (and it is to be wiſh'd he had been as cautious, and moderate to his own good, as he was perfectly honeſt to the King) did not, for all this caution, deſiſt from ſtill earneſtly ſoliciting his leave, which in the end, after the Cardinal's arrival at Court, he ob-

The Duke acquaints the Prince of *Condé* with his reſolution of going to Court.

* A Countrey in *Languedoc*.

Anno 1629. tain'd, by a very favourable dispatch from the King himself to that effect.

The Duke of *Espernon* arrives at Court, and is very well receiv'd.

The Duke no sooner receiv'd this permission, but that he made all the haste he could to Court, to avoid the inconvenience of a Winter Journey; which he did by coming to *Paris* before *All-Saints*. At his arrival (as at other times) he was welcom'd with a great number of persons of Quality, who came out to meet him, and to attend him to the *Louvre*; where he first alighted, and where he was by his Majesty much better receiv'd, than he expected, by reason of several ill offices he knew had been done him to the King. It was indeed chiefly to justifie himself from those aspersions, that he had been so passionately importunate for leave to come to Court; and he had express'd so much in his Letters, which was perhaps the thing that made his permission so hard to obtain; Princes being commonly no better dispos'd to admit of excuses, than they are to make them. From the *Louvre* he went to wait upon the Cardinal, to whom he stood oblig'd, not only for his leave to come, but also for his Majesties gracious reception now he was come, and was by him also receiv'd after a most infinitely obliging manner, the Cardinal still improving his civilities, and again making him a new tender of his service upon all occasions, as indeed from that time forward he began to distinguish him by his respect, from all other great persons of the Kingdom.

Anno 1630. Already either the multiplicity of business with which the Cardinal was continually taken up, or the design he had to render his person more venerable, and more authoritative, by communicating it to few, had put him upon that stately way of living, that he was very rarely to be seen: insomuch that the Dukes, and Peers of *France*, the Officers of the Crown, the blue Garters, and whoever of the highest quality of the Kingdom, made no difficulty to wait below in the Hall, amongst a promiscuous crowd of Clients, and Suitors, the hours of his leisure, whether they came only to visit, or to speak with him about their Affairs: nay and were glad to go sometimes twice, sometimes more, before they could get access to his person: But the Cardinal, who was well enough acquainted with the Duke's temper to know, that such a repulse would not need to fright him for ever coming again to see him, entreated him beforehand, never to give himself the trouble of coming to see him, without first giving him notice, that he might always be at liberty to receive him: a rule the Duke on his part so well observ'd, that he never came, but all the Gates were open'd to him; his Coach admitted into the Court,

Extraordinary civilities of the Cardinal to the Duke of *Espernon*.

Court, and himſelf to all the freedom he could deſire; when oftentimes perſons of very great condition could hardly be admitted at the Wicket. *Anno* 1630.

It has however been believ'd that all theſe extraordinary civilities began at *Montauban*, and continued to this time, were not altogether without deſign. Some have thought that the Cardinal, who evidently perceiv'd that the Queen Mother (who had ſuffered her ſelf to be wrought upon by ſome ill offices had been done him in his abſence) to be grown cold in her affection to him, would have been glad to have made the Duke his friend. He was powerful in himſelf, and much more in his Sons; ſo that being ſecur'd of their friendſhip (which the whole Court knew to be faithful and inviolate where they once took) he thought he could receive no ſo violent an aſſault of Fortune, he ſhould not be able, whilſt back'd with ſo powerful a Family to withſtand. There was great probability in this conjecture, and the Duke himſelf (as clear-ſighted as any) was perhaps of the ſame opinion; but if on the one ſide the Cardinal courted the Duke's friendſhip for this reaſon, the Duke on the other ſide would by no means go directly oppoſite to the Queen Mothers inclinations. He had ever honour'd her, though he had not always been well us'd by her; and, having ever imputed to the Cardinal himſelf the greateſt part of thoſe unkindneſſes he had receiv'd from this Princeſs, was more diſſatisfied with him, than the Queen Mother for the ill returns of his Service. But another reaſon which made him ſo reſerv'd in the acceptation of this precipitous friendſhip, was the imperious ſuperiority the Cardinal pretended to over all the other great men of the Kingdom; which the Duke could never allow him over himſelf to the degree that he deſir'd, as ſtill retaining a memory how much he had known him inferiour to him. All theſe conſiderations together rendred him leſs complacent, than could have been wiſh'd for the proſperity of his own Affairs: I ſhall not nevertheleſs herein take upon me to cenſure the Duke's conduct, nor attempt to paſs ſo liberal a judgment upon a perſon I am, for ſo many reſpects, oblig'd to honour; though the event made it plain, that had he carried things otherwiſe, he had done better. In ſhort the Duke was ſo much the more reſerv'd to the Cardinal, than he expected he ſhould be, that the ardour of his ſudden affection cooling by degrees every day more and more, degenerated at laſt into a perfect hatred, and from thence to perſecution, as we ſhall hereafter, in due order of time, and the occurrences of Affairs, make more evidently to appear.

All things that had hitherto paſs'd betwixt the Duke, and the Cardi-

Anno 1630. Cardinal were well enough understood; and this good intelligence continued till the Cardinals departure for *Italy*, the Duke being (as has been said) ever treated by him with extraordinary kindness, and respect far different from what he shew'd to all other persons of the same condition; yet could not the Duke (whose humour was impatient of any thing that touch'd him) sometimes forbear lashing out into very free expressions (giving the Cardinal thereby very often to understand, that he was not to expect any mean, or submiss toleration from him) of which I shall here present you one example. The Cardinal either presuming upon the authority of his favour with the King, or the affection he pretended to have for the Duke, took one day the liberty to give him some advice concerning his deportment; whereupon falling into discourse of his severe humour, and giving him counsel to correct it, he did it merrily in the Duke's own broad *Gascon* accent (from which, how long a habitude soever he had had at Court, he could never totally wean himself) which interweaving with some very civil expressions, he seriously desir'd him in the end not to take it ill, if he had made a little bold with him in imitating his own way of speaking: to which this untractable spirit (highly offended at a raillery something too familiar for his humour) briskly reply'd: "*Why should I take that ill from* "*you, which I suffer from* Marais, *who every day acts me in your pre-* "*sence*? This *Marais* was one of the Grooms of the Chamber to the King, a pleasant fellow, and a Buffoon, that had a marvellous faculty of imitation, who by his faces, and tricks would make folks laugh; and when acting before the King, and the Cardinal, would make as bold with the Duke of *Espernon*, as other people. It cannot be imagin'd, but that without all doubt this comparison must needs displease the Cardinal; neither were the Duke's Servants, and Friends, to whom he related this passage at his coming home, much better satisfied with it: but the words were already out of his mouth, and were no more to be recall'd. Every one apprehended this liberty would draw upon him the hatred of him that was all powerful at Court; yet did nothing at present appear: so that if the Cardinal was really distasted at it, he nevertheless deferr'd his revenge till a fitter season.

A smart reply of the Duke of *Espernon* to the Cardinal.

And indeed he had at this time something else to do, than to stand upon a particular Quarrel with the Duke of *Espernon*, so many other Affairs of very high concern falling upon him at once, and at the same instant, that perhaps in his life he never had so hard a Game to play. The Queen Mother had long been very much dissatisfied with his proceeding; and her ill will, grown now to a

New stirs at Court, occasion'd by the discontents of the Queen Mother, and the *Monsieur*.

greater

greater degree than ever, ſhe could no longer forbear to profeſs an open, and implacable hatred againſt him. She could not endure that a man who was her Creature, and rais'd by her bounty, ſhould get the ſtart of her in the confidence of the King her Son, wherein by all the reaſons in the world ſhe ought to be preferr'd, and that made her directly oppoſe all his Counſels, which how well ſoever they ſucceeded, ſhe ſtill found matter enough to render them ſuſpected to the King, and to diſcredit them by ſiniſter interpretations. So great a power as this hitherto entire, and fortified by all the conſiderations of duty, and nature, was not eaſily to be baffled by a Servant, and who had no other ſupport, than the affection of his Maſter, of it ſelf mutable and uncertain; ſo that the Cardinal ſeeing himſelf aſſaulted by ſo paſſionate, and ſo powerful an Enemy, might reaſonably enough apprehend being cruſh'd to nothing under the weight of her Authority, and Power: but as miſchiefs ſeldom come alone, ſeveral Forein troubles alſo concurr'd with this diſorder at home: The Duke of *Savoy* was grown by this time ſenſible of the diſhonourable peace he had concluded at *Suze*: to which the loſs of *Montferrat* ſtuck mainly in his ſtomack: He had reckon'd himſelf ſure of the conqueſt of this place, and indeed had not the King interpos'd, that Countrey had by this time been wholly in his poſſeſſion: He had therefore more firmly than ever confederated himſelf with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, to the end they might joyntly invade the Duke of *Mantua*; the rumour of which preparation was already ſpread abroad, and they were already in Arms; in which condition this deſolate Prince had no body to fly to for protection, ſave only the King of *France*. His intereſts, that could not without infamy be abandoned, put the Cardinals Affairs into very great danger; who, as on the one ſide he very well knew that Court diviſions, which are the iſſue of eaſe, and reſt, are ordinarily ſmother'd in employment, and of all other in that of War: So he alſo ſaw that this War being to be undertaken by his Counſels, to which the Queen Mother was directly oppoſite, he ſhould become reſponſible for the event, and that the leaſt diſaſter that ſhould happen would infallibly be laid at his door. Yet, as if all theſe difficulties had been too few to perplex him, another of no leſs importance fell out at the ſame time, which was the diſcontent of the *Monſieur*, and his ſudden retirement from Court; to which alſo another ſucceeded, and that was the Duke of *Lorain*'s taking Arms, to joyn with the Emperour; who having a deſign to poſſeſs us with ſome jealouſie of our Frontier of *Lorain* (thereby to give the Confederate Princes more leiſure to make

Anno 1630.

The Queen Mother profeſſes an open hatred to the Cardinal.

The War with *Savoy*.

The *Monſieur* diſcontented.

The Duke of *Lorain* takes Arms.

Anno 1630.

make a Progress in *Italy*) seem'd to threaten *Metz*, by advancing that way with his Army, and fortifying all the places upon that Frontier.

The Cardinal's dexterity in composing these Affairs.

In this conflux of untoward accidents, the Cardinal, though he could work nothing upon the implacable spirit of the Queen Mother, he found means nevertheless to appease the *Monsieur*, and to bring him back to Court, by obtaining for him from the King, whatever he could either for himself, or in the behalf of his friends, demand or desire. He sent moreover into *Lorain* to sound the Duke's intentions, who for this time dissembling his designs, protested he had taken Arms for no other end, than to serve the King, by opposing the Emperours designs; who, he said, could attempt nothing upon his Countrey, that must not infallibly redound to the prejudice of *France*. So that by this means the Cardinal having either compos'd, diverted, or at least deferr'd part of those mischiefs that most immediately pres's'd upon him, he would himself undertake the expedition of *Italy*; whilst the King should totally reclaim the *Monsieur* his Brother, and satisfie all his discontents, by the performance of those things that had been promis'd to him.

The Cardinals expedition into *Italy*.

The Cardinal was no sooner arriv'd in *Savoy*, but that he sent to feel the pulse of that Duke, whom finding still constant to his old State Maxims (which was by fair words, and large promises to amuse such, as were likely to hinder his designs, whilst he in the mean time was still intent upon his business) he fell so briskly to work, that having taken from him *Pignerol*, and some other strong places, the *Savoyard* was at last constrain'd to return again to his first Treaty.

The King awak'd by this good success of his Arms, and unwilling the glory they seem'd to assure should derive to a Servant, resolv'd upon a Journey into *Italy* to command his Army in his own person; neither though the Cardinal was ambitious to the height, was he at this time sorry, he should come to eclipse his honour, since he must leave *Paris* to do it, where he knew all ill offices were perpetually done him. The interest of his conservation therefore prevail'd here with the Cardinal over his insatiate thirst of Glory: but the Queen Mother stifly oppos'd this Voyage, by representing to the King the interests of his health, and safety; to which she forgot not to add the Cardinals inordinate ambition, who she said car'd not to expose both the one, and the other for his own particular vanity. But all these remonstrances prov'd in the end too weak to prevail; so that the appetite of Honour prevailing above all other considerations, and his Majesty being

The King resolves upon a Voyage into *Italy*.

being not to be ſtaid at home: the Queen Mother to give the Cardinal leſs time to reeſtabliſh himſelf with the King (who had after much importunity conſented at laſt to his baniſhment) was reſolv'd to follow the King her Son to *Lyons*, to try if ſhe could, whilſt he was in this good diſpoſition, obtain the effects of his promiſe. *Anno* 1630.

The King then in *April* ſet forwards from *Paris* towards *Italy*, the glorious ſucceſs of which ſecond Expedition, making up one of the moſt illuſtrious parts of General Hiſtory, it ought not to be contracted within the narrow bounds of a particular Life; wherein the Duke of *Eſpernon* having alſo had no ſhare, I ſhould not have waded ſo far as I have done into theſe ſecret Affairs of Court, had they not at laſt proceeded to involve him further therein, than he had himſelf intended to engage.

Before the King's departure from *Paris*, the Duke eſpecially ſolicitous of his Service within the Precincts of his own Government, intreated his Majeſty to appoint him an *Intendant de la Juſtice*; he having at his coming out of *Guienne* left there neither Lieutenant, nor Intendant in his abſence to look after his Majeſties Affairs in that Province: a requeſt that the King being very willing to grant, as it principally concern'd himſelf, he gave the Duke liberty to chooſe whom he ſhould think fit out of his Council. The Employment, being one of the greateſt honour, was coveted by ſeveral perſons of very great deſert; but the Duke preferring above all thoſe who made ſuit for it, one of the Council, that perhaps leaſt dream'd of any ſuch thing, entreated *Monſieur de Verthamont* Maſter of Requeſts to accept it. This perſon of approved honeſty, and equal capacity, had, in ſeveral Employments of very great importance, given very good proofs both of the one, and the other: but theſe qualities how eminent ſoever, were yet accompanied with another that ſerv'd no leſs to recommend him to the Duke's Election; and that was the great friendſhip betwixt him and *Monſieur d' Autry*, at that time Preſident *Seguier*, and ſince *Gard des Sceaux*, and Chancellor of *France*; with whoſe good conduct in the ſame Commiſſion, the Duke had been ſo highly ſatisfied, that he deſir'd nothing more, than one that would imitate his Vertue to ſucceed him: and he hop'd to find in this Gentleman, what he had already prov'd in his Predeceſſor; neither was he deceiv'd in his Judgment, he found his expectation anſwer'd to the full. And for ten years together that *Verthamont* ſerv'd the King in the Duke's Government, he gave the Duke ſo many teſtimonies of his integrity, and vertue, and in return receiv'd from the Duke ſo high, and ſo juſt applauſe, that I dare be bold to affirm, there was never obſerv'd the leaſt diſſent, or contrariety betwixt them.

The end of the Ninth Book.

THE HISTORY Of the LIFE of the Duke of Eſpernon.

The Tenth Book.

AT the ſame time that *Verthamont* departed for *Guienne*, the Duke of *Eſpernon* was preparing to go to *Metz*, there to expoſe his perſon for the defenſe of ſo important a place. A Journey to which he was continually preſs'd by the conſtant intelligence he receiv'd from thence, that the Emperours Forces every day increas'd, that he was fortifying *Moyenvic*, a very conſiderable place near that City; and that the Duke of *Lorain* (notwithſtanding all his fair pretenſes) was certainly confederated with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, to the prejudice of the Kingdom of *France*. The Duke *de la Valette* his Son had, by his Majeſties Command, been ſent away before, upon the firſt jealouſie the Court had conceiv'd of the Emperours, and the Duke of *Lorains* deſigns: but the Duke, prudently conſidering, that a Frontier of ſo great importance could not be too carefully provided for, went with ſome of his friends to put himſelf into it, having moreover engag'd ſeveral other perſons of condition (who had ſtaid behind at *Paris* after the King's departure) if occaſion were,

Anno 1630.

Upon the bruit that the Imperialiſts deſign'd an attempt upon *Metz*, the Duke of *Eſpernon* puts himſelf into the place.

Anno 1630.

were, to come, and joyn themselves with him, for the defense of the place: So that had it ever come to a Siege, the respect that several worthy men bore to the Duke's person would, without all doubt, have invited a great many persons of great quality, and approv'd valour, to serve in so honourable an occasion. But there hapned to be no need of any such thing; and perhaps the presence of the Duke, and the prudent care he, together with the Duke his Son, took for the preservation of that City, made the Emperour alter his design, by putting him out of all hopes to effect it.

The Duke of *Espernon* comes to *Metz.*

The Duke arriv'd at *Metz* the first of *May*, where he was receiv'd with manifestations of an universal joy in the people, becoming their gratitude, and his own desert. In his way thither he had call'd to see the *Mareschal de Marillac*, who as he was at this time (at least in outward appearance) in greatest repute with the Cardinal, so had he the principal charge of the Affairs of that Countrey committed to his care; wherein doubtless this unfortunate Gentleman labour'd to his own ruine, and to the Sentence of Death that not long after pass'd upon him: for the Duke found him busie fortifying the Cittadel of *Verdun*, preparing provisions, and other necessaries for the Army of *Champagne*, and performing several other Services, which after pass'd for Crimes, that were judg'd worthy of no less than Death. The Duke was by him receiv'd with all sorts of honour, and noble entertainment; to which the *Mareschal* soon after added a visit at *Metz*, where they consulted long together of what was best to be done for the King's Service upon that Frontier, continuing ever after in a more strict correspondence than before.

He visits the *Mareschal de Marillac.*

The Duke's orders for the defense of *Metz.*

The Duke was no sooner arriv'd at *Metz*, but that he forthwith fell to work about the repair of the old Fortifications of the City, and to the designing of new; he sent moreover to solicit the Duke of *Orleans* (left Regent during the King's absence) for a supply of some Ammunitions of War: but he had first sent a dispatch to the King to acquaint him with his motion towards the Frontier: with which his Majesty in his answer of the 23. of *May* declar'd himself to be highly satisfied; sending him word, "That his being in those parts, would secure his fears for what "concern'd the safety of the whole Frontier of *Lorain*; exhort-"ing him to continue his vigilancy, and care for the conservation "of so important a place; assuring him withal of his good will, "and affection, and of the esteem he had of his person, just-"ly grounded upon his merit, and old Services for the Crown. Which were in part the expres words of that Dispatch.

In

In the mean time the rumor daily increaſing that *Walleſtein* was advancing with his Army to waſte the Countrey about *Metz*, and afterwards to block it up by Forts, and the Duke conceiving that the King would be ſo taken up in *Savoy*, that he could not come to relieve him, ſhould he chance to be reduc'd to any great ſtraight; he ſaw it was neceſſary for him to make uſe of his own Credit, Money, and Friends, therewithal to ſerve his Majeſty upon this occaſion. He writ therefore to the Cardinal *de la Valette* his Son, who was then with the King, to tell his Majeſty, the Queen Mother, and the Cardinal, That foreſeeing how hard a thing it would be for his Majeſty in the heat of his Enterprizes, to provide for the neceſſities of the place, and Frontier, where he had the honour to ſerve him, he franckly offer'd, if his Majeſty would give him leave, upon his own credit, to raiſe and arm ten thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe for the defenſe of the City of *Metz*, and the *Meſsine* Countrey. An offer that the King, with high commendations of his worth, as freely accepted, writing him a very obliging Letter thereupon; and the Cardinal in his diſpatch dated from *St. Jean de Morienne* the 25th. of *July*, expreſſing himſelf thus: "As concerning the offer you have made "the King, to advance money for the Levies you deſire to ſet on "foot, his Majeſty looks upon it with ſuch an eye of acknow-"ledgement, as the quality of ſo generous an offer does juſtly de-"ſerve; knowing, as he does, the zeal you have to the ſucceſs of "his Affairs, and the power you have, as heretofore, to ſerve him "for the time to come,

Anno 1630.

The Duke offers the King to raiſe an Army upon his own intereſt.

Which is accepted.

The Duke to add effects to this promiſe, departed from *Metz* about the end of *July*, to return to *Paris*, there to raiſe money for his Leavies, and to provide himſelf of ſuch men of Command, as were willing to take employments upon this occaſion; but the threats of the Imperialiſts by little, and little, vaniſhing at laſt to nothing, they ſatisfied themſelves with having fortified *Moyenvic*, which was ſoon after taken, and demoliſh'd by the King's Army: and the Duke of *Lorain*, not daring at this time wholly to diſcover his evil intention, ſtaid to expect a fitter ſeaſon, which alſo was not far off, wherein to do it; as he afterwards did, but with very ill ſucceſs, as will in its due place appear.

The Duke being thus return'd to *Paris*, deliver'd of thoſe apprehenſions he had been poſſeſs'd withal concerning *Metz*, and ſatisfied with his preſent condition, ſate ſtill, calmly expecting, without any diſquiet in his own particular concerns, the iſſue of the great Conteſts at this time on foot in the Court at *Lyons*; where, it was ſaid, the Queen Mothers animoſity againſt the Cardinal

The Duke of *Eſpernon* returns to *Paris*.

Anno 1630.

The King falls sick at *Lyons.*

dinal was increas'd to such a degree, that in the greatest height of the King's sickness, which at this time was exceeding violent, she omitted no opportunity of incensing his Majesty against him, as the sole author of his Disease; wherein her importunities were so great, as at last to obtain a solemn promise from the King, that so soon as the War of *Italy* was at an end, he would give her the satisfaction she desir'd, by removing this great Minister from the Administration of Affairs.

Though the peril the Cardinal was now in, was very great, and that the Duke had continual intelligence of all that pass'd at Court, yet did he notwithstanding still continue towards him the same civility, and respect; he writ to him very often, and in truth so long as that great cloud of disgrace hung over his head, the Duke would have been really sorry, that it should have broke upon him: though he had by his dexterity no sooner clear'd the sky of Favour, but that the Duke, who could not brook his excess of Authority, and Power, converted all his former complacency into testimonies of hatred; that fail'd very little, as we shall hereafter see, of rebounding back upon himself, to his own ruine. Which till it shall more plainly appear, I shall only say this by the way, that the Duke had doubtless a very great esteem for the Cardinal, never speaking of him, so much as in private, but with a Character of Honour, and respect; so that, had he not expected from his friends an over servile, and submiss regard, I do verily believe the Duke's friendship would have been constant, and inviolate to him: but a civility that went very far with the haughty humour of the one, appearing nothing to the excessive ambition of the other, the Cardinal enduring no equal, and the Duke hardly admitting of any superior; it was impossible so to compose things betwixt two so aspiring spirits, but that they would at last break out into an open feud.

Whilst the Court at *Lyons* was agitated with this Tempest of Division, of which we are now speaking, the Duke of *Espernon* in the greatest calm, and serenity of repose, enjoy'd at *Paris* the honour, and applause, that his well known, and long continued vertue, had acquir'd to his person, and name; insomuch that, as his Coach pass'd through the streets, we had continually the pleasure of seeing the people flock together in crowds from all parts of the City to gaze upon him; considering with admiration so vigorous a health in so great an extremity of age, pursuing him with acclamations wherever he went; and the old hatred, that the former Factions had stirr'd up against him, being now converted into love, and esteem, gave us to understand, that envy is not always

ways the concomitant of Vertue; but that there is a certain pitch, to which the one, being once arriv'd, is got clear out of ſight of the other, which of a mean and earthy compoſition cannot ſhoot its darts ſo far as to reach the Station, where Supreme Vertue is enthron'd. *Anno* 1630.

In this great, and undiſturbed leiſure, that the Duke enjoy'd at *Paris*, he who was himſelf a great lover of Building, could find no better entertainment wherewithal to divert himſelf, than by going abroad to ſee the Houſes, in and about the City, which were then erecting, with the magnificence that we now admire in our proud and ſtately Structures. Amongſt others, going one day in very good company to the *Hoſtel de Luxembourg*, that the Queen Mother was then finiſhing, they entred the Gallery, where ſhe had caus'd the manner of her eſcape from *Blois* (as the moſt remarkable paſſage of her life) to be painted in Story. One of the moſt apparent evidences the Duke could poſſibly receive, that that ſervice of his was no more regarded, was, that he, who had been the ſole Authour of the whole Action, was no where repreſented in that painting, though ſo much as the very Footmen that opened the Boots of her Coach had not been omitted. He had heard before of this injuſtice that had been done him; but though it had touch'd him very near, had never manifeſted the leaſt diſcontent: neither do I believe he would have ſaid any thing upon this occaſion, if the company who were with him, had not provok'd him to it: But every one asking him queſtions of a thing whereof they knew he was able to give them the beſt accompt, at laſt ſome one freer than the reſt, ask'd him how it came to paſs that he was only left out of the ſtory? to which the Duke modeſtly reply'd: "That he did not know who had done "him that wrong; but that whoever they were that intended to "diſoblige him in it, had doubtleſs therein more offended the "Queen, than him: That he was very certain (however exclu- "ded the ſtory) that no one could condemn him for having any "ways fail'd in the action, or in any thing he had undertaken for "the Queen upon that occaſion, his carriage of that buſineſs be- "ing too generally known for that; neither did he believe they "would much magnifie her, for having deny'd him ſo poor an ac- "knowledgement.

A ſudden anſwer of the Duke of *Eſpernon* to a very nice queſtion.

If the Duke was very well pleas'd to ſee himſelf in ſuch a degree of reputation and eſteem, upon one of the moſt conſpicuous Theatres of Europe; he was no leſs afflicted at the ill news he daily receiv'd from his Government, where their Corn Harveſt had prov'd this year ſo thin, that thereupon a great, and deplo- rable

A Famine in *Guienne*.

Anno 1630. rable Famine ensu'd throughout the whole Province of *Guienne*. Neither did the Duke fail in this exigent to try all possible ways to relieve them; for after having given order for the distribution of all the Grain that could be gather'd in his own Territories, he moreover dealt with some Merchants of *Paris*, who undertook, that provided they might have Commission from the King, out of *Picardy*, and *Britanny*, to make sufficient provision wherewithal to supply that Province. They had no sooner made this proposition to the Duke, but that he immediately dispatch'd away an express Courrier to the King to obtain that leave, which was accordingly granted; upon the return of which dispatch those, who had so largely promis'd, did indeed perform something; but nothing near what they had made the Duke expect: so that nothing could so divert the Judgment Almighty God was pleas'd to inflict upon this delicate part of *France*; but that in less than six months space above forty thousand persons miserably dy'd for want of bread; a number that had in all probability yet been much greater, had the Duke's care to their preservation been less, by which the evil was at least moderated, though it could not be totally overcome.

In the mean time the King's health was so miraculously restor'd at *Lyons*, that his Majesty resolv'd to return back to *Paris*; during which Voyage 'tis said the Cardinal employ'd all manner of industry, and offer'd all sorts of submission to the Queen Mother to reconcile himself to her favour; but all in vain, she was still so implacably bent against him, that the Peace of *Italy* being already concluded, and consequently the time come wherein the King had promis'd her to remove the Cardinal, they were no sooner arriv'd at *Paris*, but that pursuing this Affair with the same vehemency she had begun, and so as if she had already foreseen all those evils she justly had to fear, she was importunately instant with the King for the accomplishment of his Royal Word. What repugnancy soever the King might have to deprive himself of a Servant he had found very useful to him in the management of his Affairs, yet the respect to a Mother, and the obligation of Nature had so prevailing a power over his own interest, and delight, that the Order was at last sign'd for the Cardinal's removal; when the King to avoid either the Ceremony, or Complaints of a Favourites farewel, return'd upon that, and no other accompt to *Versaille*, from whence he was come but a few days before. Doubtless had the Queen Mother gone along with the King this little Journey, she had made her self absolute Mistriss of Affairs, and there had been an end of the Cardinal: But she thinking the

Cardinal *Richelieu* in disgrace.

work

work already done, though ſhe had but begun it (a common overſight) and out of that belief ſtopping ſhort in the heat of her perſecution, gave the Cardinal by that means leiſure to reeſtabliſh himſelf with the King, and totally to ſubvert the power, that had been employ'd to his ruine. *Anno* 1630.

Yet was it not by his own prudence, and conduct, that he was thus ſuddenly reſtor'd, who on the contrary had ſet up his Reſt, and was content to ſubmit to his Fortune by withdrawing himſelf from Court; a reſolution wherein he had been ſo precipitous, that he went the very evening of his diſgrace to lye at *Pointoiſe*, from thence to continue his journey to *Havre de Grace*, the place he had made choice of for his retirement. His equipage was already prepar'd, already he was by the moſt of his friends (the firſt, and moſt ordinary effect of diſgrace) ſlighted, and forſaken, and nothing but ſolitude remain'd in his Houſe; when the Cardinal *de la Valette*, prompted by a deſign more generous in it ſelf, than advantageous to, or perhaps expedient for the concerns of his own Family, rouſing up the ſubdu'd ſpirit of his dejected Friend, made him by force of Arguments recollect himſelf, and ſee his error. He remonſtrated to him, as it is ſufficiently known to all the Kingdom (though ſo long as the Cardinal lived no one durſt record it) "That he could not aſſume a more dangerous reſolu-
"tion, than to think of retiring himſelf: That ſuch as had once
"rais'd their fortunes to that height to which his was now arriv'd,
"had no ſteps left them by which again to deſcend: That he had
"no way to maintain himſelf in the height he then was, but by
"aſpiring higher, that therein the way before him was honour-
"able and ſecure; but that there was nothing but precipice be-
"hind him, which upon the leaſt motion of retiring would give
"him ſuch a fall, that he would never be able to riſe again: That
"he deceiv'd himſelf, if he thought his adverſaries would ſatisfie
"themſelves with what they had already done; it being plain that
"they muſt ſtill apprehend the recovery of his power, which
"would be ſo much the more formidable to them, as he had
"been by them more juſtly provok'd: That he was therefore to
"go boldly to the King, whilſt the memory of his Services was
"yet recent, and whilſt his enemies (blinded with their good ſuc-
"ceſs) had left a paſſage open to him, through which he might at
"great eaſe, and with great ſafety, travel to the ruine of their
"deſigns: That he would himſelf accompany him to run his ſhare
"of the danger (if any could be) in the execution of what he did
"adviſe; and that having made him a promiſe of his friendſhip,
"he would preſerve it inviolate to him in the one, and the other,

Cardinal *Richelieu* reſtores himſelf with the King, by the advice of the Cardinal *de la Valette*.

Anno 1630.

" Fortune. What might not a friend have reasonably expected in acknowledgement of so prudent, and so generous a counsel, and that was crown'd with so favourable a success? we shall nevertheless in a short time see a sad return of that seasonable kindness.

The two Cardinals go together to the King to *Versaille*, where whilst the Queen Mother remains at *Paris* they overthrow all her designs.

Cardinal *Richelieu* fortified by this advice, instead of taking his way towards *Havre de Grace*, went directly to *Versaille*, where addressing himself to the King, and being better acquainted than any with all the little Labyrinths of his Majesties humour, he soon, by the charms of his Eloquence, overthrew whatever his Enemies thought they had establish'd by more powerful ways. In the mean time the Queen Mother, dreaming of nothing less than so sudden a change, already reign'd in *Paris*, behaving her self to all that came near her person like one who was now got to be the Sovereign Arbitress of all Affairs; and no more caring either to improve, or retain her Interest with persons whose Service she conceiv'd for the future unnecessary to the support of her Power. The Duke of *Espernon* hapned (to his good Fortune) to be one of these; he had the day preceding the Thunder-clap against the Cardinal, and of a long time before, receiv'd all kind of civil respect from this Queen; but after his dismission presenting himself before her as he us'd to do, she had so little regard for him, as before his face to hold discourse an hour together with people of far inferiour quality, without so much as vouchsafing him one word. A neglect which if it was resented by the Duke (as it was to the last degree) it was notwithstanding of no little advantage to him: for the Cardinal, who knew how solicitous the Queen Mother had been to win him to her party before his disgrace, who was not ignorant of the strong connexion he had with the House of *Guise*, and above all of the great intimacy that was betwixt the Princess of *Conty* and him; and who had been moreover inform'd that the night preceding his disfavour, he had been long in secret Conference with the *Mareschal de Bassompierre* one of his most passionate enemies, had from all these knowledges conceiv'd a violent presumption, that the Duke must of necessity be deeply engag'd in his enemies interests, and designs. But the Queen's indifferency did in part justifie him from that suspicion, though some have believ'd that that alone would not have been sufficient absolutely to have clear'd him from the Cardinal's jealousie, nor to have secur'd him from imprisonment at least, if the late merits of the Cardinal his Son had not rescu'd him from that danger. It was in truth very necessary some body else should have that care of him, he being so far from contributing

An alteration in Affairs at Court.

buting in the leaſt to his own preſervation, that on the contrary after the face of Affairs was wholly chang'd; that the Queen Mother was fallen as well from her hopes, as her credit with the King, that the Princeſs of *Conty* was confin'd to her own Houſe, that the *Garde des Sceaux Marillac* was under the ſame reſtraint, that *Mareſchal Baſſompierre* was clapt up Priſoner in the *Baſtile*, and that an Order was granted out to call the *Mareſchal Marillac* from the command of an Army to undergo an infamous Execution: In fine after the fatal day call'd *la journée des Dupes* had produc'd ſo many dire effects, that not only all the men of Quality, but almoſt all of any name at Court, went to viſit the Cardinal, to diſpoſſeſs him of the opinion, that they might have been any way inimical to him: the Duke of *Eſpernon* was perhaps the only man that would not go to ſee him, nor once offer to juſtifie himſelf from the jealouſie he might reaſonably enough conceive of his diſaffection, and that purpoſely the more to manifeſt it to him. He went 'tis true to *Verſaille*, where he ſaw the King, and had the honour to talk with him; but he would never be prevail'd upon to go into the Cardinal's Chamber, though very near the King's, to pay him the leaſt civility, or reſpect. I ſaw *le Pleſſis* the ſame night infinitely afflicted at this carriage; this Gentleman who was very diſcreet, well vers'd in Affairs, and much more paſſionate for his Maſters intereſts, than for any thing that concern'd himſelf, had importun'd him to give the Cardinal a Viſit; but according to his cuſtom, the more he repreſented to him the danger of not doing it, the more obſtinate he was not to do it, his haughty, and undaunted ſpirit, rather chooſing to tranſgreſs the Maxims of Policy, and Prudence, than thoſe of Bravery and Honour. It is indeed true that he went two days after to ſee him, where (the Cardinal knowing every tittle of what had paſs'd) it may be imagin'd how he was receiv'd; though the Duke, without being concern'd at his cold entertainment, ſaid to thoſe who ſpoke to him of it: "That he had done as he ought to do; that every one did "not underſtand the diſtinction that ought to be made betwixt "the Maſter and the Servant; that thoſe were reſpects ſo different "in themſelves, as they ought not to be ſlightly confounded; and "that he was old enough to carry the authority of Example.

Anno 1630.

All people addreſs themſelves to the Cardinal.

Except the Duke of *Eſpernon*.

Of all the means that can be propos'd for the eſtabliſhment of a prodigious power, there is none ſo certain as attempts that are vainly made to ſuppreſs it; it appearing that whatever is imperfect in the one, does ever give increaſe to the other; neither can there be any ſo imprudent, or ſo dangerous a reſolution, as to offend a great Miniſter by halves; ſince by making him ſenſible of

Anno 1631.

Anno 1631.

the power he has to revenge himself, you give him at the same time a pretense to do it with some colour of Justice. It fell out so in the violent, but fruitless endeavours the Cardinal's Enemies made use of to work his ruine; by which being made to understand the interest he had in the King's bosom, and employing that interest under the sole pretense of retorting the injuries he had visibly receiv'd, he found his Majesty so much the more inclin'd to take his part, as he saw there was a kind of equity in the case: wherein he would not do his business by halves, as his enemies had done; but vigorously pressing them, who either had already fall'n foul upon him, or who had yet the power to do it; he put himself by that means into a condition of living not only in security, but also in repose for the time to come, by removing all such as were likely, either to molest his Peace, or to trouble his Affairs.

The Cardinal falls foul upon his enemies.

not sparing the *Monsieur*,

As the *Monsieur* was the person whose power of all others (after having publickly declar'd himself his Enemy in his own House) the Cardinal had most cause to fear; so was he the first he took occasion to fright from Court, by causing him to be possess'd, that his person was not there very secure: the Queen Mother also was by the same device perswaded to depart from *Compeigne* to retire into *Flanders*: So that these two being remov'd out of the way, and all the Queens adherents being either clapt up in prison, or confin'd to their own Houses, nothing remain'd that could bring any obstacle to his designs, or stop the swing of his Fortune, that now sail'd with all her Canvas a trip in the full Tide of Favour.

nor the Queen Mother.

The Duke of *Espernon* was yet at Court in the midst of this Tempest, who judging by the example of the wrack of these great Fortunes, what power the Cardinal would have over him, unless he did wholly submit himself to his pleasure, he chose rather calmly, and without disorder, to retire into his own Government, than to preserve himself by submitting to so unhandsome, and so dishonourable a compliance.

The Duke of *Espernon* retires into his Government of *Guienne*, which he finds in a most deplorable condition.

He departed then from *Paris* in *June* 1631. to return into his Government of *Guienne*, where being arriv'd he found that miserable Province in the most desolate condition that can possibly be imagin'd: the Famine had there been succeeded by a Plague; and if by his Wisdom, and good conduct, he had not deliver'd them from the third Judgment, which was that of the Sword, by keeping those Regiments quiet, that, after the Peace was concluded, had been sent thither to be refresh'd, there had been an end of that pleasant part of *France*: but his good Discipline in restrain-

reſtraining the licence of the unruly Souldiers, that were quarter'd in the Countrey; the good order he took for bringing in the relief of Corn; and the care he had, that the Magiſtrates, and Officers of Health, perform'd their duty in endeavouring to ſtop the progreſs of the Contagion in the City, were to ſo good effect; that without all doubt, both *Bordeaux*, and the whole Province ſtand eternally oblig'd to his vigilancy and care. *Anno* 1631.

After having taken the beſt order he could for the preſervation of the Capital City, he departed thence with a reſolution to continue ſome time at his houſe *Cadillac*; but he could not make ſo long a ſtay there, as he intended. This little place being in a manner neceſſitated by its ſituation ſo near to *Bordeaux*, and lying upon the ſame River, to have continual intercourſe, and Commerce with the principal City, had thence caught the Infection, which, for ten or twelve days that the Duke made his abode there, made miſerable havock among them; yet was it only upon the Inhabitants of the Town, as if it had had a reſpect to his Family: inſomuch that although he never refuſed to admit any of the people into his houſe, that he went himſelf frequently to viſit the ſick in their Cabins, and that ſo numerous a Train as his, could not long continue in ſo little a place, without having ſome communication with infected perſons; yet was there (which was a kind of Miracle) a continual health throughout his whole Family. At laſt at the importunity of his Domeſticks, who were much more ſolicitous of him, than he was of himſelf, he reſolv'd to leave the lower, and infected, to go ſeek out a better air, in the higher, and more healthful *Gaſcony*. The Duke goes into the higher *Gaſcony*.

He went therefore firſt to *Nerac*, where he met intelligence of a Rebellion newly broken out at *Saint-Afrique*. This City, elevated to a ſtrange degree of preſumption, by having a Siege rais'd from before it, of which we have already ſpoken in the year 1628. receiv'd order at this time to quarter ſeven Foot Companies belonging to the Regiment of *Phalsbourg*, the ſame that has ſince long ſerv'd by the name of the Regiment of *Chamblay*: upon the receipt of which Order, the Inhabitants had betaken themſelves to open Arms, ſhut up their Gates, and deny'd entrance to thoſe Companies. Neither was this all, they proceeded from words to ſome untoward effects, ſome Souldiers were kill'd from the Walls of the City; neither did theſe ſeditious people fail of their endeavours to engage *Millant*, and ſome other neighbouring Cities of their Religion, in the ſame Revolt: but the Duke having upon the firſt notice of this diſorder preſently tranſferr'd himſelf to *Montauban*, with a reſolution to proceed further

if

Anno 1631.

The Duke of *Espernon* stops the progress of a new Rebellion by dismantling several strong Cities of the *Hugonot* party.

if occasion should require, by his presence, prevented further mischief, which otherwise might have grown up to something of greater importance. The Inhabitants of *Saint-Afrique*, seeing themselves left alone, abandon'd by all their old Confederates, and Friends, and moreover besieg'd by old Souldiers that had lodg'd themselves under their Walls, resolv'd in the end to open their Gates to the Garrison, as they accordingly did; giving the Duke thereby an opportunity, he would by no means let slip, of tying them for ever fast to their duty. Making a right use therefore of the astonishment, and consternation they were then in, he commanded the Inhabitants to be disarm'd, and the Walls of their City to be demolish'd, according to the Articles of the last Peace granted to those of the Reform'd Religion. *Verthamont Intendant de la Justice* took upon him the charge of seeing it perform'd, who, together with his Office of *Intendant*, was moreover qualified with a Commission for the dismantling of several Cities of that Province, which had engag'd with the Duke of *Rohan* in the late Commotion. So that the Walls of *Millant*, one of the strongest Holds of that Party, were soon seen levell'd with the ground, as also those of *Saint-Afrique*, of *Pont de Camarés*, of *Saint-Rome*, *Tarn*, and several other places. Wherein so good order was taken, that there was no more fear this little Countrey, one of the hardest to be reclaim'd in the whole Kingdom, and that had been likewise one of the last, that had return'd to its obedience, should for the future commit any more offenses, or be guilty of any new Commotion.

The Inhabitants of *Montauban* behave themselves very well upon this occasion.

The Inhabitants of *Montauban* cannot in this part of my story, without great injustice, be deny'd the due praise of behaving themselves exceedingly well upon this occasion; who no sooner heard the Duke design'd to come into their Countrey, but that they dispatch'd away some of the chiefest amongst them, to beseech him, that he would honour their City with his presence. An invitation wherein some scruple might reasonably have been made, and would the Duke have been govern'd by the advice of many of his Servants, he had not perhaps so easily given up himself to the discretion of a people, that it had not been in his power sometimes to use so kindly as he desir'd. To this consideration the present juncture of Affairs, rendred their complement much more suspected, *Saint-Afrique* (a Town of the *Hugonot* Party) was already revolted, and had solicited all the other Cities of the same Religion to concur with them in the maintenance (as they call'd it) of that little Liberty, they had left remaining; but the Duke by his generosity overcoming all these jealousies (sufficient of themselves

themſelves to have made a leſs daring man loſe the opportunity of performing that Service for the King, he then did him) accepted their invitation, and went confidently to *Montauban*; where, if thoſe of the Town had really any evil intention (which did nevertheleſs no ways appear) having by his preſence diſſolv'd that ill humour, he thereby rendred the mutinous deſigns of *Saint-Afrique* ſo inconſiderable, that they fell at laſt upon the heads of them, who had been the contrivers of the miſchief. *Anno* 1631.

The Duke at firſt had intended to have continu'd for ſome time at *Montauban*, believing that the Commotion of *Roüergue* would not ſo ſoon have been appeas'd; but having by his prudent care compos'd things ſooner than he expected, he in a few days found himſelf at liberty to go as far as the Frontier to the Baths at *Banieres*. This Countrey, abounding with Gentry equally to any other of the Kingdom, had been the Nurſery from whence *Monſieur de la Valette* his Father, the Admiral his Brother, and himſelf had continually drawn out moſt of the brave men with which they had ſo gloriouſly ſerv'd their Kings, and maintain'd their own Fortunes; as it was alſo out of them, that he had conſtantly choſen moſt of his Officers for Foot Commands. The acknowledgment therefore of his former favours, being by no better way to be expreſs'd, than by the great conflux of thoſe he had oblig'd, they came to wait upon him in ſo great numbers, and ſo handſomely attended, that he could hardly have been better accompanied in any other part of his Government. They here paſs'd away the time, as people uſually do in the Bathing ſeaſon, in all ſorts of innocent Recreations, to which the good Company there had invited the Ladies, as well as the Gentlemen of the Countrey: when the Duke, after having beſtow'd more of his time upon his friends, than to the conſultation of his own health (which at ſo great an age continued in a marvellous vigour) would return back towards the lower *Gaſcony*, to ſee the miſerable condition of that part of the Province, ſtill groaning under the ſame heavy judgments, wherewith at his firſt coming from Court he had found it afflicted. The Duke goes to the Baths of *Banieres*.

Whilſt the Duke was preparing for his return, he receiv'd news of the Grace his ſecond Son had receiv'd from the King, who had lately conferr'd upon him the honour of Duke, and Peer; he had long before receiv'd his Patent for that Dignity, which has made me ſo often in the preceding diſcourſe, give him that Title; but he had neither taken his Oath, nor aſſum'd his place in Parliament till this time. The Territory of *Ville-Bois* ſettled upon him by the Duke his Father at his Marriage, was alſo honour'd with The Marquis *de la Valette* takes his Oath for Duke and Peer of *France*.

Anno 1631. with the Title of a Dutchy, by that means leaving its former denomination, to take that of its Lord, and Owner. That which rendred this new Dignity more remarkable was, that Cardinal *Richelieu* (at this time advanc'd to the greatest height a Subject can be capable of) would at the same Session be installed in the same degree of honour; so that they were both receiv'd together in Parliament, and both their Letters Patents the same day verified, and confirmed.

The Duke, though at present ill enough dealt withal at Court, and inwardly not over-well satisfied with former passages, could not however, but acknowledge this for a favour; so that, once in his life accommodating himself to the time, he writ a Letter of Complement to the Cardinal: to which he soon after return'd an answer obliging enough; wherein, after he had reply'd to the Duke's civility concerning his Sons promotion, he proceeded to acquaint him that the Cardinal his youngest Son had been lately created Governour of *Anjou*. A news at which the Duke was highly pleas'd: but as joy seldom arrives without some mixture of bitterness; this was soon follow'd by one of the most just, and most sensible afflictions that could almost arrive, which was the Death of *le Plessis* his beloved, and faithful Servant. This Gentleman, equally wise, and valiant, dextrous, and faithful, and who had all these qualities eminent in him, to a very conspicuous degree had been so happy, that the Services which had been acceptable to the Father, were no less pleasing to his Sons; insomuch that not one of them but was passionate for his advancement, and ambitious to contribute something to his Fortune; a thing he himself so little considered, that had he not met with Masters liberal in their own Natures, his deserts had been the worst rewarded of any mans of his time: but such was the acknowledgment they all paid to his merit, that the Cardinal *de la Valette* was no sooner provided of the Government of *Anjou*, but that he cast his eye upon *le Plessis*, to bestow upon him one of the best and principal Commands of that Province, which was that of the Castle of *Angers*. He had already that of *Chasteau Trompette* of *Bordeaux*; neither would the Duke consent to be totally depriv'd of his Service, all that he could condescend unto to satisfie his Son, being to share with him in this good Servant, and to give way that he should serve at the Castle of *Angers*, still keeping the command of *Chasteau Trompette*. *Le Plessis* having therefore taken his leave of the Duke at *Condom* to go to take possession of his new Government staid by the way to keep his *Christmas* at *Bordeaux*, with an intention after the Holy days were pass'd, to con-

The Cardinal *de la Valette* made Governour of *Anjou*.

continue his Journey to *Angers*: but his Devotion making him commit a violence upon his health, at this time ſomething impair'd, by an indiſpoſition that began to grow upon him, his Diſeaſe increas'd to ſuch a degree at midnight Maſs, that the concluſion of his Prayers was almoſt the end of his Life. He went out of the Church ſeiz'd with a Catarre, by which his breathing being ſtop'd, and all ſenſe and memory taken away, he was in a few hours totally ſuffocated. He could not certainly by a more Chriſtian, nor a more eaſie death have finiſh'd a very excellent life: but the Duke of *Eſpernon* could not of a long time after be comforted for his loſs; neither indeed could a greater almoſt have befallen him, he having ſcarce any other Servant left, that was allow'd the liberty to tell his Maſter, what he conceiv'd was beſt for the good of his Service: the Duke, who would never ſlacken the ſevere hand he ever held over all his Servants, not enduring that any of them ſhould preſume to adviſe him: this only by the prerogative of his Age, and approv'd Fidelity, was diſpens'd from that Law; a diſpenſation that he notwithſtanding ever made uſe of with ſo great modeſty, as to make it appear it was rather a Priviledge granted by the Maſter's bounty, than any Empire uſurp'd by the Servant over his Maſters affections.

Anno 1631.

The death of *le Pleſſis Banſſonniere* the Duke's principal Servant.

The life of the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and his particular actions, have ſo great a connexion with the publick intereſt, that his ſtory is no where to be long continued without putting the writer upon a neceſſity of interweaving ſomething of the general concerns of the Kingdom; which obliges me in this place to reſume the groſs of Affairs, and with the year to enter into tranſactions of very great importance, wherein the Duke had ſo eminent a ſhare that his greateſt enemies, and ſuch as were moſt emulous of his glory, cannot but do him that right as to confeſs that he ſtrook the greateſt ſtroke in the ſucceſs of the Royal Arms.

Anno 1632.

The Queen Mother and the *Monſieur* being retir'd out of the Kingdom, it was not likely, but that two ſo great perſons, being open, and profeſs'd enemies to the Cardinal (whom they had publickly declar'd to be the Author of their diſcontents) would do their utmoſt endeavours to make him feel the effects of their indignation: but it appearing that the King was in a manner oblig'd in honour to protect his Miniſter, and that he was not conſequently to be aſſaulted without offending his Majeſty himſelf, they were to expect a great, and vigorous oppoſition, to whatever attempts they ſhould make upon the Cardinal's Fortune. Theſe two diſcontented Princes therefore, well foreſeeing this difficulty, willingly accepted the offers made them by the Emperour, the

Troubles ariſe upon the retirement of the Queen Mother, and the *Monſieur*.

Anno 1632.

The Emperour, the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Lorain*, engage in their quarrel.

King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Lorain*, to take Arms in their favour: but as it was impossible these separate Forces should unite, and move at the same time, whereas those of the King embodied, and acting by one sole authority, could in a moment produce the effects of all their power: it was no hard matter for the Cardinal to frustrate the attempts of all these Forein Princes, and to repel even upon them themselves, who were most active to destroy him, the designs they had projected for his ruine.

If the Cardinal's wisdom was of great use to him (as questionless it was) upon this occasion, it must likewise be confess'd that Fortune did no little contribute to his safety, who from the extremities of the North, rais'd him up a Prince, one of the most eminent, and great in all qualities both Military, and Civil, that latter ages have produc'd, and that was the great *Gustavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden*. This Prince (in truth inconsiderable enough, had not his single Person, and Valour in themselves, been worth the greatest Armies) undertook to invade *Germany*, and to assault the Emperour in the heart of his own Dominions; notwithstanding that this mighty Prince, who had already subdu'd all the powers that were opposite to him, possess'd that Empire (compos'd of many Kingdoms) in a greater degree of Sovereignty, than any of his Predecessors, who had sway'd that Scepter for many Ages before him, had ever done.

These difficulties, sufficient to have discourag'd, and withheld the mightiest powers serv'd only for Spurs to the ambition of this generous, and magnanimous Prince. He entred then into *Germany*, where at his coming he proclaim'd liberty to all the Princes, and People; a great allurement indeed, but his large promises without some advantageous effects were not of force to draw many Partizans over to his side. He sought therefore with great eagerness an occasion wherein to make tryal of his Arms, which he knew was the only way to win himself Reputation, and Friends; and the Emperour, who had no less Interest to stop the impetuosity of an Invader who came to brave him in the heart of his own Empire, oppos'd to this Torrent (and that under the command of the best, and most fortunate Leaders he had) his Army hitherto victorious over all the Forces they had met in the Field: but the glory of all those Victories serv'd only to render that of the King of *Sweden* more illustrious, which he obtain'd over these Conquerours at the Battel of *Lipsick*; by which great, and famous action, having rendred his name (till then almost unknown) formidable throughout the whole Empire, he ran from one extremity thereof to the other, almost without any resistance

ſtance, at leaſt without meeting any impediment that could ſtop his way. *Anno* 1632.

The Cardinal (as he had good reaſon) rendred himſelf very facile, and favourable to this Prince, who ſeem'd to be come out of his Rocks, and Defarts for no other end ſave only to defend his quarrel. He aſſiſted him therefore in the beginning with ſome few men, and a little money; which though not very conſiderable, the *Swede* nevertheleſs gave ſo important a diverſion to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, that having their hands more than full of their own Affairs, they were far from being in any capacity of traverſing their Neighbours deſigns. If the Emperour had enough to do at home, the King of *Spain* had no leſs need of all his Forces at the Siege of *Maſtrick*; and the Duke of *Lorain* depriv'd of the ſupport of theſe two great Princes, under whoſe ſhadow, and protection he had taken Arms, being of himſelf unable to withſtand the King's Power, was neceſſitated (as he had done ſome time before) to fly to his Majeſties mercy. By the Treaty of *Vic*, concluded in the beginning of the year, he had deliver'd *Marſal* to the King by way of caution for the performance of his word; and for this ſecond of *Liverdune*, he moreover aſſign'd to him *Stenay*, *Jamets*, and *Clairmont*; upon which good ſecurity his Majeſty having granted him peace, he was conſtrain'd to obſerve it, though it was only not long after to break it: from whence enſu'd the loſs of his whole Dukedom.

The *Monſieur* ſeeing himſelf thus deſeated of all hopes of any Forein aſſiſtance, his Servants aſſay'd to procure that for him at home, they ſaw was not elſewhere to be expected; to which end Letters from the Queen Mother, and himſelf were preſented to the Parliament of *Paris*, to try if by that application they could intereſt that Aſſembly in their grievances, and inveagle the *Pariſians* into a good opinion of their cauſe: but all in vain; they practis'd moreover ſeveral diſcontented perſons, whoſe aſſiſtance conſiſting only of a very few men, was alſo of no great effect; the remains of the *Hugonot* party were likewiſe tamper'd withal; but beſides that they were reduc'd to ſuch a low condition, that they had greater need of ſome Potent Prince to protect them, than that they were in any capacity to repair the fortune of a great Prince declin'd; there was ſo good order taken to hold them in, in all parts of the Kingdom, that not a man amongſt them durſt once offer to ſtir. The Cardinal having from the beginning of the year foreſeen, that the diſcontents of the Queen Mother, and the *Monſieur* exaſperated, and fomented by ſtrangers, would infallibly bring a War upon the Kingdom, had omitted no manner

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of precaution that might serve to frustrate their designs: he had caus'd the Kings standing Regiments both of Horse and Foot to be reinforc'd, had put sufficient Garrisons into all the important Cities, had by very severe prohibitions forestall'd all such as were likely to engage with the Enemy; and those of the Religion, though already upon the matter subdu'd, being yet in some sort, even in their impotency to be suspected, he had taken a particular care to make sure of them upon this occasion.

What difficulties soever the punctual execution of these Orders had strew'd in the way of the *Monsieur*'s designs, and notwithstanding that he saw himself abandoned by his Forein friends, sufficiently taken up with their own particular Affairs, he thought nevertheless that the sole interest of the Duke of *Montmorency*, who was absolutely at his Devotion, would of it self enable him to execute his revenge for the injuries he had receiv'd. Upon which assurance he entred the Kingdom in *June*, accompanied only with two thousand Horse, pick'd up of several Nations, and two thousand Foot, or thereabouts, taking his way through *Burgundy*, without making any discovery into what part of *France* he intended to retire: and then it was that the King's Orders, and dispatches were redoubled, and sent with great diligence into all parts of the Kingdom, to which it was probable those Forces would direct their March. They seem'd principally to threaten either *Languedoc*, or *Guienne*; the Governours of which two Provinces having no great reason to be very well satisfied with the Court, the Cardinal did not well know what to think of them, nor what to promise to himself from their Fidelity in so critical a time. Of these the Duke of *Montmorency*, the more reason the Court had to be jealous of his behaviour, the more industrious he was (as guilty men usually are) to wipe off all shadow of suspicion they might justly conceive; insomuch that 'tis said he dispatch'd post after post to the King to give him assurance of his Loyalty; a thing that afterwards prov'd one of the most dangerous circumstances of his offense. The Duke of *Espernon* did not promise so much, and perform'd much more, he only sending the *Sieur de Campels*, Gentleman of his Horse, to assure the King of his Fidelity, and was so punctual in the performance of his word, that he fail'd not in the least Article of his duty.

The *Monsieur* enters the Kingdom.

After the Duke of *Montmorency* had kept the Court sufficiently in suspense of what he resolv'd to do, he at last declar'd himself by taking open arms in favour of the *Monsieur*; who was now come into *Languedoc*, where he caus'd several Cities he had made firm for his purpose, to revolt, and moreover debauch'd many Gentle-

The Duke of *Montmorency* declares in favour of the *Monsieur*.

Gentlemen of very eminent quality, whom either the reſpect, and affection to his perſon, or the hope of change had allur'd over to his Party. *Anno* 1632.

If the *Monſieur*'s deſigns, before the Duke of *Montmorency* declar'd in his Quarrel, had amus'd the whole Court, their aſtoniſhment was infinitely augmented, after he had betaken himſelf to Arms, who having immediately thereupon publiſh'd ſeveral cauſes of his diſcontent, many at that time allow'd them to be very juſt, though no one could approve the courſe he took to manifeſt his reſentment. The news of his defection ſurpriz'd the Duke of *Eſpernon* at *Agen*, it ſurpriz'd him indeed, who expected nothing leſs than to ſee himſelf engag'd in a party contrary to the deareſt friend he had in the world; though that friendſhip, as all his other friendſhips had ever done, muſt here give place to his duty. Upon the firſt Orders therefore he receiv'd from the King, after the *Monſieur*'s entry into the Kingdom, he immediately departed from *Cadillac*, to advance into the center of the Province, which was *Agen*, to the end that from that proſpect, he might obſerve what parts of his Government ſtood moſt in need of his preſence. The Duke of *Eſpernon* advances towards *Languedoc*.

There was no diſpute (the Duke of *Montmorency* having declar'd) but that he muſt of neceſſity advance towards *Languedoc*, to ſecure *Montauban*, that being the neareſt City of importance to the revolted Province: but the difficulty was, how to do it ſo, that *Montauban* might not rather ſecure him, who had only his own Guards about his perſon, with ten Companies of the Regiment of *Phalſbourg*, that remain'd of twenty he had had in *Guienne*, the reſt being a few days before ſent away to joyn with the *Mareſchal de Schomberg*. The *Mareſchal* arriving in *Languedoc*, had ſent to borrow theſe Forces of the Duke of *Eſpernon*, perhaps out of a deſign, rather to weaken him (of whoſe reſolutions they were yet uncertain) than to ſtrengthen himſelf; which though the Duke could at that time very ill have ſpar'd, who was to go to expoſe himſelf in a place, where he had great reaſon to ſuſpect his own ſafety, yet would he not refuſe the *Mareſchal* upon his firſt demand; by that freedom ſufficiently manifeſting with what integrity and candour he proceeded in the Kings Intereſt.

This proceeding, how franck and generous ſoever, could not nevertheleſs ſo ſatisfie the Court, that they were not yet in great anxiety, and ſuſpenſe, what his reſolution might be: the hereditary friendſhip, and ſtrict alliance, betwixt the Houſe of *Montmorency*, and him, were ſufficiently known; neither were they ignorant that the tender, and paſſionate affection he had for the The Court in apprehention of the Duke of *Eſpernon*'s reſolutions.

perſon

Anno 1632. person of this Duke, was equal to that he had for his own Children; they knew moreover that two days before the Duke had declar'd, the Marchioness of *Montferrant* of the House of *Montmorency*, widow to the Baron *de Montaut* the Duke's Cousin German, and now Wife to one of the most intimate friends he had in the Province, had parted from the Dutchess of *Montmorency*, to return into *Guienne* to her Husband who was then with the Duke of *Espernon*: so that this Lady, a woman capable of the greatest Affairs, above what is usual in persons of her Sex, there were few who did not conclude, she had been purposely sent by the Duke her Kinsman to labour an intelligence with the Duke his ally; though in truth there was no such thing. In fine, the good or ill success of Affairs depending without all doubt absolutely upon him, the Court had all the reason in the world to be in some fear of what his determination would be. All the Gentry of his Government were wavering, those of the Reform'd Religion who had been constrain'd to accept of an incommodious Peace, in all apparence, waited only expecting a fit opportunity to begin a new War; thereby to obtain more advantageous conditions, than those that had been impos'd upon them; and the people oppress'd more than ordinary by new Taxes, desir'd nothing more than trouble, and confusion, which they conceiv'd to be the best, and only remedy for their present calamities. These evil dispositions were not only in *Guienne*, but *Angoumois* also; *Xaintonge*, *Limousin*, and *Poictou*, panted with the same thirst of Innovation: so that in all these Provinces (where the Duke had long govern'd) they yet retain'd for him so great a love, and respect, that what resolution soever he had taken, would without contradiction have been follow'd by them for the best. Neither had he needed to have made any great ado, to procure a great deal of mischief; since by only sitting still, and conniving never so little at those who were ready for Commotion, he might have wrought matters into such a confusion, as would infallibly have put the Kingdom into very great disorder; and then the *Mareschal de Schomberg*, shut up betwixt the Forces of *Languedoc*, and *Guienne*, would have been irrecoverably lost. But this good *Frenchman*, what aversion soever he might have to the Cardinal's immeasurable greatness, what affection soever for the Duke of *Montmorency*, or what advantage soever he might reasonably propose to himself from the alteration of Affairs (the face whereof he might doubtless have chang'd) he still preferr'd the Service of his Prince, and the good of his Countrey, before any particular Interest of his own, and remain'd unshaken in his duty, notwithstanding

ſtanding all the overtures had been made, and the importunities had been us'd to debauch him. *Anno* 1632.

The Duke acting with this ſincerity and candour, thought it very requiſite to confirm the King in the aſſurances he had formerly given his Majeſty, of his fidelity, and truth, which he did by ſending away the *Count de Maillé* to that effect: and proceeding from words to actions, after he was arriv'd at *Montauban*, his firſt care was ſpeedily to diſpatch away two Gentlemen throughout the whole Province, to ſummon in to him all the perſons of quality, whom he had moſt reaſon to ſuſpect. There were very few who did not promptly obey this Summons, which being deliver'd them by men of Repute, they could not make any excuſe, that they had not receiv'd his Commands; and it was no hard matter for the Duke when he had them ſo near his perſon, to keep them there, and ſo narrowly to watch them, that they were not conveniently to be practis'd; by which means, beſides this advantage, which was none of the moſt inconſiderable, he from this way of proceeding, deriv'd another of exceeding great moment, which was inſenſibly, and as it were almoſt without deſign, to fortifie himſelf in a City, where he was very weak, and the diſpoſition whereof was as yet very uncertain.

It is not to be believ'd how great an effect theſe prudent precautions produc'd to the ſecurity of Affairs, nor how much ſeveral perſons were diſabus'd thereby, who otherwiſe might have ſuffer'd themſelves to have been deceiv'd by falſe impreſſions of the Duke, and ſuch as were utterly contrary to his intention: but his fidelity was ſo legible throughout the whole order of his conduct, and he gave ſo little hopes to thoſe who were ſeditiouſly affected, of being to be tempted to embrace any diſloyal motion, that in ſo great a diſpoſition to evil, and in ſo favourable an occaſion to do it, there was not one man of quality of *Guienne*, excepting *Saint Croix d' Ornano*, who was one of the *Monſieur*'s Domeſtick Servants, that went out of the Province to joyn with him; the Duke's good Example, and Exhortations, ſo containing all the reſt within the bounds of their Duty, that the King had a very good iſſue of an Affair, his Majeſty himſelf thought would not ſo eaſily have determin'd. It was after all theſe important ſervices, that it was juſtly ſaid of the Duke of *Eſpernon*, that *In doing nothing he had done all*; for in effect, without ſtirring from the place, without arming any other than his own Guards, without having ſpilt one drop of blood, or ſpent ſix pence of the King's money, he procur'd his Majeſty, without danger, or expenſe, a Victory that ſettled the whole Kingdom in repoſe.

The

Anno 1632.

The King writes very graciously, and the Cardinal very kindly to the Duke of *Espernon* in acknowledgment of his good Service.

The King, inform'd by the Duke's dispatches of the good order he had taken in his Government, by very gracious Letters (which the *Count de Maillé* brought back at his return) signified to him how highly he was satisfied with his conduct; wherein, amongst other things, his Majesty acquainted him with his intention to leave *Paris*, and to take the way of *Lyons*, there to command his Army in his own person (a thing the Council would never consent unto, till they were secure of the Duke's intentions) and the Cardinal, in his Letters bearing the same date with the King's, writ to him in these expres terms: "I shall content my self with giving you this assurance, that nothing can possibly be added to "the infinite satisfaction his Majesty has receiv'd in the Zeal you "have manifested to the good of his Service in the present occa"sion; and that I shall with great diligence seek all opportuni"ties that may contribute to the desire I have to let you see, that no "one is more really than my self, Your, *&c.* To these during the King's Expedition, he receiv'd several other Dispatches, of the same obliging style, which I forbear to copy here, that I may not importune my Reader,

But how great soever the Duke's Merits and Services were, and how large soever the promises, that had been made him, the memory of those Services was notwithstanding so short liv'd, that even before the storm was well over, they sought an occasion to quarrel with him, thinking it, belike, better cheap to cavil at some little passages, (which ought rather to be imputed to his humour, than his intention) than to stand oblig'd to him for this Service.

I should never have done should I undertake to relate all the particularities (though remarkable enough in themselves) or should I so much as insist upon the more eminently considerable passages that hapned upon this occasion, which makes me omit many things, that perhaps would not be altogether unpleasant, to come to the main business of all, which is the defeat of of the Duke of *Montmorency*, and his being taken prisoner.

The Engagement of *Castelnaudary*, wherein the *Count de Moret* was slain, and the Duke of *Montmorency* taken prisoner; from which disaster the ruine of the *Monsieur*'s party ensues.

'Tis well enough known after what manner this unfortunate Lord precipitously, and almost alone, engag'd himself against a whole Army; a rashness by which he became the principal instrument of his enemies Victory: insomuch that had he combin'd with them against himself, he could not more blindly, and wilfully have run upon his own destruction. He compell'd the *Mareschal de Scomberg* to fight against his intention, and to overcome him against his will; he had not, 'tis true, full fifty men slain in this Engagement, which will yet appear a great number, considering that he had not above an hundred, that charg'd with him upon

upon this occaſion. The *Count de Moret*, a young Prince of great merit, and much greater expectation, was ſo unfortunate as to loſe his life without the Trenches that ſeparated the *Monſieur's* Army from that of the *Mareſchal*; ſome other perſons of quality ran alſo the ſame Fortune: but although this loſs was ſmall in reſpect to the number of men, the taking of the Duke of *Montmorency* made it nevertheleſs ſo highly conſiderable, that every one concluded the ruine of the whole party infallible. For the *Monſieur* having upon him repos'd his whole confidence for the command of the Army, the Cities and Forces of *Languedoc* being wholly ty'd to his perſon, and intereſt, and all things abſolutely depending upon him; he was no ſooner taken, but that the Cities revolted, and the Army disbanded: ſo that in a few days the *Monſieur* ſaw himſelf ſo totally deſerted, that what attempt ſoever he had a deſire to make to reſcue the Duke of *Montmorency* out of the enemies hands, and yet to diſpute the Victory, he had ſo few left wherewith to execute his deſire, and thoſe few ſo dejected with the late misfortune, that he was reduc'd to a neceſſity of relying upon the faith of a Treaty for the preſervation of a Servant, who contrary to his order had loſt himſelf. *Anno* 1632.

The Duke of *Eſpernon* advertis'd of this accident, by a diſpatch from the *Mareſchal de Scomberg*, dated the ſecond of *September*, which was the next day after the fight, was afflicted beyond expreſſion at the Duke of *Montmorency's* misfortune. He gave him at the firſt for loſt, and being very well acquainted with the ſevere Maxims of that time, together with the implacable hatred the great Miniſter had conceiv'd againſt him, did forthwith conclude, that this firſt Offenſe would alſo be the laſt he was ever likely to commit.

Yet not to fail upon this event in any of his reſpects, he wrote to the King to ſignifie to his Majeſty the joy he conceiv'd for the proſperity of his Arms; he ſent likewiſe the ſame Complement to the *Mareſchal de Scomberg*, and to the Marquis *de Brezé*, who had behav'd himſelf very gallantly upon this occaſion: but he alſo manifeſted to the Duke of *Montmorency*, his great grief for his misfortune. It was by a Gentleman diſpatch'd on purpoſe to that end (and before the liberty of receiving his friends addreſſes, was taken from him) that he ſent to aſſure this Duke of whatever without reſervation, he could expect from the paſſion, he had ever had, and was oblig'd ever to have for his Service. He did not write to him, but he writ to the *Mareſchal de Scomberg*, to intreat he would permit him to pay his friend in ſo great an extremity, what their mutual Affection exacted from his duty: a requeſt

The Duke of *Eſpernon* ſends a Complement to the Duke of *Montmorency* in Priſon.

Anno 1632. in the granting whereof, the *Mareschal* was so exceeding civil, as to cause the Duke's Gentleman (which was *Naugas* the Lieutenant of his Guards) to be forthwith conducted to the Duke of *Montmorency*'s Chamber. *Naugas* had there full liberty to deliver all he had in charge from the Duke his Master; whereupon this unfortunate Lord, who had ever honour'd the Duke, as if he had been his Father, touch'd with the sense of this seasonable manifestation of a Friendship, which he knew to be unfeigned, would needs upon the instant return an acknowledgment of the timely kindness, by a word in writing under his own hand, though very much weakened with ten great wounds, and roul'd up with Lints and Plaisters. Wherein he briefly told him according to his ordinary way of writing, "That he acknowledg'd himself infinitely "oblig'd for the favour he had done him: That he would not "however in return offer him his * *good Graces*, which, at this "time were none of the best (intimating thereby his wounded "face) but that, if it should please God to restore him to his health, "he would imploy that, with his life in his Service. To which he added by word of mouth, several passionate expressions of the Affection he bore to the Duke; not then dreaming without doubt that he should so soon be depriv'd of all means whereby to make it appear. All which, being brought back by *Naugas*, only serv'd to augment the Duke's Affliction, who was the more compassionate of his friends condition, by how much he himself was ignorant of his own misfortune, and insensible of his danger.

* Not otherwise to be rendred without spoiling the sense.

The news of this defeat having met the King at *Lyons*, who with new Forces was following his other Armies, his Majesty no more doubted, but that all the *Monsieur*'s Party would suddenly dissolve, as in a few days it did; so that having nothing more to do, save only to settle what had been discompos'd by the late Commotion, he mov'd with so great deliberation towards *Tholouze*, that he arriv'd not there till the 22. of the month following. The Duke of *Espernon* in the mean time, seeing there was now nothing that could oblige him to make any longer stay either at *Montauban*, or upon the Frontier of *Languedoc*, went to the waters of *Encausse*, a journey he rather undertook to divert himself, whilst he waited in expectation of the King's coming, than for any great business he had there in order to his health.

The Duke advances to *Tholouze*.

The King being (as has been said) arriv'd at *Tholouze* the 22. of *October*, there was present order given for the bringing thither of the Duke of *Montmorency*, who accordingly arriving there, was, as soon as brought, committed into the custody of two Judges

The Duke of *Montmorency* brought to *Tholouze*, and his Tryal begun.

Judges of the Parliament: a proceeding by which his Relations and Friends, being given to underſtand, that they aim'd directly at his life, there was not one of them who was not ready to ſerve him, with the hazard of his own; but yet not one of them durſt be ſo bold, as to ſpeak for him to the King. His Majeſty ſeem'd to have bolted the door againſt all manner of interceſſion, by denying his pardon to the *Monſieur*, who had not (as it was ſaid) ſign'd the Articles of the Treaty upon any other accompt, ſave only to preſerve him. The Princeſs of *Condé* was moreover forbidden to enter into *Tholouze*, by that means being rendred incapable of paying ſo beloved, and ſo noble a Brother any other duty than that of her fruitleſs ſighs, and tears. In this general conſternation, whilſt the Cardinal *de la Valette*, was uſing his utmoſt intereſt, and endeavour with Cardinal *Richelieu*, the Duke of *Eſpernon* was no leſs importunate with the King, he being the only man that had the courage to ſpeak directly in the behalf of the Duke of *Montmorency*, and to be the Orator of his other Friends, wherein if his ſucceſs was not ſuch, as he did heartily deſire; yet ought he not in this place to be deny'd the teſtimony of his vertuous endeavour for the preſervation of ſo precious a life. *Anno* 1632.

The Duke of *Eſpernon* intercedes for the Duke of *Montmorency*.

He addreſs'd himſelf therefore boldly to the King, when being kneel'd down, with greater ſubmiſſion to prefer his moſt humble Suit, the King was pleas'd to raiſe him up, and to give him leave to ſay: "That he did not throw himſelf at his Maje-"ſties feet to juſtifie the Duke of *Montmorency* in the leaſt, nor by "excuſes to extenuate the greatneſs of his offenſe: That he did "acknowledge him to be guilty, his Crime being too high, and "manifeſt to admit of any excuſe; but that if it were leſs, it "would be leſs worthy of his Majeſties mercy: That that Ver-"tue truly Royal, never appear'd in ſo great luſtre, as when em-"ploy'd upon great Subjects, and after great Offenſes: That his "Majeſty would hardly meet with another occaſion, wherein it "would be ſo conſpicuouſly eminent, as in this, all Europe ha-"ving at this time their eyes fix'd upon him, to obſerve what he "would pleaſe to determine of ſo illuſtrious a Head: That he "was the bolder to ſue to his Majeſty for this pardon, by how "much having in his own perſon, and upon almoſt the like oc-"caſion, receiv'd the ſame Grace from his Majeſties bounty, he "flatter'd himſelf to be ſo happy as that his Majeſty had never re-"pented himſelf of that favour: That he was not the only per-"ſon amongſt his Servants, who ſtood oblig'd to his Clemency "for the ſame benefit, but that *Monſieur*, the Cardinal *de Ri-*

Anno 1632.

"*chelieu* was equally concern'd: That they had both of them engag'd in the Queen Mothers interest in a time when his Majesties Royal Name was oppos'd against them, though they had "therein no other intention, than to do him service; and that if "in that juncture his Majesty had left them to the severity of Law "and Justice, he had depriv'd himself of the great services of the "one, and the gratitude of the other: That the youth of *Monsieur de Montmorency* deserv'd no less to be excus'd, than their "good intentions: That his person being in his Majesties power, he would be secur'd from doing any thing to the prejudice "of his Service; but that his preservation might serve eternally "to his glory: That he did humbly beseech his Majesty to consider, that the great name of *Montmorency* was now only surviving in his single person: That the merit of his Ancestors "(who by a long succession extended their race almost to the first "foundation of the *French* Monarchy) pleaded so highly for his "Pardon, that one rash Act ought not to forfeit so brave a Gentleman to the severity of his Majesties Justice. That if he "should be so fortunate as to obtain a second life for his friend, he "would with all his heart become his Security, that for the future "it should never be employ'd, but in his Majesties Service, and "that his Blood should serve for no other use, than to wash away "the Stain, and for ever to obliterate the memory of his Offense.

The King with great patience, and without once offering to interrupt him, gave the Duke free liberty to continue his discourse to the end, seeming moreover to hearken to him with some kind of hopeful attention: but that favourable audience was also the only fruit of his address; for his Majesty having from the beginning of the Duke's Speech fix'd his eyes upon the ground, never lifted them from thence so much as once to look upon the Duke who was speaking to him; neither when he had concluded did he answer him one word: by which silence the Duke perceiving the ruine of his friend to be absolutely decreed, he spoke again, and said, "*Sir, since I am so unhappy as not to hope to obtain your Majesties* "*Pardon for* Monsieur de Montmorency, *I humbly beg leave that I* "*may retire*: When though the King had been dumb to the first, he found words to make answer to this last request, by telling him, "*Yes, you have free leave; neither do I intend my self to stay long in* "*this City*. Whereupon the Duke afflicted to the last degree, that he had been able to obtain nothing more (though indeed he had not expected much better success) presently withdrew himself to go wait upon the Princess of *Condé* in the Suburbs of *Tholouze* (to which place she was retir'd) there to condole with her their com-

The Duke of *Espernon* not being able to prevail with the King in the behalf of the Duke of *Montmorency* begs leave to retire, and obtains it.

common misfortune. He found at his coming thither that Cardinal *Richelieu* was but newly parted thence, whoſe viſit, by giving her no ſatisfaction, having put her into the laſt deſpair, the Duke's hapned to be exceeding ſeaſonable for the compoſing of her mind agitated with ſo violent a Paſſion. *Anno* 1632.

Though the Duke from that very day prepar'd himſelf for his departure, yet had he time enough before he went, totally to reject a propoſition made to him on the Cardinal's behalf, preſently after the King's arrival at *Tholouze*. He had caus'd the Duke to be treated withal to quit the Government of *Metz* in his favour; offering him in exchange the ſurvivancy of that of *Guienne*, for the Duke *de la Valette* his Son, who was already ſeiz'd of that of *Metz* in reverſion. *Bullion*, newly created *Sur-Intendant des Finances*, was choſen by the Cardinal, as a perſon moſt acceptable to the Duke to make to him this Overture: a propoſition at which the Duke, having ſerv'd the King ſo well as he had done in the laſt occaſion, was not a little ſurpriz'd; and the rather becauſe his Services having been of great importance to the Cardinal's Fortune (which was much more ſtrook at in the late Rebellion, than any thing that concern'd either the King or the Kingdom) he had reaſon, beſides the ſatisfaction the King had been pleas'd to manifeſt of his performance, to expect alſo a very grateful return from the Cardinal himſelf. It was the belief of many at that time, that the Cardinal's deſign was, to accommodate himſelf with the Biſhoprick of *Metz*, together with five or ſix great Abbeys in that City of above an hundred thouſand Livers a year Revenue, beſides the Biſhoprick which was worth twice as much, and to add thereunto the Government of the City, and Countrey, with thoſe of the Cities and Cittadels of *Thoul* and *Verdun*; to the end that by providing for himſelf ſo certain, and ſecure a retreat, he might in time be arm'd againſt all diſgrace; to which others have added an opinion, that he had a project to reunite all the Provinces that had formerly been members of the Kingdom of *Auſtratia* in his own perſon, to hold them in the quality of a Sovereign Prince, whereof *Lorain*, and *Alſatia*, which were in his Majeſties poſſeſſion, together with the three forenamed Biſhopricks of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, made up the greateſt part; it had been a matter of no great difficulty for the Cardinal to have poſſeſs'd himſelf of this Eſtate, by any title he would have deſir'd of the King: So that, if he ever had this thought, it is not to be wondred at, if he was ſenſibly offended that the Duke refus'd to treat and to comply with him in a thing, he had ſet his heart upon for the eſtabliſhment of his Fortune. Cardinal *Richelieu's* ambitious deſigns.

How-

Anno 1632. However it was, it is concluded by all, that this Affair made the Cardinal take up a resolution absolutely to break with the Duke of *Espernon*, whom he saw to be too stiff to stoop to his Authority, and look'd upon as the only person of the Kingdom, who had either the power, or the spirit to mate his greatness. Wherein nevertheless though the Duke appear'd to be very averse, yet did he not absolutely reject the Cardinal's proposal; but conceiving he did not offer enough, demanded moreover a *Mareschal*'s Staff for the Duke *de Candale* his eldest Son. This was a Dignity that could not indeed be deny'd to his merit, though it had never been laid in the balance against the Government of *Metz*: but if the Duke had a kindness for this Son, the Cardinal had no less aversion, who (it was said) having been wounded to the quick with some smart touches of the Duke *de Candale*'s Wit (as pleasant a one indeed as any of his time, but withal as tart, as pleasant) he could by no means forget it, but would rather choose to leave a thing of so great importance to the establishment of his Fortune imperfect, than to be instrumental to the advancement of a person by whom he conceiv'd himself so highly offended. Having therefore broke off with the Duke upon these terms, it is to be presum'd, he only for the future waited an occasion, or at least a pretense wherewithal to colour his revenge. Wherein though the Duke's haughty humour was likely enough to furnish him with as good as he could desire, it appear'd nevertheless that fortune (who will ever have a hand in all humane Affairs) seconding the Cardinal's passion, produc'd him one much sooner, than he expected. It was in truth, at this time, contrary to the Duke's intention, who, although he would not discover a weakness in condescending below his own Dignity, had no desire notwithstanding to provoke the Cardinal's Almighty power, by insisting upon any thing he might irreproachably do.

After that, by the death of the Duke of *Montmorency*, the King thought he had absolutely appeas'd the storm in *Languedoc*, his Majesty thought of nothing more, than by the nearest way, and with a very slender train, of returning back to *Paris*. The Queen, who was attended by the Council, and all the Court, two days after the King's departure, began her Journey towards *Bordeaux*, as greater conveniency to send away her equipage down the River *Garonne*, where being arriv'd, her Majesty was pleas'd to honour the Duke of *Espernon* so far, as to cross the River, to go see him in his House *Cadillac*. The Vertue, Generosity, and other excellent qualities this Queen was Mistriss of, had acquir'd the Duke absolutely to her Service; who also in return, receiv'd infinite testimonies

The Queen goes to *Cadillac*.

ſtimonies of her love and eſteem; ſo that it is not to be doubted, but he was overjoy'd to have ſo favourable an Opportunity, wherein to manifeſt, in ſome meaſure, his Gratitude for her Grace, and Favour. Nothing therefore was ſpar'd to that end, and the Duke, having a few days preceded her Majeſties coming, had made ſo plentiful proviſion of all things, and ſhe was receiv'd at his Houſe after ſo ſplendid a manner, that as on the one ſide it was impoſſible for him fully to ſatisfie his Duty, and Affection; ſo could he on the other very hardly have done more, than he did, or have added any thing to the Splendour, and Magnificence of this Entertainment. *Anno* 1632.

The Duke's ill Fortune would have it that Cardinal *Richelieu* came this Journey with the Queen; who ſince he had fortified *Broüage* to ſuch a degree, that it is at this day reputed one of the ſtrongeſt places in *France*, had never been there, and would now therefore for all the money he had laid out upon it (which was a vaſt Summe) give himſelf the ſatisfaction of taking a view of his Work. The Duke was not ſorry for this Reſolution; but on the contrary, no publick unkindneſs having hitherto hapned betwixt them, he invited the Cardinal to his Houſe, hoping the good Entertainment he intended him there, might thaw the former Coldneſs: but it fell out quite otherwiſe, and two untoward Accidents that hapned in this Journey making the diſcontents, which had ſo long been hatching in the Cardinal's Boſom, to diſcloſe themſelves, occaſion'd ſoon after the firſt Diſorder the Duke had ever receiv'd in his Fortune. Of theſe Accidents the firſt was this.

The Cardinal comes to *Cadillac*, where he takes new offenſe at the Duke of *Eſpernon*.

The Queen being to paſs the River betwixt *Cadillac*, and *Bordeaux*, to come to the Houſe, the Duke had prepar'd Coaches ready to receive her Majeſty, at her landing; giving order withal to ſome of his Servants to reſerve one for the Cardinal, that he might have no cauſe to complain of any want of reſpect towards him: an Order nevertheleſs ſo ill obſerv'd, that the Queen firſt landing, and the Coaches deſign'd for her Train proving too few to contain them all, they alſo made bold with that, which was intended for the Cardinal. At the Queens coming aſhore, the Duke, having paid her the reſpect that was moſt juſtly due, by attending her Majeſty to her apartment, that firſt duty perform'd, went back in all haſte to receive the Cardinal upon the River, himſelf taking a Coach along with him for that purpoſe; but for all his diligence he came too late, meeting the Cardinal already advanc'd a pretty way towards the Houſe on Foot; where, though the Duke made him all imaginable Excuſes for the fault had

The Cardinal's firſt complaint.

Anno 1632. had been committed contrary to his Order; they were not nevertheless of force to dispossess him of the distaste he had taken, that he had not been so well us'd as he ought to be: so that though he receiv'd them with some shew of satisfaction, his actions nevertheless sufficiently manifested his discontent, he being not to be perswaded to make use of the Coach the Duke had brought him; and although already seiz'd with the beginning of a distemper, of which a few days after at *Bordeaux*, he had like to have dy'd, he was nevertheless obstinate to finish the remaining part of his way on foot, though with great trouble and inconvenience, till he came to the Lodgings that were made ready for him.

This was the first cross accident the Duke met with upon this occasion, and in this every impartial Judge must of necessity acquit him. The second hapned soon after at *Bordeaux*, wherein, though it be true, that there was something more of the Duke's haughty humour, yet was his intention nevertheless infinitely wide of the sinister interpretations were put upon it. The Queen, having staid two whole days at *Cadillac*, caus'd her self to be convey'd thence back to *Bordeaux*, in order to the continuation of her Journey, where at the same time the Cardinal also arriv'd: but his Disease was by this time so much increas'd, that finding himself then in excessive pain, within a very few days they began to despair of his life; and in truth without the assistance of a Chirurgeon of *Bordeaux*, he had then infallibly dy'd of a suppression of Vrine. Whilst he lay in this extremity, the Queen resolv'd upon leaving *Bordeaux*, to advance towards *Paris*, by taking *Rochelle* nevertheless in her way; a place she would by all means take this opportunity to see, as an eternal Monument of the Kings Victory. The Duke very well understanding what respect was due to his Queen, and Mistris, whilst her Majesty staid in the City, had caus'd his Guards to lay aside their Liveries, and Muskets; divesting himself moreover of all other Marks, and Functions of a Governour in her presence: but so soon as she was gone, and that he had had the honour to attend her to her Boat, he did not conceive himself oblig'd to retain the same respect for the Cardinal. He therefore immediately after the Queens departure commanded his Guards again to put on their Cassocks, and to take their Arms; and very well attended, presented himself at the Cardinals Lodgings, who continued yet very ill, though something better than before. Upon this occasion, that was interpreted for a premeditated Violence, which was only intended for a Civility, and Respect; and those of the Cardinals Servants, who saw him come to the House so accompanied, ran to alarm their Master,

The Cardinal's second complaint.

ſter, by telling him that the Duke of *Eſpernon* was coming to attempt ſomething upon his perſon. Whereupon follow'd a Hubub throughout the whole Family, every one was agaſt, and betook themſelves confuſedly to their Arms. In the mean time the Duke enters the Houſe, where not knowing what to think of the general Diſorder, and aſtoniſhment he obſery'd in every face he met, he went on to the Cardinal's Chamber door, follow'd by very few (having forbidden his Guards to ſet ſo much as one foot upon the ſtairs) where after having enquir'd of the Cardinals health, and having been anſwer'd, he was exceeding ill, and in ſuch a condition that he intreated to be excus'd, he could not ſee him, he return'd back in the ſame poſture he came, there being neither more nor leſs in this Affair. *Anno* 1632.

This is indeed the naked truth of the Story: but it was not ſo repreſented to the Cardinal; thoſe who were about him on the contrary to inſinuate into his Favour, and to make him believe they had done him a notable piece of Service, aſſuring him that without their extraordinary care, and the good poſture they had put themſelves into to oppoſe the Duke, he had infallibly been loſt. The Duke was afterwards inform'd, and had it from very good hands, that the Archbiſhop of *Bordeaux* was one of thoſe who poſſeſs'd the Cardinal with this belief; ſo that the Duke, and he not having been (as you may have obſerv'd) very good friends before, an Office like this could not but incenſe him anew, and the more juſtly, by how much his Honour was therein ſo highly concern'd. He was impatient to think they ſhould repreſent him for a man that would harbour violent Deſigns againſt the perſon of a Cardinal, and a Prieſt; which certainly was the thing that moſt contributed to the great Diſputes, that hapned betwixt them the enſuing year; of which you will have a ſuddain accompt, and ſuch a one as will take up a great part of this laſt Volume.

The Cardinal's animoſity againſt the Duke of *Eſpernon*, fomented by the Archbiſhop of *Bordeaux*.

The Duke who neither then, nor of ſome time after, knew any thing of the ill impreſſions the Cardinal had been poſſeſs'd withal, continued to uſe him at the ſame rate he had begun; his Guards attended him where-ever he mov'd; he never went abroad but extraordinarily well accompanied, and many Gentlemen of the Country, who had come in to him upon the Queens arrival, ſtill continuing about his perſon: The day that the Cardinal departed for *Broüage*, the Duke, thinking thereby to pay him a greater Civility, and reſpect, follow'd by his Guards, and Friends, conducted him to his Boat. By which new Complement he ſo reviv'd his former Apprehenſion, that ſome have ſince ſaid, the

Anno 1632. Cardinal had a mind to make the world believe, he had avoided a very eminent danger, by escaping out of the Duke of *Espernon*'s hands. The Duke could never perswade himself that the Cardinal could have any such apprehension, he being a man of too great judgment not to see, that had he had any design upon his person, nothing could have hindred him from the execution of that design. He had been, without dispute, the strongest in the Cardinal's Lodgings, when he took the first alarm, and during the whole time of his stay at *Bordeaux*, the favour of the people being nothing inclin'd to him, his Domesticks alone had not been able to have made any resistance against those of the Duke, especially fortified, as he was, by such a number of his Friends of the Province. It is therefore evident, that the Duke never had any intention to hurt him, forasmuch as he did not do it: but he had nevertheless an opinion, (and that opinion was grounded upon great probabilities) that the Cardinal's ambitious spirit was offended to the last degree, that he had not paid the same respect to his Person, he had done to that of the Queen; and that, being he could not handsomly publish the true cause of his discontent, he had palliated it with this pretense, to have the more plausible colour of revenging himself upon the Duke, as upon an enemy, who had plotted against his life.

The Cardinal arrives at *Broüage*.

The Cardinal was no sooner got to *Broüage*, but that (whether it was the change of Air, or the joy to see himself in a place of safety that produc'd this good effect) his health began visibly to improve; when the Duke of *Espernon*, ignorant as yet of the ill impressions he had been possess'd withal, concerning his former Visits, dispatch'd a Gentleman to him to enquire of his amendment. It was by the return of this Envoy, that he was acquainted with all the former story, of which the Cardinal *de la Valette* his Son, who had never departed from Cardinal *Richelieu*, during the whole time of his sickness, gave him a full accompt. This suspicion so lightly grounded, and so much contrary to his intention, did much more offend, than any way incline the Duke to offer any thing in his own justification: And although he very well foresaw that a jealousie of this nature, whether feign'd, or true, threatned him with some great, and sudden mischief; it was nevertheless so far from rendring him more flexible, or more complacent, that he chose rather to expose himself to the worst effects of the Cardinal's unresisted power, than to recede in the least from his ordinary way of living.

Anno 1633. This Journey of the Cardinal's to *Bordeaux*, and the morosity of his distemper there, was not fatal to the Duke alone; the dis-

grace

grace of the *Garde des Sceaux*, *de Chaſteau-Neuf*, being (as has been ſaid) reſolv'd upon at the ſame time; the reaſons of which diſgrace are to this day a ſecret, though the thing it ſelf was ſoon enough publickly known: for the Cardinal had no ſooner ſeen the King, but that *Chaſteau-Neuf* had Orders ſent him to retire to *Ruffee* in *Angoumois*, who being upon his way in Obedience to that command, a ſecond Order overtook him, by which he was carried away Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Angouleſme*. The Duke of *Eſpernon*, who ſtood highly oblig'd to this Gentleman's friendſhip, for ſeveral acts of Favour in his Affairs, and who had moreover his Vertue, and Integrity in very great eſteem, was very much afflicted at his misfortune; yet did he even from the accident it ſelf derive ſuch a conſolation, as ſerv'd very much to ſweeten his diſcontent. And that was the choice the King had made of Preſident *Seguier*, on him to confer the Seal; one that was the Duke's intimate and very faithful Friend, and of whom from his firſt Employments, he had made ſo advantageous a judgment, that he conceiv'd there was no advancement how high ſoever in his Profeſſion, to which he might not juſtly pretend, if his Vertues once came to be ſufficiently known. But if the Duke began the year, with ſo great an occaſion of joy, Fortune, who never ſuffers the Affairs of this world to continue long in the ſame poſture, did alſo not long defer to poyſon his content, by one of the rudeſt Aſſaults he had met withal in the whole courſe of his life; and ſince the Archbiſhop of *Bordeaux* was the Inſtrument by which ſhe wrought this diſgrace, it will not be impertinent to give a brief accompt of that which kindled their firſt Diviſions, and the enſuing cauſes, that occaſion'd this laſt Diſorder.

Anno 1633.

The diſgrace of *Chaſteau-Neuf Garde des Sceaux.*

Preſident *Seguier* made *Garde des Sceaux.*

This Prelate, Brother to the Cardinal *de Sourdis*, had immediately upon the death of his elder Brother ſucceeded him in the Archbiſhoprick of *Bordeaux*, but not in the good intelligence had been betwixt the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and him; not that the Duke had not this mans merit, which was very great, in high conſideration alſo, he had Wit, Courage, Dexterity, and many other good qualities, which had formerly acquir'd his eſteem: but the intimacy he had with Cardinal *Richelieu*, rendred his friendſhip ſo ſuſpected to him, that he could not confide in a perſon, he ſaw engag'd in ſo ſtrict a League with another he did not love. As for the Cardinal *de Sourdis*, who had no ſuch connexion, the Duke had ever liv'd with him in ſo perfect an Intelligence, as has rarely been obſerv'd, betwixt two perſons of ſo eminent condition, to have been maintain'd ſo inviolate, and ſincere: Yet was

The difference betwixt the Duke of *Eſpernon* and the Archbiſhop of *Bordeaux.*

Anno 1633. it not without the admiration of all that knew their Humours; they were both in the one, and the other haughty, and fierce, there was much of fire and ambition, in both their natures; and little would have serv'd to have kindled a fewd betwixt them: but perhaps knowing one another to be so Subject to Heat, they would not interfere, foreseeing that whoever should begin, would doubtless in his adversary meet with a vigorous Opposition. This Cardinal had formerly had great Disputes both with the Parliament, and the Governours of the Province, which Disputes had begot him much trouble; so that his more mature, and more temperate Age, having cool'd the violent Ardours of his more ungovern'd, and inconsiderate Youth, he began to relish the conveniency of Peace, choosing rather to busie himself about the well ordering of his Dioceſs (which he did equally with any Prelate of the Church, about laying Foundations of Monasteries, Hospitals, and other Actions of great Lustre, and Example, than to spend his Spirits, and consume his time in fruitless and unprofitable Quarrels. The Duke also on the other side, who had his share of Contention with the Parliament, found himself sufficiently perplex'd with them, without drawing new inconveniencies upon him. by forcing a man of the Cardinal's condition to his Adversaries side; so that as to any thing else, these two Lords observing a great Correspondency in their Complements, Visits, and all other Punctilio's of mutual respect, this former consideration serv'd not a little to the continuance of this good Intelligence betwixt them. In fine, whether it were their Interests, or the sole respect of their common Vertue, that begot this friendship they had for one another, it could hardly have been greater: but after the death of this Cardinal, his Brother having (as has been said) been promoted to that See, the Duke did not pay him the same Honour, he had done his elder Brother; who on the other side impatient of that distinction, joyn'd himself with the Parliament, at this time high in contest with the Duke, and supporting the interests of that Assembly, with the Credit he had with the Cardinal (which was very great) procur'd some determinations in their favour, concerning the things so highly controverted betwixt the Duke, and them. In acknowledgment of these Obligations, the Parliament augmented in his Person the Honours that had usually been paid to his Predecessors, and the Duke on the contrary cut off some of those he had formerly paid even to him himself; an usage which the Archbishop publickly resenting, oblig'd the Duke (who never engag'd in a quarrel, but to push it home) to be more obstinately bent, not to give him the least

leaſt ſatisfaction in any of his complaints: So that he ſtill perſiſted, not only to uſe him, as he had begun: but to this abatement of Ceremony, added moreover ſome diſobliging effects. All this had preceded the Accommodation made at Cardinal *Richelieu's* being at *Montauban*; but this Reconciliation having ſatisfied neither the intereſted perſons, nor him who had interpos'd to reconcile them, they rather remain'd in a diſpoſition to do one another a Spight upon the firſt occaſion that ſhould preſent it ſelf, than to live in the good Intelligence could have been wiſh'd for their common repoſe. Since that time the Duke had been adverti's'd, that it was principally the Archbiſhop of *Bordeaux*, who had exaſperated the Cardinal againſt him, and who had rendred his Viſit at *Bordeaux* (when he went to ſee him, attended by his Guards) ſuſpected to him. A thing that had offended him to the laſt degree, and he had publickly complain'd of that proceeding (for his Paſſions were never conceal'd) which was alſo reported to the Archbiſhop who was at this time oblig'd to come into his Dioceſs to make ſome Reſidence there. *Anno* 1633.

He departed therefore from Court, and took the way of *Guienne*. Some have believ'd that it was by the expreſs Order of Cardinal *Richelieu*, that he undertook this Journey, who having upon the late diſtaſtes he had taken at the Duke, ſummon'd all his old animoſities to his remembrance, had ſent the Archbiſhop of *Bordeaux*, whom he knew the Duke did not love to brave him, his ſpirit being the better known to him, as he had made tryal of it, upon other occaſions, and found it bold, and capable of the higheſt reſolutions. I ſhall not however take upon me here to interpoſe my judgment in any of theſe Tranſactions; I ſhall only report things true, and as they were, without diſguiſe, hatred, or envy, any of which it would certainly very much miſ-become me to retain after the Duke's death, whoſe deſire it was they might be buried with him, that being one of the moſt expreſs commands he gave his Family at the laſt hour of his Life.

The Archbiſhop being upon his way towards *Bordeaux*, turn'd a little out of the ordinary Road to go into a Territory belonging to his Biſhoprick, call'd *Monravel*; where being arriv'd, he was inform'd, that one of the Duke's Guards had been aſſiſting in the execution of ſome Acts of Juſtice, wherein he was himſelf immediately concern'd, and which would otherwiſe perhaps have met with ſome oppoſition. He would therefore take this occaſion to ſend a Gentleman to the Duke, to return his thanks for ſo opportune a kindneſs: who having found the Duke at *Bordeaux*, told him from the Archbiſhop his Maſter, "That he took the aſſiſtance

The Archbiſhop of *Bordeaux* ſends to complement the Duke of *Eſpernon*.

Anno 1633. "assistance one of his Guards had given some of his people to "the support of his interests, and in the time of his absence for a "singular favour, and obligation; and that he had therefore "commanded him to come kiss his hands, and to return him his "hearty thanks. Some have drawn a consequence from this way of proceeding, that the Archbishop did not come with any design to offend the Duke, it being unlikely, that had he had any such intention, he would have sent to him to have sought his friendship, by the acknowledgment of an obligation receiv'd. others (and perhaps too critically) have believ'd, that it was only artifice to make the Duke appear more in fault, and that the Archbishop, knowing the Duke's humour had made no difficulty in making this dissembled Application, to the end, that it being rejected, as he expected it should be, the Duke might be more universally condemn'd, even when being provok'd, he should break out into just and necessary resentments.

Whatever the design of this Complement might be, it was very ill receiv'd, and so ill, that if the Archbishop had therein any clandestine end, to extract from it some new cause of offense, he could hardly better have succeeded. The Duke made answer to the Gentleman who came from the Archbishop, "That thanks "were neither necessary, nor due to a person, who had no design "to oblige: That if any thing by his orders had been perform'd "to his Masters advantage, it had been done upon no other ac- "count than the meer consideration of Justice, without any re- "spect to his Friendship: and so dismiss'd him. The Duke observing all his people surpriz'd at so slight, and so crude an answer, to satisfie them in some measure, told them, "That they ought "not to wonder if he had made a rude return to the Archbishop's "Complement: That it was without doubt no other than a "feign'd Civility in *Monsieur de Bordeaux*, who he very well knew "did not love him, to seek an advantage against him: That he "would be glad under a colour of seeming Courtesie, to lay a "weakness at his door, and to make the world believe, that he "had first sought his Friendship: That had the Bishop sent to "him by the way of a simple *How d'ee* only, he should have "receiv'd his Visit with the respect due to a man of his conditi- "on; but having added terms of thanks, which presuppos'd a "favour receiv'd, he would not the world should believe, that he "had made the first application to a man he did not take to be "his Friend.

The Archbishop might very well judge by this first repulse, that he should have a very hard game to play with the Duke of *Espernon*,

Eſpernon, which made him hover very near a month about *Bordeaux*, before he could reſolve to enter the City. It is moſt certain, that in the mean time he ſent to Court to acquaint the Cardinal with what had paſs'd betwixt the Duke and him, and to receive Inſtructions from him, how he was to behave himſelf, if matters ſhould grow to a greater height betwixt them. To which the Cardinals anſwer was (as it was a few days after Publiſh'd) that he aſſur'd him of a powerful Protection, and ſuch a one as he had promis'd him before his departure; whereupon the Archbiſhop made no difficulty to engage in the Affair, to ſuch a height, as even to be himſelf the Aggreſſor, as at the firſt daſh, by giving the Duke very ſenſible, and very publick Affronts, he manifeſtly appeared to be. *Anno* 1633.

The firſt was, when upon his arrival at the City, he did not find the Jurats (that is the Magiſtrates) upon the River, ready to receive him at his Landing; which he pretended to be a Ceremony due to his Place, and Dignity, as having formerly been paid him: but the Jurats, who declar'd to have ſometimes done it only upon Courteſie, and without any intention to draw it into Example, would by no means conſent, that what had been perform'd meerly in the nature of a Civility, ſhould become a Right. This therefore he would interpret for a hainous offenſe, not only from the Jurats, but alſo from the Duke, who he believ'd (with ſome reaſon) to have been the cauſe, that Honour had been deny'd him. So that without longer diſſembling his Diſcontent, the Jurats having deputed two of their Corporation to Harangue him ſo ſoon as he ſhould be alighted at his own Palace, he anſwer'd them in theſe very words.

"Gentlemen, I have reaſon at my arrival to be ſatisfied with "the people of *Bordeaux*, who have behav'd themſelves civilly "towards me; and I look upon it as a continuation of the good "affection, they have formerly had for the late Cardinal *de Sour-*"*dis* my Brother: but I have reaſon to be diſſatisfied with the "Magiſtrates of your City, and cannot but believe, that if thoſe, "who put the words you have deliver'd me into your mouths, "had given you leave to pay me the reſpect you ought to have "done, you would have done it after the accuſtomed manner, "and in the uſual place: but by having made your ſelves ſlaves "to your Offices, and by having forfeited your Liberties in ſo "doing, you have committed this neglect. I muſt needs think "this proceeding would have been againſt the ſenſe of the People, "might they have been allow'd the freedom of their Voices, and "conſequently can take nothing ill from them: and as to your

particular,

Anno 1633. "particular, I shall also pardon you; forasmuch as I know what "you have done, was by the Instigation of others, and not up- "on your own account.

The Duke of *Espernon* was too evidently glanc'd at in this Discourse, to be insensible of the Injury was done him, and consequently sought nothing more than an occasion wherein to manifest his Resentment. It was nevertheless contrary to the advice of all the Friends and Servants he had about him, that he took up that Resolution; there being none of them who did not very well foresee, that having to do with a man of the Archbishops condition, and upheld as he was, by the most powerful Protection of the Kingdom, he must of necessity put his Affairs into very great disorder.

I would omit nothing of what pass'd upon this occasion, this being the first occurrence whereby the Duke's Fortune was really wounded; the others that had pass'd before had only rippled up the skin, and hitherto he had bravely overcome all the difficulties had been oppos'd against him. Since therefore the Scene is now to be chang'd, and that a new prospect of his Affairs will be presented to your view, it should not methinks be impertinent to repeat every Circumstance, that contributed to this Alteration: but on the other side I must, in being so particular, descend to such little things, as I fear will importune my Reader. I shall however do the best I can to avoid that inconvenience, by touching at every thing; but with so much brevity, as shall be no durable penance, even to those who are least delighted with such recitals.

The Duke, nettled to the quick with the Archbishops Speech to the Jurats, began rather by trifling Peccadillo's, than by downright Injury to manifest his resentment: for it must needs be confess'd, that never man was more ingenious than he, to offend such as he did not love; so that he set all Engines on work, little Affronts, as well as high Abuses, and spar'd nothing that might any way contribute to his Revenge. Having therefore found the Archbishop so sensible of this first Assault, he persisted to wound him deeper by new and more legible Offenses. He had in propriety, as Lord of the Mannor of *Puipaulin*, the Royalty of the *Clie* of *Bordeaux* (which is the Fish-Market there) so as that he might lawfully forbid the entrance thereinto to any, he had no mind to admit: He therefore commanded the Archbishops Officers one Fish-day to be excluded, to the end they might be necessitated to take their Fish without the Bar, with the rest of the people. These men refused to receive it after that manner, and otherwise they could not have it; neither was the Duke content with doing this

this alone; but, knowing it would be brought in from other places, caus'd his Guards moreover to watch all the avenues to hinder it; by whom ſome were turn'd back, who would have done the Archbiſhop that Service, and in the end ſome of his own Domeſticks very roughtly handled. *Anno* 1633.

Upon this occaſion it was, that the clandeſtine Animoſities, they had hitherto in ſome meaſure ſmother'd in their Boſoms, flam'd out to an open Feud betwixt them; and from this beginning all the Diſorders we ſhall hereafter ſee enſue, took their riſe and being. The Archbiſhop by Publick Declarations complain'd of the Violence had been offer'd to him by a ſort of men ſet on purpoſely to do it, deſcribing them by the name of the Ruſſet Caſſocks, which was the Duke's Livery; demanding of the Magiſtrate protection, and aſſiſtance to oppoſe them, and proteſting to Retire with his Clergy, if they would not provide for his Safety. Whilſt the Archbiſhop was thus buſie to vindicate himſelf by Forms of Law, the Duke, conceiving it very unbecoming the Authority he had in the Province, to proceed by the ſame ways, would try to do his buſineſs by other means: He therefore commanded the Lieutenant of his Guards, the next day after the Archbiſhop had exhibited this injurious Bill, againſt his Guards, to go with all his Souldiers to preſent himſelf before him, and to ask of him, If amongſt all thoſe he knew any one man who was likely to commit an unhandſome action? The Lieutenant did as he was commanded, and waited near to the Archbiſhops Palace his return from the City; when ſeeing him come in his Coach, he preſented himſelf to ſpeak to him: It was about Dinner time, when the Archbiſhop ſeeing ſo many Souldiers attending the Lieutenant, and not imagining they could come after that manner for any civil end, he commanded his Coach-man to drive on. The Lieutenant was ſtill earneſt with him, and (with his Hat nevertheleſs in his hand) beſeeches the Archbiſhop he would be pleas'd to hear him; aſſuring him withal he had nothing to ſay, that could any way offend him: but all was in vain, the Coach-man was ſtill call'd to to drive on; when the Lieutenant fearing to loſe the opportunity of executing what he had in charge (and having on the other ſide not much ſtudied the * Canon, wherein ſo many perſons by this Conteſt have ſince been made perfect) call'd in the end to one of his Companions to lay hold of the Reins, and to ſtop the Horſes: which being accordingly done, the Archbiſhop came immediately out of his Coach, crying out there was violence offer'd to his perſon, and ſo retir'd himſelf into his Houſe.

* *Signis ſuadente Diabolo, &c.*

Anno 1633.

The Duke, inform'd by the Lieutenant of his Guards how all things had pass'd, perceiv'd by the manner of it, that the Archbishop had been put into a terrible fright; which was the only thing he had intended, and so turn'd the whole business into Mirth, and Laughter. But the Archbishop did not so; but having on the contrary the afternoon of that very same day, being the 29th. of *October*, summon'd in all the Orders, and Societies of Ecclesiasticks in the City, he there expos'd before them the open Violence he pretended had been offer'd to him, rendring the action as foul as he could possibly make it, and omitting nothing he thought would conduce to the interessing the whole Body of the Clergy in his Quarrel. Wherein he succeeded so well, that at the very instant most of the Assistants, fir'd by his Eloquence, concluded upon an Excommunication; some notwithstanding there were, more moderate than the rest, who a little allaying the fury of this first Sentence, perswaded them in the end to resolve upon a Deputation to the Duke, to complain to him of the ill usage their Prelate had receiv'd since his arrival, and therein chiefly of the insolence committed by the Lieutenant of his Guards, and to demand his Justice.

This Complaint was preferr'd to the Duke the 30th. of *October*, at which he was a little surpriz'd; and now better considering what this Affair, by the interest all the Ecclesiasticks would take in it, might produce; would, it was conceiv'd, have been glad that things might have continued in the same posture they then were, without running on into greater extremes; neither would he upon the suddain return any precise Answer. He therefore told the Canon, who had been deputed to him in the behalf of the whole Clergy: "That the Speech he had made to him consisted of seve-"ral Heads of great importance: That he was old, and his me-"mory so ill, that it would be hard for him to remember all he "had said: That he therefore desir'd he might have it in writing, "and that then he would consider of it, and return his Answer in "writing also. The Duke thought that during this respit he desir'd, the Archbishop would suspend the Publication of his Censures, and that in the mean time, what had pass'd might by the mediation of Friends, in some amicable Treaty be hush'd, and taken up: but he did not in his Adversary meet with a spirit so flexible to an Accommodation, who on the contrary was so obstinately deaf to all overtures of Agreement, that upon *All-Saints* day he thundred out his Excommunication against the Lieutenant of the Guards, and all those who accompanied him, at the * Prosnes of all the Parish Churches of the City. Neither did he therein

* The *Prosnes* are the Publications of the Feasts, and Fasts of the Church, Banes of Matrimony, Excommunications, &c.

therein spare the person of the Duke himself, of whom in his Act he spoke in these terms: "And although the Authors of this "attempt be compriz'd in the same censures; nevertheless, con- "sidering how many persons are oblig'd to frequent them for the "Service of the King, and the good of the Province, we would "not; neither will we make the same Declaration, and Denun- "tiation against them: but reposing our trust in the mercy of "Almighty God, who strikes the most obdurate hearts, and "thence draws tears of saving Repentance, we have appointed, "and ordained, and do hereby appoint, and ordain, Prayers of "forty hours upon Sunday the 6th. of *November* in the Church "of St. *Michael* of this City, to implore the assistance of the Di- "vine Goodness for the Conversion of Sinners, &c. Given at *Bordeaux* this Monday the last of *October* 1633. Here you have the first Action that pass'd betwixt these two great persons, which could not possibly have been push'd on by either side with greater heat, or violence, there being not a day, nay hardly a minute lost betwixt them; but all things hurried on with that vehemency, and precipitation, that whoever had obsery'd the impetuosity wherewith these two Enemies ran against one another, might very well have foreseen, that the shock at their meeting, must of necessity bear one of them to the ground.

Anno 1633.

Th: Archbishop pronounces a Sentence of Excommunication against the Lieutenant of the Duke of *Espernon's* Guard, and tacitly against the Duke himself.

This business made a mighty noise at Court, whither the Archbishop had writ in great diligence, and where the Cardinal interested himself in his cause, as it had been his own Affair: but, although he was from that time forward resolv'd to push things to the last extreme, and from this Quarrel to derive an occasion wherein to revenge himself of the Duke, for all his former discontents; he had nevertheless the Duke, and the Cardinal *de la Valette*, the Duke of *Espernon's* Sons in so high consideration, that he surrendred all his Animosity to the respect he had to them. He would therefore take a moderate course to compose this Disorder by an Accommodation; the agitation whereof was committed to *Villemontée*, one of the Council of State, and *Intendant de la Justice* in *Poictou*, *Xaintonge*, and *Angoumois*, a man of great esteem with the Cardinal, and the whole Council. This Gentleman therefore departed with this Commission, to transfer himself in all haste to *Bordeaux*; but notwithstanding all the diligence he could use, the Animosity betwixt these two haughty Spirits was so great, as had, before he could arrive there, shuffled matters into so strange a confusion, that it was utterly impossible to find out any way to compose them.

Cardinal *Richelieu* endeavours an Accommodation betwixt them,

But in vain.

The Duke of *Espernon* exasperated to the last degree, that the

Anno 1633. little respit he had so modestly desir'd, should be denyed him, and to find that the Archbishop would not a little bend by his example; from that time forward excluded all thoughts of Reconciliation, and for the future only meditated how to settle his Conscience in repose, by paying the respect, and submission that was due to the Church. To this end therefore he call'd an Assembly of several Learned Divines in his own House, to consult about the Excommunication had been pronounc'd against the Lieutenant of his Guards, and implicitely against himself. In this Debate there were very few who did not conclude it altogether groundless; of particular Opinions therefore they drew up a Publick Act, which being subscribed by all the Doctors, to the number of more than thirty, was publish'd throughout the City, to the end, they said, that all Scandal and Scruple might be taken away, which the Archbishops Excommunication might have rais'd, and begot in the minds of the people.

But that which was design'd for so good an end, produc'd, as we shall see, a very different effect. Amongst the Doctors, the Duke had Assembled, there were several Religious, and other Ecclesiasticks, who were under the Archbishops Jurisdiction; this Prelate therefore being strangely incens'd, to be abandoned by his own Party, in a Cause wherein the Church was so highly concern'd, and impatient to have the Lye given him, by those very men, by whose advice (or the greatest part of them at least) he had Publish'd his Censures, would once more call them together; his design therein being either to make them retract from what they had subscribed to in the Duke's favour, or to punish them for having submitted themselves to a Secular Power. He therefore cited them to appear before him, by the publication of an Ordinance, bearing date the 10th. day of *November* 1633.

The Doctors, surpriz'd at this citation, were very much afraid of their Metropolitan's Indignation, and some severe Chastisement, that would be inflicted on them. This apprehension made them fly to the Duke's Protection, who, to secure them, the same day issued out another Ordinance, wherein he prohibited all sorts of persons, of what quality, condition, or profession soever, to meet in an extraordinary Assembly, either in the Archbishops Palace, or elsewhere, without his especial Licence; excepting nevertheless the Religious, and Ecclesiasticks immediately belonging to the Archbishop's Congregation, and whose Councils he customarily made use of, for the better ordering the Discipline of his Dioceſs. The Doctors, not yet believing themselves sufficiently secur'd by this Edict, entreated the Duke that he would more-

over

over place the Archers of the Watch of the City upon all the Avenues, and Gates of the Archbiſhops Palace, to hinder ſuch as would pretend to obey the Biſhops Summons. A requeſt the Duke as readily granted, conceiving himſelf ſo far oblig'd in honour to protect them, that whatſoever could be repreſented to him, to hinder that determination, the conſequences whereof, were in all probability like to be exceedingly untoward, it was notwithſtanding impoſſible to divert him. *Anno* 1633.

The Archbiſhop had no ſooner notice, that the Captain of the Watch, with his Archers, had planted himſelf at his Gates; but that immediately putting on his Pontifical Robes, and cauſing himſelf to be follow'd by ſome Eccleſiaſticks, together with what people he had about him, he went on foot out of the Houſe, crying out in the Streets as he paſs'd along, *To me my people, there is no more Liberty for the Church.* In this poſture he went to ſeveral Religious Houſes of the City, gathering after him a great number of people (who ran from all parts to the Novelty) as he went along, and in the end return'd back towards his own Palace, without effecting any thing more, or being able to raiſe any Commotion in the City.

Whilſt all theſe things were in doing, the Duke was at the Capuchins, in one of the remoteſt parts of the City, where having news brought him by two Preſidents of the Parliament of what had paſs'd, and of the danger there was, leſt the Archbiſhop ſhould ſtir up any Mutiny to the prejudice of the common Safety; he was at laſt by them intreated to interpoſe his Authority, and Wiſdom, for the conſervation of the Publick Peace. In the heat therefore this ſudden intelligence had put him into, the Duke ſpeedily mounted his Coach, commanding they ſhould drive that way he heard the Archbiſhop was gone. He had in company with him the *Count de Maillé*, and the Commendator *de la Juſtice*, both of them men of very eminent Vertue, and in whom he had a particular confidence: but in this ſudden paſſion their Counſels could by no means prevail. The Duke made his Coach-man ſtill drive on, and through all, till he came near the Archbiſhops Palace, whither he heard he was upon his return, and where he overtook him. The Biſhop thus overtaken, ſtill continued on his pace, when the Duke having ſtaid him by the Arm, and demanded of him by what Authority he ſtirr'd up this Commotion in his Government, he was by the Archbiſhop interrupted, who cry'd out aloud, *Strike Tyrant, thy blows will be to me Flowers, and Roſes, thou art Excommunicated.* In the heat of this buſtle, the Duke catching him by the hand, lifted it up twice, or thrice,

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thrice, and set it against his Breast: but in the end, the Archbishop still provoking him with injurious Language, and with his Hat on, the Duke with a Cane he had in his hand, touch'd the Brim of his Hat, and thrust it off his head to the ground, telling him at the same time, he did not know the respect he ought him; but if the Reverence to his Profession did not restrain him, he would make him know it. Something worse might perhaps have pass'd, had not the *Count de Maillé*, and the *Commendator de la Justice* interpos'd, who stepping in betwixt them, put an end to this untoward bustle, very much unbecoming both the one, and the other.

After this action had thus pass'd, the Duke return'd to his own House, and although he very well knew no good issue could attend it, manifested notwithstanding no shew of apprehension, or repentance, discoursing of it with his Friends (who were more in suspense than he himself appear'd to be, of what would be the event) as of a thing of an indifferent nature; and a just resentment of an Affair wherein his Honour was concern'd. The Archbishop was no sooner disingag'd from the Duke, but that he forthwith repair'd to his Church, where he pronounc'd his Sentence of Excommunication, both against him, and all those who had been in company with him, prohibiting Divine Service in all the Churches of the City, and also in that of *Cadillac*, by a publick Act, I shall forbear to Copy in this place, that I may not importune my Reader.

The Sentence of Excommunication pronounced against the Duke of *Espernon*.

This first Spiritual Thunder-bolt having been darted by the Archbishop, he had moreover recourse to the Temporal Authority, very well foreseeing, that if that did not justifie the Blow he had already levell'd at the Duke, it would be no very hard matter for him to evade it, and to frustrate any mortal effect by very pertinent, and powerful Reasons. He sent away a dispatch therefore to Court, wherein he gave Cardinal *Richelieu* an account of the Violence had been offer'd to him; at which the Cardinal was so highly incens'd, that nothing now had power to appease him. He therefore talk'd no more of attempting an Accommodation, *Villemontée's* Commission (who had been sent away upon their first difference to that purpose) was at an end, even before he could arrive at the place; so that nothing now was thought of, save how by the Kings Authority to enquire into the Riots contain'd in the Archbishops Complaint: and his Majesty as Protector, and eldest Son of the Church, was counsell'd by the Cardinal (particularly concern'd in the Affair, by the interest of his profession, which he would render inviolable) to make a signal example

example of his Piety and Juſtice, in the Perſon of the Duke of *Eſpernon*. *Anno* 1633.

It is believ'd, that if the Duke had taken the ſame courſe, the Archbiſhop did, and had ſent to Court in time to give his Reaſons for what he had done, he had infinitely diſcredited his Adverſaries Cauſe; but it was for ſome days impoſſible to prevail with him to do it. He ſtill carried on the buſineſs with the ſame indifferency, ſaying to ſuch as urg'd him to that courſe (with a generoſity ſomething out of ſeaſon at this time) "That he was "not to give an account of his Actions to any, but the King "himſelf, which he was ready to do when-ever his Majeſty "ſhould pleaſe to call him to it: That he very willingly gave the "ſtart to ſuch, as were diffident either of themſelves, or their "Cauſe; and that he had done nothing, but what he ought to "do, for the maintenance of the King's Authority entruſted with "him. So that carrying himſelf at the ſame careleſs rate, it is not to be imagined how much he fortified his Enemies ſide by his own negligence; nor how many advantages he gave him, which he would otherwiſe perhaps never have obtain'd, had not he himſelf contributed to them.

In the end notwithſtanding for faſhions ſake, he diſpatch'd away one of the Souldiers of his Guards to Court, but it was not of four days after the buſtle; and then he did it after ſuch a manner, as made it appear it was rather out of complacency to his Friends, who were importunate with him to that effect, than out of any reſpect to his own Intereſts. His Sons, who before this Courriers arrival knew not what to oppoſe to the Archbiſhops Complaints, had now ſomething to ſay in their Fathers behalf: but it was impoſſible for them to alter the Reſolutions already taken, or to ſuſpend the blow the King (who had his hand already up) was ready to diſcharge upon him.

The Court ſides with the Archbiſhop.

Whilſt Affairs were debated with this heat at Court, they were carried on with no leſs violence at *Bordeaux*. The Parliament there had taken cognizance of the Quarrel, and though the Duke had ſeveral very good Friends in that Aſſembly, yet the number of thoſe who were not ſo prevailing, and the news that came every day from Court, to the Duke's diſadvantage, having given mens minds very ill impreſſions of the ſucceſs of his Affairs; the Company could not be diſſwaded from ſending a Deputation to the Archbiſhop, to let him know how highly they intereſted themſelves in his Offenſe, and to make him a tender of all the good Offices, they were capable to do him upon this occaſion. After which, from Offers, going on to Effects, they began to fall to

And the Parliament of *Bordeaux* alſo, who draw up an Information againſt him.

Anno 1633. to fall to work, about drawing up an Information againſt the Duke, and notwithſtanding he made ſeveral Proteſtations to appeal from the Parliament, as a Court prohibited in all his Cauſes, nothing could ſtop the Torrent of their proceeding; but they would perfect what they had begun, as they did, and ſo exactly for the Court Palat, that they would hear talk of no other Information.

Villemontée, who had heard nothing before his departure of this laſt buſineſs, was gone, according to his Orders to Accommodate the firſt, and was by this time arriv'd at *Bordeaux*. The Duke of *Eſpernon* knew him not, on the contrary he had been rendred ſuſpected to him, by having been repreſented for a great Creature of the Cardinals, and that was conſequently like to be very partial to the Archbiſhops ſide; but the Duke, having at their firſt Conference, found him much more ſway'd by his Duty, than all other Reſpects, he made no difficulty to repoſe his entire Confidence in this man's Vertue, and to give him a full account of the whole action, to the end that he might draw up his anſwer in due Form of Law. The Duke was ſo generous, as herein to cauſe every thing that had paſs'd to be laid open at length, and without diſguiſe; to which he would moreover add his Seal to confirm it; and although it was often repreſented to him, by very underſtanding men, that ſo ingenious a Confeſſion was not neceſſary, in an occaſion wherein he ſaw his Adverſaries proſecute with ſo much heat, and that in this caſe, his ſingle Confeſſion would more prejudice his Cauſe, than the Depoſitions of all the Witneſſes could be produc'd againſt him; yet thoſe Remonſtrances were not of force to diſſwade him, he ſmartly replying: That he had not done an action to diſavow it, and that whatever the iſſue might be, it would be much more ſupportable to him, than the ſhame of being reduc'd to the neceſſity of diſowning any Act of his life. It was in truth upon this ſingle confeſſion of the Duke's, after the Parliaments Information had been ſufficiently canvas'd, that the Cardinal pronounc'd the Excommunication to be valid, and right; and that the King was oblig'd both in Equity, and Honour, to repair the Injury committed by one of his Officers of that condition, againſt the Perſon, and Dignity of a Prelate, and the whole Church.

The Duke Signs his Anſwer, wherein he gives a true Relation of the whole buſineſs.

The firſt reparation was a command the Duke received in a Diſpatch from the King, to depart out of his Government, and to retire to his Houſe of *Plaſſac*, which was in theſe words.

Couſin,

Anno 1633.

The Duke receives a Command from the King to depart out of his Government.

Couſin,

"Having ſeen a Declaration of ſeveral Riots, whereof the "Archbiſhop, and the Clergy of *Bordeaux* highly complain to "Us; We have thereupon thought fit to ſend you this Letter, "which will be delivered you by the *Sieur de Varennes*, one of our "Gentlemen in ordinary, to tell you, We deſire that immediate-"ly upon ſight hereof you retire to your Houſe of *Plaſſac*, and "there remain till our further Pleaſure. We do alſo ſend to the "Archbiſhop, to ſignifie to him, that it is our deſire he come to "us, to the end we may be fully inform'd of the truth of what "has paſs'd; purpoſing in the mean time to ſend one of our "Council, to our ſaid City of *Bordeaux*, to enquire into, and "to bring Us thence a perfect Accompt of the buſineſs. The reſt "we refer to the ſaid *Sieur de Varennes* to communicate to you, "whom you are in all things to believe; praying God Couſin, *&c.* At St. *Germain en Laye* this 18th. of *November* 1633. Sign'd *Lovis*, And below

Philipeaux.

The Duke of *Eſpernon*'s Friends at Court, being inform'd of the ſevere contents of this Diſpatch, were not a little in doubt after what manner he would receive it. They fear'd his great Spirit, full of thoſe generous Maxims, which had for ſo many years, and in ſo many froward occurrences ſupported his Reputation, and Fortune, would with great difficulty ſubmit to Laws, ſo different from what they had been in former times. Amongſt theſe the Cardinal *de la Valette* (a man as well read in the Court, as any whatever of his time) upon this occaſion laid aſide the complacency of a Son, to aſſume the auſterity of a faithful Adviſer, and writ to him to this effect, "That he did beſeech him to "look upon this Affair, as one of the greateſt Difficulty and Im-"portance he had met withal in the whole courſe of his life: "That to avoid any inconveniences might befal him, he muſt "immediately ſubmit to the King's Pleaſure, and Command, and "refer the buſineſs wholly, and without reſervation to the Car-"dinal, which was the only way to put a good end to this Diſ-"pute. *Monſieur de Seguier Garde des Sceaux*, the Duke's inti-mate friend, and a man that appeared more for his Intereſt, than the condition of the time ſeem'd conveniently to permit, did the ſame, writing him word, "That a prompt and abſolute Obe-"dience was the only way whereby a cauſe, his Enemies Favour "rendred generally diſapprov'd, might be brought to a ſucceſs-"ful iſſue; but that without that, it was utterly impoſſible for

Anno 1633. " his Friends, and Servants, to do him those Offices were necessa-
" ry for the bringing of matters to any tolerable conclusion. All the Duke's other Friends having confirm'd the same thing, he evidently saw, that he must of necessity obey; yet was it not without an incredible violence upon his own Humour, and great Spirit. He had at other times resisted the greatest powers of the State, when arm'd against him with the King's Authority, and Forces, whereas now he saw himself reduc'd to submit to four lines of Paper; they made him indeed to depart out of his Government: And though it be true, that in these latter Times, the Royal Authority was rais'd to a more illustrious height, than formerly it had ever been; yet I do not know that any one has observ'd a greater example of his Power, than upon this occasion. All *France* acknowledg'd the Duke, for the eminent qualities he was master of, to be a man of the greatest Reputation of his Age; he was possess'd of the greatest, and most important Governments of the Kingdom, powerful in Riches, Commands, Places, Servants, and much more in his Children. His three Sons had all of them great Offices, and great Employments, and yet with all these advantages he was not able to resist four words; and then it was, that he plainly saw a Subject had no way to support himself in his Fortune, and Reputation, but by Obedience; and that the Power of a King, manag'd as it ought to be, can meet no difficulties, nor impediments, it cannot easily master, and overcome. He had seen a time, when by making a shew of Resolution, or Discontent, men had sometimes obtain'd part of what they desir'd, or at least defended themselves from what they had not a mind to do. Under the Reign of *Henry* the III, the diversity of Factions, which then divided the State, had so weakened the Authority of the Sovereign, that he durst scarce pretend to more than a voluntary Submission from his People: And *Henry* the Great his Successor, by an excess of Bounty and good Nature, had continued to do, what the other had been constrain'd to by inevitable Necessity. This Mighty Prince was of so noble a Disposition, that he would destroy none; so that, excepting the *Mareschal de Biron*, who would have no compassion of himself, almost all the great men of the Kingdom, were either actually Rebels, or highly Disobedient, without ever feeling either the Sword, or so much as the Hand of Justice. The Regency of Queen *Mary de Medici*, was equally moderate, and gentle, and the Tempests that arose in her time, being appeas'd with money, men did not only offend securely, but made moreover a profit of their Crimes. The *Mareschal d' Encre* try'd to change those milder into rougher Maxims;

Maxims; but he loſt himſelf in the practice of this premature ſeverity. In the Miniſtry of the Duke *de Luines*, there was no more of violence, than in the preceding Reigns: the good ſucceſs notwithſtanding the Royal Arms, always had in all Enterprizes, during the time of his favour, made it plain, that there was nothing his Majeſty could not with great facility effect in his own Kingdom. He had with great eaſe ſuppreſt the Queen Mothers Inſurrection; he had invaded the Party of the Religion with very great ſucceſs, wherein having found their weakneſs by their diſunion amongſt themſelves, he was by that diſcovery encourag'd to undertake their total ruine; and the Cardinal entring into the Miniſtry in ſo favourable a juncture of Affairs, preſs'd the declining Faction ſo home, that in a very ſhort time he remov'd all Obſtacles, which could any ways oppoſe the Royal Authority, or impede the eſtabliſhment of his own. The Party of the Religion was totally ſuppreſs'd, the Houſe of *Auſtria* infinitely weakened; all the other Princes who were ill affected to the Crown, reduc'd to a neceſſity of complying with whatſoever was impos'd upon them; and thoſe of the Nobility who were ſo bold, as to oppoſe the King's will, had been ſo roughly handled, that not a man durſt any more expoſe himſelf to the puniſhment they all knew would inevitably follow the leaſt forfeiture of their Duty. It had been but of very late years, that this new form of Government had been introduc'd into the Kingdom, and the Duke was grown old in the practice of other Maxims: It is not then to be doubted, but that it muſt needs be with great repugnancy, and unwillingneſs, that he could Accommodate himſelf to a thing ſo unuſual, and ſevere; he did notwithſtanding do it, and without delaying time, or ſpending any more than was requiſite for the making of ſome few Viſits, and taking leave of his Friends, he departed out of his Government, ſuſpended from his Functions, Excommunicated from the Church, and reduc'd to the converſation of his own Domeſticks only. Though in a condition ſo different from what it had formerly been, and ſo contrary to his ordinary way of living, he could not but be very much afflicted, he nevertheleſs ſo well conceal'd his grief, that he was not obſerv'd to be either more melancholy, or dejected, than at other times; and he had ſo great a command over his own paſſions, as not to utter ſo much as one word unbecoming either his courage, or his piety, ever retaining in all things the devout Reverence due to the Holy Church. *Anno* 1633.

So oft as any one writ him word from *Paris*, that his Friends could have wiſh'd he had retain'd a greater moderation, and re-

Anno 1633.

ſpect towards the perſon of a Prelate, he would ſtill maintain, "That in repelling an injury done to the Royal Power, he had "done no more than it was his Duty to do: That the King him- "ſelf might proſtitute his Authority as he pleaſed; but that as "for him who was oblig'd in his Majeſties Right to maintain all "the Priviledges of his Command; he neither could, nor ought "to have done otherwiſe, than he did, and that he would ever do "it, though he was thereby certain to forfeit, not only his Offices, "and his Eſtate, but alſo his Life.

The Duke comes to *Plaſſac*, where he obſerves his Excommunication.

So ſoon as the Duke was arriv'd at *Plaſſac*, , he began to obſerve his Excommunication, though he wanted not the advice of ſeveral very Learned Divines, who maintain'd it to be invalid, and unjuſt; wherein his ſubmiſſion appear'd to all ſo much the more to be commended, in that he was willing to undergo the puniſhment of an Offenſe, he was not convinc'd he had committed. Thus baniſh'd to a Countrey Houſe, where his only conſolation ſhould have been to have convers'd with his God, even there alſo the doors of his Church were bolted againſt him; ſo that he aſſiſted no more at Maſſes as he had formerly ever done; he moreover deprived himſelf of the participation of all the Sacraments: but he omitted nothing withal that might any ways ſerve to manifeſt his reſpect to the Holy Church, and her Miniſters. He made all the Proteſtations that could be prevailing to the vindication of the integrity of his Obedience, and to that purpoſe ſent away an expreſs diſpatch to Cardinal *Bichi*, the Pope's Nuntio in *France*; he ſent alſo to *Poictiers*, where he knew the Archbiſhop of *Bordeaux* had call'd together an Aſſembly of Prelates, to make the ſame Declarations; but it was all in vain: and it was decreed he ſhould undergo all, and all the ſevereſt Forms of Penance, before he ſhould receive his Abſolution.

And ſubmits to the Church.

The Duke ſends a Diſpatch to the King.

But as the Spiritual Authority was not arm'd againſt him alone, and that it was not that (though he had it in the higheſt reverence) he had the greateſt reaſon to apprehend; it was alſo neceſſary for him to employ his principal care, and endeavour, to divert the Fury of the Royal Power, which was already diſplay'd againſt him. To that effect therefore he diſpatch'd away the *Count de Maillé* to the King, with inſtructions eſpecially to ſolicite, that the Commiſſioners his Majeſty had made him hope for in his Diſpatch, might be ſent away, that by the return of their Report, his Majeſty might be fully inform'd of the truth of his Actions: but after the Information of the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, which was altogether favourable to the Archbiſhop, the Court had no ear left open, either to his Prayers, or Complaints; and the Cardinal

dinal having ſolemnly eſpous'd the Quarrel, and made it his own, was ſo far from permitting the Duke's Friends to diſpute his Will with their beſt Arguments, and Reaſons, that he would not ſo much as endure any one ſhould dare to propoſe them. *Anno* 1633.

How great ſoever the Cardinal's paſſion was herein, or how great ſoever his Credit with the King, they were not however ſuch as could hinder the Duke, and the Cardinal *de la Valette* from paying (with equal Generoſity, and good Nature) the reſpect which by all ſorts of Obligation, they ſo juſtly ow'd to the Duke their Father. The firſt of which had no ſooner notice of the Diſpute his Father had with the Archbiſhop, but that he departed from *Metz*, to come firſt to Court, there to obſerve the diſpoſition of things, and from thence to go to *Plaſſac*, either to comfort the Duke his Father in his Affliction; or to give him his beſt advice in his Affairs. As for the Cardinal his Brother, what dependence ſoever he had at Court, he very often expos'd all that Intereſt, to perform his Duty, and ſo far as to engage ſometimes in ſo hot Diſputes with the Cardinal *Richelieu*, that it was often believ'd, they would never again be ſo fully reconcil'd, that there would not ſtill remain a Core in the boſom of the one or the other.

The Archbiſhop of *Bordeaux* goes to *Paris*.

So ſoon as the Archbiſhop had got his Information perfected, and ſo well to his liking, that he conceiv'd his proofs could admit of no Diſpute, he departed from *Bordeaux* to go to *Paris*. *Plaſſac* the place to which the Duke was retir'd, was in truth in his way, but not ſo, that he might not without any inconvenience have balk'd it; and all the world believ'd he would have been ſo civil to the Duke's Diſgrace as to have done it: he did not nevertheleſs, but on the contrary, paſs'd along by the Park Wall after ſo braving a manner, that he made the noiſe of his Equipage rattle againſt the very Walls of the Duke's Houſe. And then indeed it was, that the Duke felt himſelf moſt ſenſibly wounded, and that this Bravado had like to have tranſported him to ſomething that might have made the Archbiſhop's Cauſe better than it was, by offering to him ſome ſignal Violence. I was my ſelf a witneſs how much ado he had to forbear; but his Friends and Servants repreſenting to him the importance of the Action he was about, he in the end gave way to their Reaſon, though I do believe with the greateſt violence he committed upon himſelf, and his great Spirit, throughout the whole progreſs of this troubleſome Affair.

Anno 1634.

The Archbiſhop was no ſooner arriv'd at Court, but that all the Prelates, who were then in *Paris*, aſſembled after an unuſual manner, to deliberate amongſt themſelves what was beſt to be done

Anno 1634. done in the behalf of their Brother; which Convocation the Duke of *Eſpernon* had no ſooner notice of; but continuing to do, as he had formerly done, he ſent to them his Proteſtations of an abſolute ſubmiſſion to the Holy Church. The Duke *de la Valette* therefore, who was return'd back to Court, demanded Audience in the Aſſembly, in the name of the Duke his Father; which being granted, he there laid down his Reaſons before them, with ſo much efficacy, and elocution, that of five and twenty Prelates who were there preſent, thirteen were of opinion to take upon them the quality of Judges, under the good pleaſure of the Pope, and the King, the Duke having abſolutely ſubmitted himſelf to their Determination: but this reſolution was not for the guſt of the Court; by this way the buſineſs would have been too ſoon decided, and it was reſolv'd the Duke ſhould pay much dearer for his re-eſtabliſhment in his Offices and Commands. The next day therefore what had been agreed upon the day before, was totally overthrown, and *Meſſieurs* the Prelates would by no means accept the high degree of Judges, the Duke had ſo ſubmiſſively offer'd, but would humble themſelves to the qualities of ſimple Parties only. They aſſembled then again at the Archbiſhop of *Bordeaux* his Palace, and from thence ſent a Deputation to the King, wherein the Archbiſhop of *Arles* was to ſpeak for the reſt. All that (they ſay) was obſervable in the Biſhop's Oration, was only an exceſſive vehemency; in the heat whereof he made uſe of all the odious terms he could invent, to allure his Majeſties Indignation, and to poſſeſs him with the higheſt ſenſe of the Duke's Miſdemeanour. Upon which occaſion it was that *Caſpian* Biſhop of *Nantes*, one of the greateſt, and moſt vertuous Prelates of his time, cry'd out, "*That if it were poſſible for the Devil to ſubmit* "*himſelf to God Almighty, to ſuch a degree as the Duke did, he would* "*infallibly obtain pardon for all his Offenſes; and that notwithſtanding* "*the Church deny'd this Pardon to a Chriſtian, who had ever ſerv'd* "*God and his Church.* But neither this true Remonſtrance, nor any other whatſoever that could be offer'd in the Duke's behalf, could produce any good effect to the compoſing of this Affair.

He had very good intelligence of all the Severity was practis'd to his prejudice; for although the greateſt Powers were declar'd againſt him, he had notwithſtanding friends in the Aſſembly, that were ſway'd by no other conſideration, ſave only the pure intereſt of Piety and Juſtice. Of this number were the Archbiſhops of *Sens*, and of *Tholouze*, the Biſhop of *Nantes*; before mention'd, that of *Mans*, of *Beauvais*, and ſome others. Theſe Prelates acknowledg'd by the whole Kingdom for men of great Merit, and

Example,

Example, no ſooner had intelligence of what the reſt of their Order were contriving againſt the Duke, but that they came in all haſte to *Paris*, to do him all the good Offices, the condition of the time would permit: but there was an over ruling power, that rendred all their endeavours fruitleſs; ſo that after having long ſuſtain'd the Torrent of Authority, that oppoſed their Reaſon, they were conſtrain'd at laſt to give way to force, that ever gives the Law to the beſt Arguments. *Anno* 1634.

Upon the Complaints of the Clergy preferr'd to the King, by the mouth of the Archbiſhop of *Arles*, his Majeſty commanded that the Informations of the Parliament of *Bordeaux* ſhould be put into the hands of *Lauzon*, Maſter of Requeſts, to make his Report. *Villemontée*, who was alſo at the ſame time at Court, was likewiſe order'd to give in his Anſwer; after which, and that the Depoſitions of the Witneſſes, had been ſufficiently canvas'd, the Cardinal, who was preſent at the Council, was of opinion, "That upon the Duke's ſingle Confeſſion contain'd in his An- "ſwer, he ought to be reputed Excommunicate, and as ſo, that the "King ought to declare him laps'd from all his Offices, and Dig- "nities, till by vertue of his Abſolution he ſhould be re-united "to the Church. A Sentence againſt the Duke of *Eſpernon*.

Though the King's Sentences were by the Duke himſelf obey'd with all manner of ſubmiſſion; his Friends, and Servants nevertheleſs did not forbear, even in the face of the Court, with many powerful Arguments to move for his *Quietus eſt*; of which Arguments there were enow of themſelves, to make an entire Volumn: but I have nothing to do to tranſcribe them here, both in regard they were of no advantage to the Duke at that time, and that his intention remains ſufficiently juſtified, by his Reſpect, and Submiſſions to the Church. The Cardinal *de la Valette* fail'd not however to urge, and diſpute thoſe Reaſons, as he had ever done; but not having been able to prevail, that the Clergy might themſelves be Judges of his Father's Cauſe; nor that the King would pleaſe to take off the puniſhment he had impos'd upon him, till after he ſhould be abſolv'd; The Duke was conſtrain'd to apply himſelf to the Court of *Rome*, firſt to obtain the repoſe of his Conſcience, and after his Reſtauration to his Offices, and Commands.

His Secretary was therefore diſmiſs'd from *Plaſſac* to go to *Rome*, furniſh'd with ſeveral Diſpatches directed to ſeveral of the principal perſons of that Court. The Duke's name, famous in all parts of Europe, was with his Holineſs in very great eſteem; he had had the honour to be acquainted with him in the time of his The Duke ſends a Diſpatch to *Rome* to procure his Abſolution.

Anno 1634. his Nuntiature in *France*, and he was then reputed no ill Catholick. His Holineſs therefore very graciouſly receiv'd his Submiſſions, and, contrary to the cuſtom of that Court, where delays are very uſual (chiefly when the Authority of the Apoſtolick See in any Debate of Conſequence, is concern'd) cutting off a great many of the tedious Forms, caus'd the Expeditions neceſſary for the Duke's ſatisfaction to be diſpatch'd, and ſent them away to Cardinal *Bichi*, his Nuntio in *France*. So that, had the Reſolutions of the Court of *Rome* at that time had leſs dependence upon thoſe of *France*, the Duke had from thence obtain'd a ſpeedy, and full ſatisfaction. But ſo many rubs were on this ſide the *Alpes* laid in the way, that four whole months were laps'd, before the Duke could receive his Abſolution, which when it came, was no other neither than, *Ad Reincidentiam*, a term us'd by thoſe who treat of ſuch matters, when it is not a plenary Abſolution.

Who is it that, reading the progreſs of this Diſpute, but muſt admire that a little Complement ill receiv'd, and a few words ill interpreted, ſhould grow to be one of the moſt important Affairs of two of the greateſt Courts of Europe? I was very unwilling to have been ſo tedious in being ſo particular: but others having related it ſo as they knew would pleaſe the Great Ones of that time, who were no Friends to the Duke, I thought my ſelf oblig'd to render here an account of things as they truly paſs'd: which if it will not here abſolutely excuſe the Duke for being in his ſudden paſſion too violently tranſported againſt an Eccleſiaſtical Perſon, it will at leaſt ſerve to manifeſt the reſpect he bore to the Church, and to a Dignity he ever had in the higheſt Reverence, and Eſteem.

The Duke's Affairs begin to diſcover a better face.

From this time forward the Duke's Affairs began to appear with a much better face at Court, his Sons having by their diligence, and diſcretion ſo moderated Cardinal *Richelieu*'s heat, that nothing remain'd to do, ſave only how to contrive a durable Reconciliation, and from this breach (as it often falls out) to derive an occaſion of inſeparably uniting their two Families. The Cardinal notwithſtanding would firſt have his Will: he had (as has been ſaid) in the Year 1632. deſir'd that the Duke would demiſe his Government of *Metz* in his favour; wherein, having not met with that complacency he expected, he muſt now be ſatisfied. Neither would promiſes ſerve the turn, the laying down the Government of this place muſt alſo precede the Abſolution, the Cardinal being by no means to be perſwaded to conſent, that the Duke ſhould be allow'd to be a Chriſtian to God, and his Church, whilſt he continued a Rebel to him. Yet was it not never-

nevertheleſs at this time to make any private advantage of this Demiſſion, he had alter'd that deſign; and the poſſeſſion of *Metz* ſeeming to be ſuperfluous, in the aſſurance he had of the King's Favour, which he thought he had abſolutely acquir'd by the neceſſity of his Service, the ſole end, he could in all apparence propoſe to himſelf herein, was, to let the world ſee, that no one was thenceforward to contend with him, and by an example of this nature to eſtabliſh his Authority over all the other great men of the Kingdom. The place however only chang'd the hand without going out of the Family, it being transferr'd to the Cardinal *de la Valette*; as the Duke his Brother was made choice of by a Marriage wholly to piece up, what the late Diſorders had diſunited. And then it was that they began in good earneſt to treat about a plenary Abſolution, of the ſatisfactions were to be made to the Church, and other things that were of courſe to precede the Duke's Reſtauration to his Offices, and Commands. *Anno* 1634. An Alliance with the Duke propos'd.

But before I proceed to the concluſion of this Affair, it will not I conceive be impertinent, to give an account of two paſſages, which will render the Duke's conſtancy, and generoſity highly conſiderable, even in the greateſt cloud of his Diſgrace; the firſt whereof was this. In the time that the Court Perſecutions were moſt violent againſt the Duke, many of his Enemies, both of the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, and other parts of the Province, out of a vanity of Generoſity, would needs offer themſelves to be reconcil'd to him, believing that in ſuch a time of affliction he would be more flexible to an Accommodation, and that ſeeing how many Enemies he had to deal withal, he would be glad to leſſen their number; at leaſt they doubted not but he would receive into his Favour, and good Opinion, thoſe who in ſo malignant a Juncture ſhould, out of the ſole reſpect to his Perſon, and Vertue, offer their Service to him: but he on the contrary apprehending, that to appear facile to Reconciliations in a time of diſgrace, would be interpreted weakneſs, and want of Spirit, ſent them word, "That he could not deny his Friendſhip "to ſuch as ſhould deſire it of him, in a time when he ſhould be "in a capacity to oblige them; but that he would never recon- "cile himſelf to receive any good Offices from any, who had not "been his Friends. And he remain'd ſo conſtant to this reſolution, that he was never to be perſwaded to alter it, what prudent conſiderations ſoever could be laid before him to that effect.

The other thing was a Propoſition made to him by a Letter from *Paris*, writ by an unknown hand, Seal'd with an unknown Seal, and without Superſcription. In this Letter there was pro-

Anno 1634. pounded to him an infallible way to cut off Cardinal *Richelieu*, his worſt, and implacable Enemy, and bent to his ruine (which were the expreſs terms of the Letter.) He who was the Author of this deſign deliver'd himſelf to be a Gentleman of *Lorain*, and an Engineer; who for this piece of Service would demand no more, but ſix hundred Piſtols only, three hundred in hand, and the reſt when he had done his buſineſs. The Duke had the very thought of ſo great a wickedneſs in the greateſt horror, and deteſtation; and what cauſe ſoever of unkindneſs, or offenſe he might have againſt the Cardinal, he had his perſon notwithſtanding in very great eſteem; which had it been leſs, or that his Animoſity had been greater, it is moſt certain, that he would never have choſen ſo baſe a way to his Revenge. He therefore burnt the Letter without ſpeaking a word of it to any, ſave one of his Domeſticks only, though the Propoſition was thrice repeated. The Servant the Duke was pleas'd to entruſt with this ſecret, obſerving with what obſtinacy the Villain perſever'd in his damnable reſolution, did very rightly judg, that it was not to the Duke alone he would diſcover his treacherous intent, well foreſeeing he would ſay as much to all the great men of the Kingdom, that he thought to be diſcontented, and that in the end he would be trap'd, as it fell out. That if then he ſhould accuſe the Duke to have hearkened three times to his Propoſition, without making any diſcovery of it, his ſilence in ſuch a caſe might paſs, in the Cardinal's Opinion, for a tacit conſent. He was therefore of advice that the Duke ſhould acquaint the Cardinal with it; but it was impoſſible to perſwade him to that reſolution, whilſt he was in diſgrace. He always profeſs'd that he would never conſent to the death of an Enemy by ſo infamous a way: but that withal he would not give him that advantage, to perſwade himſelf that he had invented this Artifice (he not being able to produce the Author) by that pitiful way to ſeek his Favour. The buſineſs then reſted in this poſture, till after the Duke's return to *Bordeaux*, that he was reſtor'd to his Government; when the ſame perſon, perſiſting in the ſame wicked deſign, and importuning the Duke to accept his offer, without ſecurely ſleeping (which were his own words) under the diſſembled ſhew of a counterfeit Reconciliation, he then yielded to the advice of the Duke *de la Valette* his Son, who was now with him, and at his perſwaſion reſolv'd in the end to ſend his Letters to the Cardinal *de la Valette*, to communicate them to Cardinal *Richelieu*. And they could not have been ſent in a better time, for the ſame propoſals that had been made to the Duke, having alſo been tendred to the Dutcheſs of *Lorain*, ſhe had diſcover'd

cover'd them to the Cardinal, who, being alarm'd with the conformity of theſe Intelligences, ſet ſpies upon the actions of him that propos'd them. He was therefore Arreſted upon the marks he had given of himſelf in his Letters; neither was there any thing, how daring ſoever, that might not be expected from the temerity of this man. He was known to have been formerly a Servant to the Duke *de la Valette*, and for one of the moſt reſolute fellows of his time; of which at his being taken he gave notable proof, having kill'd two men of ſeven that came to apprehend him, and dangerouſly wounded two more; but in the end, gor'd with Wounds, he was taken, and had life enough left to end his days upon a Gibbet. *Anno* 1634.

Some of theſe things having hapned before the overtures of Agreement, we are now to continue the thred of our Diſcourſe, where it was broke off before. The Cardinal *de la Valette* therefore purſu'd the concluſion of this Treaty with great vigour, and ſo as that he had concluded the Marriage of the Duke *de la Valette* his Brother, with the eldeſt Daughter of the Marquis *de Pont-Chaſteau*, a match that was to be the main tye of this Accommodation. This Lady, who was Neece to the Cardinal, and one of the beſt Families in *Britany*, equally conſiderable, both for the rare Endowments of her Perſon, and the advantages of her Condition, was ſought after by all the great men of the Court; but the Cardinal her Uncle, having long had a deſign to engage the Duke, and his, in the Intereſts of his own Fortune, and Greatneſs, preferr'd the Duke *de la Valette* above all other perſons that pretended to her. The Alliance concluded with the Duke *de la Valette*.

So ſoon as this Affair, which put an end to all the reſt with Honour, and cut off all difficulties whatever, was agreed upon, the Duke *de la Valette*, who had been ſent for to Court to conclude it, return'd back again to the Duke his Father, to ask his conſent. The Duke gave it him 'tis true, but that alſo was all: and although this Match had been made for no other end, than meerly to diſingage him from thoſe troubles wherewith he was involv'd, he would notwithſtanding grant no more, than his complacency only, nothing more being to be obtain'd of his ſevere, and untractable humour, but a generous denial. He ſaid, "That "he had eſteem enough for the perſon, who was to enter into his "Alliance, to gratifie her with a good ſhare of his Eſtate, which "in due time he would alſo do; but that he had much rather con"tinue in the poſture he then was all the days of his life, than "that it ſhould be ſaid he had redeem'd himſelf by his money, or "by Bribes been reſtored to his Command.

Anno 1634.

What offense soever the Cardinal took at this disobliging carriage of the Duke, he proceeded notwithstanding to the accomplishment of the intended Match; which being done, he dispatch'd away the Abbot *de Coursan*, one of the Ecclesiasticks in his dependence, with Orders from the King to end all Differences. Wherein the Archbishop had order to give the Duke his Absolution, as the Duke also had his, about what he was to observe in the receiving of it. The Cardinal had a desire that the Ceremony might have been perform'd in the Chappel of his Castle of *Coutras*, that his House might have been rendred famous by so memorable an action: but the Archbishop would never consent to have it done there; on the contrary obstinately insisting, that he would have it at the Gates of the Parish Church of that place, and in the face of all the people; wherein although *Caspian* at that time Bishop of *Nantes*, and *de Esprüets* now Bishop of Saint *Papoul*, who were the Mediators of the Duke's Interests with the Archbishop, endeavour'd all they could to conquer this resolution, it was all in vain. The Duke, who, for a nicity like that, would not defer the accomplishment of an Affair, which through so many difficulties had been brought on to the pass it then was, conquering his own humour, submitted in the end to all the Archbishop could desire. But it was withal an odd beginning of a Reconciliation, the two Parties before they parted from the place, being perhaps more dissatisfied with one another, than they had been before.

The Duke's Absolution resolved upon.

The day for the Absolution being appointed, the Duke of *Espernon*, attended by the Duke *de la Valette*, and several persons of quality, went to *Coutras*; where being come, the Archbishop, who was already there, accompanied with his Ecclesiasticks, went first to the Church, where the Duke following after, and presenting himself before him, kneel'd down upon a Velvet Cushion, laid ready for that purpose. In this posture, and in the presence of five Councellors of the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, who were, by the King's Order to be assisting at this Ceremony, the Archbishop pronounc'd his Absolution in these words.

The Absolution.

Et Ego Authoritate Ecclesiæ, & eâ quâ fungor, absolvo te vinculo Excommunicationis, quam incurristi; quia immunitatem Ecclesiæ meæ Metropolitanæ perfregisti; manum armatam militum, ut me currumque meum in via sisterent, misisti; Statione dispositâ Palatium nostrum vallasti; Jurisdictionem Ecclesiasticam violasti, eámque tibi arrogasti; Nos, Clerumque nostrum insignibus, & indignis contumeliis afficisti: In nomine Patris, & Filij, &c.

Though

Though the Duke was no great Latiniſt, he had nevertheleſs ſo much, as to underſtand many words of this Abſolution, by which he obſerv'd, they were not according to the ordinary ſtyle of the Church; ſo that (as he afterwards ſaid) he was once going to interrupt the Archbiſhop, as he was ſpeaking: but being unwilling to do any thing that might either look like an Irreverence to the Church, or retard the ſatisfaction he hop'd for, both as to his Conſcience and Affairs after the buſineſs was done, he permitted him to proceed, chooſing rather to paſs for an indifferent Clerk, than to play the Doctor out of time, and to his own prejudice. The Abſolution being paſs'd, there were mutual Viſits to be paid, wherein the Duke in Obedience to the King's Order, began firſt, and went to give the Archbiſhop thanks for his Abſolution; a civility that was ſoon return'd by the Archbiſhop: but with ſo much coldneſs on both ſides, that it was eaſie to judg this Reconciliation was likely to beget no very good intelligence betwixt them. In plain truth the Duke could not digeſt the Severities the Archbiſhop had made him undergo, which he interpreting to be done out of a premeditated deſign to provoke him to ſomething that might either hinder, or defer his Abſolution, he was much more ſenſible of thoſe publick Manifeſtations of his ill will, than of any obligation for the involuntary Grace he had imparted to him. *Anno* 1634.

There enſu'd therefore, and that immediately upon the Abſolution, high complaints on both ſides; of which upon the inſtant great Relations were made, and whereof thoſe of the Duke were juſtified by the teſtimony of the Abbot *de Courſan*, who, by ſeeing how hardly he had been dealt withal, was become altogether of his Party: But whilſt theſe Remonſtrances were upon their way to Court, the Duke, to divert himſelf, took a turn into his Territories of *Angoumois*, beginning now to make uſe of that liberty, which, by his Reconciliation to the Church, was once more his own. At his return from this little Journey, by an expreſs Courrier from Court, he receiv'd his Majeſties Orders to return into *Guienne*: neither could they have been couch'd in more obliging terms, there being therein not one ſyllable of any thing that had paſs'd; and the King's Letter, without ſpeaking of any re-eſtabliſhment, which would have preſuppos'd a former Suſpenſion, containing only theſe words.

Couſin,

"Having conſider'd how much your preſence may be neceſſa-
"ry in my Province of *Guienne*, that you may have an eye to ſuch
"Occurrences as may happen there, I have thought fit to write
you

Anno 1634.

" you this Letter, to let you know, that I desire, and shall be " well pleas'd that you go thither, to the end you may there con- " tinue the Functions that belong to the Authority of your Com- " mand, as you have formerly done; and to take care that all " things be continued in the good condition they ought to be, for " the safety, and conservation of the said Province in my Obe- " dience. Wherein being assur'd you will acquit your self, with " your accustomed vigilancy, and care, and resting secure in the " absolute confidence, I have ever repos'd in your Fidelity, and " good Affection, I shall say no more, but only assure you of my " Affection. Praying God, *&c.* From Saint *Germain en Laye* this first of *October*, 1634. With this there were other Dispatches sent, directed, both to the first President *d' Agnesseau*, that he might acquaint the Assembly with his Majesties intention, and also to the Jurats of the City; which the Duke having sent away some days before his departure from *Plassac*, he himself followed soon after, and return'd into his Government, more honour'd, and esteem'd, for having so handsomely disingag'd himself from this troublesome Affair, than if it had never been. Men (as it usually happens) soon forgot all the Disgraces he had undergone, to consider how great his Credit must necessarily be; who of all the Great Persons of the Kingdom, whose Fortunes had been so rudely assaulted, alone kept himself upright, and entire, in spight of all his Enemies, or all they could contrive against him. All those, who had been unkind to him, sued to be reconcil'd to his Favour; and the Duke *de la Valette*, who would by no means leave him, till all things were absolutely settled to his own desire, became their Mediator; by that means re-establishing matters in so good a posture, that for the future there was more repose to be expected for the Duke his Father, than he had ever yet enjoy'd, since he had first taken possession of the Government of *Guienne*.

The Duke of *Espernon* returns into *Guienne*.

The End of the Tenth Book.

THE

THE HISTORY Of the LIFE of the Duke of Eſpernon.

The Eleventh Book.

IT was not fortunate to the Duke alone, but as much at leaſt to the Province, and the whole Kingdom, that he was at this time reſtor'd to his Command; the firſt whereof, without his Valour, and Wiſdom, had been in manifeſt danger, and the other embroyl'd in no contemptible diſorders: but by his Prudence and generous Conduct, he brought them both ſo brave, and ſo ſeaſonable a relief, that what we are now about to deliver, makes up no ſmall part of the principal Actions of his Life. *Anno* 1639.

The Seditions of *Guienne*, their birth and progreſs.

He was no ſooner arriv'd in *Guienne*, but that ſeveral Complaints were preſented to him, of the Inſolence ſome Officers who Farm'd the Crown Revenues of that Province exercis'd over the King's Subjects. The people were no longer able to ſupport their Exactions, and their Poverty, which is ordinarily accompanied with deſpair, had ſo ſtirr'd them up, that they were ready to ruſh into Arms; and to ſhuffle all things into confuſion. The Duke could have been glad, the Court would have order'd ſome moderation

Anno 1635. ration in these Impositions to have prevented those mischiefs, which are usually the issue of general Discontent, and the certain effects of popular fury; and to that end had made so many several Remonstrances to the Council, and urg'd them so home, that what he did for a good, that as much respected the King's Service, as the Publick Interest, was in the end so misinterpreted, as to turn to his own disgrace: Seeing therefore he could by his Prayers, and Importunities, prevail nothing with the Court, he was necessitated to make use of the Authority he had in the Province, to prevent a total Revolt, to which the generality of men were too visibly inclin'd. Wherein his conduct was guided by so admirable discretion, that what by convincing such by Reason, as were capable of it, by feeding such by Hopes, as would be satisfied with them, and threatning Punishment to those, who would be satisfied with neither, he for a long time continued all things in a pretty quiet condition.

He practis'd these gentle and easie Remedies, during the course of a very troublesome Disease he had fall'n into presently after his return from *Plassac*. His abode, and solitude in his House, together with the hard measure he had receiv'd, had not lighted upon a heart insensible of wrong; nor had committed no ordinary violence upon his generous spirit: and although, by a wonderful Victory over his own Passions, he had suppres'd his discontent from breaking out to the discovery of those about him; it is notwithstanding to be believ'd, that the more he smothered his fire, the more it must of necessity burn him within, and discompose his natural Constitution. He suffer'd therefore by the heat of Urine so intolerable, and so unintermitted pains, as scarce gave him any truce of repose; in which Distemper, that which was most remarkable was, the Remedies they made use of for his Recovery; for of eighteen days together, that his Infirmity continued, he drank nothing but cold water, and of that so prodigious a quantity, that I do not think any stomach in the world, but his, could have digested so much crudity: He was moreover very often put into cold Baths; so that all the art, and industry of his Physicians was wholly employ'd to qualifie the ebullient Blood of a young man of fourscore and four years old.

The Duke of *Espernon* falls sick.

He was scarcely deliver'd of his pain, when he was forc'd to attend the Affairs of his Government with greater diligence, and care than at any time before. The King, from the beginning of the year having taken a resolution to fall out with *Spain*, would not however engage in that War, before he had well, and particularly examin'd the condition and strength of his Kingdom; to

be

be therefore well inform'd of the State of *Guienne*, the greateſt, and beſt of all his other Provinces, he writ to the Duke in *March*, to ſend him a true account of what number of men he could for time of need draw out of his Government, and how many men of Command he might relye upon to bear Office in his Armies: to which the Duke return'd Anſwer, that, although within eight months time above eighteen thouſand men had been ſent out of the Province, as by the Muſter Rolls annex'd to his Diſpatch, his Majeſty might perceive; there might yet be a very great number rais'd, provided the Affections of the People were diſcreetly manag'd by ſome good uſage; that his Majeſty would alſo find a great many Gentlemen of Quality, and capable of Command, (of which he ſent a Liſt of above ſixſcore) but that the greateſt part of them were ſo neceſſitous, that (to his great grief) he durſt not promiſe to himſelf from their inability, all that his Majeſty might expect from their good will: by which Abſtract let any one judg of the Forces of the Kingdom, and what a King of *France* may propoſe to himſelf, having the Love, and Affection of his Subjects. *Anno* 1635.

An account of the Forces of *Guienne*.

The Duke, who knew by a long experience, what ſtrange effects the good will of the people was able to produce, never ceas'd importuning the King to husband it, by granting ſome redreſs to their Oppreſſions; which though he always did, after the moſt humble, and reſpective manner could be imagin'd, it notwithſtanding wrought no effect, but to his own prejudice: inſomuch that, without receiving any Anſwer to his real Remonſtrances, he was often preſs'd by very ſevere diſpatches, to be aſſiſting in the execution of ſeveral Edicts.

Amongſt all thoſe that were ſet forth at this time, the lighteſt, and moſt inconſiderable was, that of the Exciſe upon the Victuallers; it brought in very little profit to the King, and was no burthen to the groſs of the people; none but the Victuallers themſelves were concern'd in it: this ſort of men nevertheleſs, having not much to ſave, did ſo much the leſs care to hazard the loſing of all. Some therefore of the moſt Seditious amongſt them having upon the fourteenth of *May* put themſelves in the Head of an unruly Rabble, gather'd together at the firſt of all a Body of betwixt four and five hundred men. Some perſons of note endeavour'd to oppoſe this firſt Diſorder; but theſe being too few to extinguiſh the flame, ſerv'd only to make it mount to a greater, and more formidable height. *Deſaigües* a particular Servant of the Duke's, and of one of the beſt Families in the City, bore the firſt brunt of the peoples fury; he had attempted by threats to have

The Exciſe upon the Victuallers begets a Sedition in *Bordeaux*.

The firſt effects of the Popular Fury.

Anno 1635.

brought them to a ſence of their Duty; but theſe Bruits incapable of Reaſon, were ſo exaſperated at the very name of Puniſhment, that they ran immediately to Arms, when having forc'd *l' Hoſtel de Ville*, whither *Deſaigües* had retir'd himſelf, they there in the firſt place Maſſacred him; neither was he the only man that taſted of their violence, an Archer belonging to the * *Prevoſt de l' Hoſtel*, that the Partners had ſubſtituted, for the gathering in of this Impoſt, with five, or ſix other perſons concern'd in the ſame Employment, had the ſame meaſure. The Jurats at the firſt rumour of this Tumult, had caus'd the Captains of the City to take Arms for the defence of *l' Hoſtel de Ville*, which the people threatned to aſſault, who accordingly did indeed put themſelves into ſome poſture of defence: but being preſently beſieg'd, and hem'd in on all ſides, by the multitude, ſoon capitulated, and retir'd. This firſt ſucceſs having by the eaſineſs thereof, increas'd the inſolence of theſe raſcally people, they in a moment over-ran the whole City; ſo that in leſs than two hours time, they had got together betwixt four, and five thouſand people.

* *Prevoſt de Hoſtel*, an Officer belonging to the King's Houſhold, that ſets rates upon Victuallers; the ſame I ſuppoſe with one of our Officers of the Green-cloth. A Clerk of the Market.

So ſoon as the Parliament ſaw the Sedition increaſe to ſuch a formidable height, they endeavour'd to ſtop the progreſs of it, by iſſuing out an Act for the ſuppreſſion of the Edict: but the Mutineers believing (as it was true) that nothing, but the ſole terror which had poſſeſs'd all the Orders of the City, had procur'd this Arreſt in their favour, raiſing their Impudence higher, upon the preſumption of this Fear, would not ſo much as ſuffer it to be Publiſh'd; and the Multitude was ſeen to hurry up and down the Streets after that audacious and threatning manner, as very much affrighted all the well diſpos'd Inhabitants of the City.

At the beginning of this uproar the Duke was at *Cadillac* in a courſe of Phyſick, for the confirmation of his health, which he had not yet perfectly recover'd; where he was very much ſurpriz'd to ſee in the cloſe of the evening a Courrier come in, that the firſt Preſident *d' Agneſſeau*, had caus'd to ſteal privately out of the City, to bring him the firſt news of this Inſurrection, of which he writ him a Letter in theſe terms.

My Lord,

"I write you this Ticket in haſte from the Palace (where I "now am with ſome other Members of the Parliament, and a "Jurat, and from whence I am adviſ'd by my Friends not to "ſtir) to give you notice of the Sedition is raiſ'd in the City, "about the eſtabliſhment the *Sieur de la Foreſt* Archer to the "Grand Prevoſt was about to make of an Exciſe upon the Victuallers.

"allers. To ſtop the torrent of which Diſorder, though the Par- "liament have granted out an Arreſt of Suſpenſion, it is notwith- "ſtanding ſo violent, that way will do no good. So that we are "here in very great danger, which makes me ſend you this ex- "preſs Meſſenger, humbly to beſeech you with all poſſible ſpeed "to interpoſe his Majeſties Authority, and your own to appeaſe "this tumult. A favour that I in my own particular have ſome "reaſon to hope for from you, being as I am,

My Lord, &c.

Anno 1635.

Bordeaux, *May* 14. 1635. at three of the Clock in the afternoon.

The Duke had no ſooner receiv'd this Diſpatch, but that he order'd Letters to be ſent forthwith to ſome Gentlemen thereabouts, whilſt himſelf took order for the raiſing ſome men amongſt his own Tenants to accompany him the next day to the City. In the mean time he diſpatch'd away *la Roche* the Captain of his Guards the ſame night to the firſt Preſident, to aſſure him of the ſpeedy relief he was preparing for him, and to inform himſelf more particularly of the ſtate of the City.

Whilſt he was buſie about this preparation, he had news brought, that the Rebels drunk with Wine, and tir'd with the work of the day, were in the evening retir'd every man to his own houſe, with a reſolution to be quiet, provided no notice might be taken of what was paſs'd. Had things remain'd in this condition, their offence, though very great, might have had ſome colour of excuſe: but theſe people at their awaking, puff'd up with the ſucceſs of their laſt days temerity, broke out again the next morning into new, and greater Fury than before. In which heat they drew up a Liſt of above four hundred of the beſt Families of the City, under the Title of Gabellers: In which Liſt many of the principal Members of the Parliament were compriz'd, and the reſt were all Citizens of the beſt quality; all which the night following they intended to Maſſacre, and to rifle their Houſes.

The Progreſs of the Sedition.

The Duke had preſent notice of this deſign. The Officers of Parliament, aſtoniſh'd at the extreme danger they ſaw themſelves expos'd unto, had diſpatch'd to him in all haſte *Lacheze*, and *Boucaut*, two young Counſellors whom they knew to be acceptable to him, to beſeech him to make haſte to the City. Theſe Gentlemen gave him an account of the condition the Town, and the infinite peril all good men were in; declaring withal that their Lives, and Fortunes depended upon his Preſence, and Protection.

The Parliament ſends to the Duke to quicken his haſte.

Anno 1635.

These two Deputies found the Duke just ready to set out, as they came; he therefore took them into his Coach, and his House being but five Leagues distant from the City, arriv'd there the same day, which was the 16th. in very good time.

The Duke's presence appeases the tumult.

The Authority and Power, that the esteem of an extraordinary Vertue exercises over the minds of men, is hardly any where more remarkable, than upon this occasion; there being not one, even of the most Seditious, who did not manifest shame, and repentance for his past offences. They were no more the same men, who had determin'd to cut throats, and to plunder the richest houses the ensuing night; insomuch that even the very Incendiaries themselves came, mix'd with the honestest Burgers of the Town, to meet, and receive their Governour, a great way without the Gates of the City, with Acclamations that sounded nothing but Obedience, and Submission.

With this general applause, the Duke went to alight at the *Hostel de Ville*, which was in his way, and which he found in a miserable plight, the Gates burnt down, the Inscriptions defac'd, the Windows broken, the Prisons set open, and all things as in the desolation of a City taken and sack'd by a Forein Enemy.

After having taken the best order he could for the securing the *Hostel de Ville*, he retir'd himself to his own House; and thus far all things look'd well: but afterwards his design being to proceed about the late tumult, rather by moderate, and gentle, than by severe and exemplary ways, (the first being at this time the safest, and best, if they could succeed) the Mutineers began to gather heart from their impunity, and to believe they were fear'd. Nothing therefore being so sweet, and tempting, as Dominion, and Power, to those who are not acquainted with it, these men would by no means so soon lay down, that which they had so rebelliously taken up, and which they thought with their great numbers, they could so easily maintain. They began then to assemble themselves anew, giving out terrible threats of what strange things they would do; by which the Duke judging they would from high words, doubtless proceed to some mischievous effects; he sent the Court an account of all the evil dispositions he had observ'd, not only in the spirits of the Inhabitants of the City, but also of the whole Province; desiring withal the assistance of such Forces, as might be sufficient to remedy the evil he saw was already as good as concluded. But all his Remonstrances were neglected, they thought he only made this his pretence to Arm, and fortifie himself in his own Government; and the design of the Court being to keep him weak, and disarm'd, they rather chose

choſe to expoſe the Province to the danger of popular Sedition, than to enable him with Honour to maintain the King's Authority, and Intereſt. *Anno* 1635.

The Duke ſeeing himſelf thus naked, and alone, did very well judg he ſhould not in this poſture be able to ſuppreſs the Faction; ſo that their inſolence daily more and more increas'd, till in the end either ſtirr'd up with the fear of being made examples, prompted on with the avarice of booty, or allur'd with the ſole appetite of ill doing, without danger of puniſhment (which to abject minds is no ſmall temptation) they betook themſelves openly to Arms; and after many inſolent Diſcourſes, and ſeveral Tickets ſcatter'd up and down the Streets, to excite the people to Sedition, they canton'd, and fortified themſelves in one part of the City, whereof they poſſeſs'd themſelves of the half, and, by making great Barricado's upon all the Avenues, made themſelves abſolute Maſters of it. Within this Precinct there were five Gates, ſeveral Churches, with ſome Towers, and Fortifications which were joyn'd to the City; all which they had carefully provided for, and were therein ſo well accommodated, that it ſeem'd to them impoſſible they ſhould be forc'd, having many more men than were neceſſary to defend their Works. The people run into open Arms.

This diſorder hapned the 15th. of *June*, it began about ten of the Clock in the morning, and the Duke had notice of it preſently after Dinner; upon which Intelligence judging that a Sedition of this high nature, and premeditated as this was, was not to be tolerated without manifeſt danger both of the City, and the whole Province, and a very great diminution both of the King's Authority, and his own; he forthwith commanded thoſe Gentlemen he had about him to mount to Horſe, and *la Roche* the Captain of his Guards to put himſelf in the head of his Companies on Foot; with which inconſiderable number himſelf, without further deliberation, went out about one in the afternoon, to execute one of the boldeſt actions he ever undertook in his whole life. The Duke almoſt alone goes out againſt them.

Neither would he herein ſo much as conſider his own weakneſs, or the temerity, and number of thoſe he was to encounter, that the diſproportion of their Forces might not divert him from his deſign. He had not with him above two and twenty Horſe, and ſix and twenty of his Guards on Foot, whereas no leſs than the one half of the City were already in Arms againſt him, and little better to be expected from the reſt. For the greater part of the Inhabitants look'd upon theſe Mutineers, as the Champions of their Liberty; ſo that thoſe of the better ſort, and ſome few honeſt Citizens

Anno 1635. Citizens excepted, the rest were prepossess'd with so strange a blindness, that there were very few, who did not at least contribute their wishes to the prosperity of so Lewd a Cause. In fine, had not his promptitude and courage (and that beyond all probality) procur'd him the success of this Action, there had been an end of the City of *Bordeaux*, and the whole Province of *Guienne*; and an invading Enemy could not have wrought a greater desolation, than had been justly to be fear'd from the wild Fury of a people, puff'd up with the success of the least Victory they could have obtain'd. He therefore indeed hazarded a great deal to prevent so dire a mischief, and to preserve the whole: but there was also a necessity upon him, that he should do so; neither would the evil have been less, if he had rendred his Authority contemptible by his Toleration: of two extremes he therefore made choice of that, wherein, 'twas true, there was more danger; but that gave him withal opportunity, either suddenly to suppress the Commotion, or to end his Life with Honour in the Service of his Prince and Countrey.

So soon as the Duke was on Horseback, the first place he went to was the Lodgings of the Premier President, to secure his person from danger; which he did, by prevailing with him to retire himself to his House, and from thence advanc'd towards the Barricado's. The *Hostel de Ville* was comprehended in the Circuit, the Mutineers had possess'd themselves of; but they were not Masters of the place: he would therefore, before he advanc'd any further, make some stay there to encourage the Guards, he had before there plac'd in Garrison, in their Duty. As he was upon his March thither, at the entry into the Market place, he found all the Chains up, and several of the Inhabitants in Arms, resolute to defend the pass. Whereupon *la Roche* by the Duke's Order, commanded them to make way, and retire; when perceiving them in suspence what to do, whether to obey, or stand upon their defence, *la Roche* wisely taking advantage of their irresolution, leapt upon the Barricado, disarm'd those who were more advanc'd, and forc'd the rest to retire, without any other violence to any.

Though the little respect these first opposers manifested for the Age and venerable Person of their Governour, gave him very well to understand he was to expect no better from the rest, he desisted not nevertheless to go on. He alighted therefore at the *Hostel de Ville*, where, after he had taken the best Order he could, for the security of the place, and put it into a condition to send him some assistance if occasion were, he commanded *la Roche* to assault

ſault a Barricado that was made at the entry of the Street call'd *la Rüe Saint Michel*. Thoſe who defended this paſs were too many to keep any good order; they indeed made ſhew of great reſolution, and receiv'd the Guards with ſeveral Musket ſhot, but confuſedly made, and at random: but how irregularly ſoever, before any ſhot was fir'd againſt them, they wounded one of the Duke's Guards to death, with a Musket Bullet in his Breaſt. The Duke had expreſsly commanded his people not to ſhoot till the laſt extremity, and as much as was poſſible to ſpare the Blood of the people, whoſe blindneſs he much more lamented, than he was with their temerity and inſolence offended: but after this firſt Volly, his Guards having diſcharg'd theirs almoſt at the Muzzle of the Musket, it was ſoon ſeen how much Valour can prevail over Numbers, and what Experience, and Diſcipline can do againſt Brutality, and Diſorder, They ſhot ſo right, and to ſo good effect, that few gave fire, who did not carry his man; inſomuch that nine were kill'd out-right at this firſt Volley, and twelve more wounded that were in little better condition; ſo brisk a Charge having a little ſtartled thoſe who were formoſt, *la Roche* with his Companions fell preſently to work upon the Barricado to break it down, where they yet met with ſome oppoſition, and where a Gentleman call'd *la Serre*, who would fight on foot with the Duke's Guards, amongſt whom he had long born Arms, in mounting the Barricado, was by a thruſt with a Halbert run quite through the ſhoulder, as ſome others were alſo more ſlightly wounded: but in the end, the Duke who ſeconded his Guards, himſelf on Horſeback at the head of his Troop, breaking in at the paſſage they had open'd for him, forc'd the Defendants to retire.

Anno 1635.

The Duke, though ſtourly oppoſed, forces the firſt Barricade.

And breaks through with his Horſe.

Yet was it not nevertheleſs to retreat very far, the ſquander'd party ſoon recovering the other Barricades that were along the ſame ſtreet, and that call'd *la Rüe de Faures*, leading towards the Port *de la Grave*. There were three ſtrong Barricado's in this Quarter, which were all ſo obſtinately defended, that at every one there were men ſlain on both ſides. The Duke there loſt a young Gentleman of the Houſe of *Montagne*, whom he had bred up a Page, and whom but a few days before he had made to take a Caſſock in his Guards, which unfortunate Youth came to fall dead at his feet: Another of the ſame condition call'd *le Poüy* receiv'd his Deaths wound by a Musket ſhot that broke his ſhoulder, five or ſix more were alſo wounded, what with Muskets and Pikes; and the Duke had moreover a Gentleman ſhot behind him on Horſeback; all which oppoſition notwithſtanding, every

The Duke forces three other Barricado's, wherein ſeveral of his men are ſlain, and wounded.

Anno 1635. every thing must give way to the valour of this little Party; and *la Roche*, seeing his Master engag'd in so manifest a danger of his life, so bravely expos'd both his own, and his fellows for his preservation, that nothing was able to withstand them.

The Duke goes into another quarrer of the City, which was also in mutiny, and Barricado'd.

The five first Barricado's being forc'd, and taken, the Duke was inform'd, that in that part of the Town towards *St. Croix*, there were several others, some perfected, and others only begun: upon which intelligence he thought it very requisite to make use of the astonishment his first successes might possibly have imprinted in the minds of the people, and to go immediately to this second occasion. He met in truth with less resistance at these, than the former, there was notwithstanding something every where to do, and he had also here some men wounded: but it is not to be believ'd what infinite hazards he ran that day in his own person; for being on Horseback at the head of his Troop, and very remarkable by his gray Beard, and Head, he seem'd to be the mark at which all the Musket-shot, Pistols, and Stones were directed. Neither was he only to apprehend those that were shot at him from the Barricado's, his greatest danger being from the Windows, and so much the more, by reason the Streets being exceeding narrow, took from him all possibility of avoiding the shot, that was pour'd perpendicular upon him. Even the women put him into no small danger, one of which fail'd but little of braining him with a Flower-pot, which came so near as to fall upon his Horses Crupper; and a man through a Casement, with his Musket couch'd at his Cheek, was about to let fly at him, at no more than ten paces distance, had he not been prevented by one of the Duke's Guard call'd *Caudere*, who espied, and kill'd him. A greater resolution, than this day appear'd in the people, has hardly at any time been observ'd; which was such, that even when the Duke's followers had made themselves Masters of the Barricades, they had much ado to make them retire; and when either they had taken their Arms from them, or that themselves in despair had thrown them away, they cry'd out, and intreated, rather to be dispatch'd than permitted to live to see the Gabelle impos'd upon them: So hard a thing is it to cure the minds of the people, when prepossess'd with false impressions.

The Duke's danger.

They could not nevertheless either by their obstinacy, or the ill will they had so violently manifested to the Duke's person, provoke him to consent to more Blood, or greater Slaughter, than what had inevitably pass'd in the heat of the action: he continually calling out to save the lives of the people; neither was there above five and twenty, or thirty persons kill'd upon the place, and some

The Duke's Clemency.

some few wounded; one of which did a thing worthy a better Cause, and a more conspicuous Theatre. A Cooper that had put himself in the head of a crew of Rakels of his own profession, of which there are very many in this City, having at the defence of a Barricade receiv'd a Musket shot that broke his Arm, being a strong lusty fellow, without being daunted at the shatter'd limb, that hung down only by a little piece of skin, he went to the next Chirurgion's; where having caus'd it to be totally cut off, and a Plaster to be apply'd to it, he return'd immediately to another Barricade, which he again defended with great bravery, and resolution, till in the end being taken, and presented to the Duke, with an account of his action, he commanded him to be carried back to his own house, and that care should be taken for his cure: but his life was not to be saved; for this unluchy fellow, by his obstinacy opposing the Grace the Duke had shew'd him, a new Sedition a few days after arising (for this was not the last) he start out of his Bed at the first noise of it, to put himself again in the head of his Comrades; which second agitation having put him into a continued Fever, he dy'd a few days after. Anno 1635.

The Duke having scour'd this great quarter of the City, and forc'd above three thousand persons to lay down their Arms, who had taken them up in this Commotion, carrying off with him his dead, and wounded, return'd back to the *Hostel de Ville*, to give his men a little breath, who were almost tired out, and spent with the heat, and continuation of the Fight: But it was only to take a very short repose; for he was scarce alighted from his Horse, when he was advertis'd, that near to the Port *de Saint Julien*, which is one of the principal Gates of the City, eight or nine hundred men were intrench'd, within five great Barricades, that shut up all the Avenues, by which there was any way to come to them. These Mutineers had a design to make themselves Masters of this Gate, which had been no hard matter for them to do, by that means to have let in the Country people thereabouts to their assistance; which they from without the Walls mainly cry'd out for, that they might share in the Plunder of the City, which they had already swallow'd in their imagination, and look'd upon it as a certain, and infallible Prey. The Duke was a little surpriz'd to find he was to enter into new engagements, before he was well clear of the former: he knew very well that the small number of men he had left, would be too few to undertake this second Enterprize; yet would he not leave an action imperfect, which unless it was carried on to an absolute, and total Victory, he must of necessity lose the fruits of what he had already perform'd with so much Bravery

The Duke prepares to go to a new occasion, which he effects without fighting.

Anno 1635. and ſucceſs. He reſolv'd therefore to draw fifty men out of the Garriſon of *Chaſteau-Trompette*, all that could poſſibly be ſpar'd from thence, and ſome ſmall Field-pieces to force thoſe Entrenchments with leſs danger, than he had done the other Barricado's before. He had no ſooner made his preparation, and was ready to go againſt theſe people, when either a pannick terror, or the conſideration of their Duty, or the Reſpect to their Governours perſon, whom they ſaw ſo freely to expoſe himſelf for the publick Safety, touch'd the hearts of ſome honeſt Burgers of that part of the City; who had, it ſhould ſeem, ſo much credit with the Seditious, as to make them capable of Reaſon, and ſenſible of their Duty, ſo far as to prevail with them, without ſtaying to be compell'd unto it, to ſend the Duke a Proteſtation that they would return to their Obedience; which they accordingly did, at the ſame time falling to work to open their Barricado's: So that the Duke, preſently advancing to ſee what condition they were in, caus'd them to be totally beaten down in his own preſence.

The whole City upon the point to run into Sedition,

Whilſt on this ſide of the Town the Duke went on at this proſperous rate, there was new work cutting out for him in the other part of the City, had he been leſs ſucceſsful here: For although that Quarter call'd *du Chapeau Rouge*, was inhabited with a great many perſons of very good quality, who were heartily concern'd at theſe diſorders; there were alſo very many who had been ſo prepoſſeſs'd with falſe opinions, that they were much more enclin'd to joyn with the Seditious, than any ways to help to ſuppreſs them. Theſe were doubtleſs the greater party, and theſe had been put into Arms under the Captains of the City, if occaſion had been to have gone to the Duke's ſuccour: but by good fortune he ſtood in no need of ſo dangerous a Relief; it being almoſt certain that they would have turn'd to the other ſide, and, had never ſo little misfortune befall'n him, their Captains would have had very much ado to have with-held them; but his ſucceſs prevented their evil purpoſe: So that ſeeing him return Victorious with ſo few Forces, their Fury was turn'd into admiration; and they for that time ſatisfied themſelves with muttering ſome diſcontent at their Companions defeat, without farther manifeſting their malevolent deſigns by any conſiderable effects.

But are with-held by the Duke's ſucceſs.

Though this Action, that had had ſo violent a beginning, and ſo miraculous a concluſion, had made the Duke's generoſity, and good conduct admir'd by all; it had nevertheleſs withal made the people ſenſible of his weakneſs, by the few that came into his defence, in a time of ſo great, and manifeſt danger. The Seditious there-

Anno 1635.

therefore taking from thence a truer measure of their own Forces, and comparing their numbers with his, doubted not, should they come to a second Tryal, to do their work with greater facility: So that prepossess'd with the hope of their cursed advantages, they highly, and publickly threatned what they would do; and doubtless, had not the sole respect to the Duke's person with-held them, they had again betaken themselves to Arms, and he would have been in very great danger to have perish'd by the hands of the people, and to have suffer'd the most unfortunate death could possibly have arriv'd to any person of his condition.

The Duke sends the King an Account of the late Insurrection.

Press'd therefore by the hourly intelligence he receiv'd of the evil disposition that still continued in the minds of the people, he resolv'd to dispatch away *Magnas* in all speed to Court, to let the King understand the estate of the City, and Province, and to beseech his Majesty to provide for the present evils, and against those that were reasonably to be fear'd for the time to come. In this Dispatch he, above all things, was importunate that the Duke *de la Valette* his Son might be sent away to him, that he might be assisted by a second self in occasions where the whole burthen of Affairs were to depend upon his Fidelity, and care. In the mean time he writ to some Gentlemen of the Country to come speedily in to him, and moreover gave order for the raising some Forces in such of his own Territories, as lay neareſt to the City. He had from thence often drawn out to the number of above two thousand good men, by which he had been exceedingly well serv'd upon several important occasions: but at this time (which will appear very strange, and at which I observ'd him to be more astonish'd, than at any thing that had hapned during the whole disorder) he could not get so much as one man: so great was either their terror, or their correspondence with the Mutineers. There came in indeed some Gentlemen, but with much ado, and with very great danger, occasion'd by the new disorder, which we shall now see; for *Magnas* was no sooner departed from him, but that most of the most considerable Cities of the Province, by the example of their Metropolis revolted; insomuch that there was scarce any, save *Montauban* only, that contain'd it self within the limits of its Duty, the rest breaking out into open Arms, and committing every where all the barbarous acts of an inhumane fury. Amongst all these horrid Riots, those which were committed at *Agen* were the most extreme. * *La Cour des Aides* was at this time establish'd in this City; and it was upon the Officers of this Court, that they exercis'd the most notable violence, all that the people could meet withal being miserably burnt, or Massacred

The whole Province of *Guienne*, except *Montauban*, break into Sedition.

* A Sovereign Court wherein all causes that concern the Aids, or Tailles, that is Taxes, or Subsidies are hear'd, and determin'd.

Anno 1635.

(for in popular furies we seldom read of ordinary executions) the * *Eleus* were handled after the same manner, many honest Burgers were by their Enemies put into the number of Gabellers, and had the same measure: So that had not President *du Bernet* (who was President of the *Chambre de l' Edict*, that had its seat in the same City) oppos'd this Torrent of popular fury, with greater vigour than was to be expected from a man of his profession, it is certainly believ'd, that not one man of condition would have been left alive, in the whole City. Neither had the disorder been less at *Perigueux*, had it not been for the presence of *Vertamont, Intendant de la Justice*; for the Duke knowing the humour of this people, enclin'd to Licence, had entreated *Vertamont* to go thither, under colour of some Commission of his Intendancy; where he was scarcely arriv'd, when the people rose in Commotion, as in other places, falling upon some Officers of the Election, and other innocent persons, to make a horrid Massacre: And then it was, that *Vertamont*, abandoning the care of his own person, encourag'd the Magistrates boldly to oppose the popular Fury, and putting himself in the head of them, made no difficulty to rescue some poor people, who were going to be sacrific'd to their barbarous cruelty, out of the hands of the insolent rabble: So that with an extraordinary fortune, the effect of his generous resolution, he contain'd this City in its Obedience, giving in himself at the same time, a great Example of Justice, and Moderation in so dangerous an occurrence.

* *Eleus*, Assessors, or Collectors of the Kings Subsidies.

President *du Bernet* opposes the Sedition of *Agen*.

And *Monsieur de Vertamont* that of *Perigueux*.

Though the Duke had enough to do in the City of *Bordeaux*, yet did he not fail however, even in the midst of these confusions, with incredible diligence, and care, to disperse his Orders throughout all parts of the Province; in the remotest parts whereof, the report being spread, that all things continued quiet at *Bordeaux* by the respect to the Dukes Authority, and Person; the other Cities that had taken Arms by the example of this, quieted themselves also by the same consideration; by which means the Licence of the people was kept within some moderate bounds; a moderation nevertheless that hung by so slender a thred, that upon the least occasion worse, and more dangerous Commotions were to be expected. The Duke had no Forces, neither was any to be hop'd for out of any part of the Province; and it was a matter of extraordinary difficulty to send him any from any other place; so that he was constrain'd in so great an exigency, to have recourse to other means, and to cause some of the promoters of this Sedition to be treated withal, for the bringing about of that, which he saw no other possible way to effect: Wherein he also succeeded

The Duke sends his Orders into all parts of the Province,

Which a little calms the Sedition.

so

so well, that these people allur'd by promises of Indemnity, and some hopes of reward, gave themselves up absolutely to his dispose; so that it was by this politick way of proceeding he in the end totally secur'd both the City of *Bordeaux*, and the whole Province of *Guienne*. The disorder had continued so long, and with so much noise, that there was few of the Incendiaries, who were not in every quarter particularly known, of which there were very many who had formerly born Arms in the King's Regiments of Foot; and who, being grown weary of that profession, were return'd again to their old Trades. These men wrought upon by the Duke's Exhortations, and the greatest part of them moreover touch'd with the sence of the moderation he had exercis'd towards them, notwithstanding the greatness of their offences, promis'd him, that nothing should pass amongst the people, of which he should not have continual notice; and they were as good as their words, giving him by their constant intelligence, means and opportunity to prevent those evils, which otherwise would infallibly have given the last blow to the publick Peace. *Anno* 1635.

The Commotions of the City were no sooner in some measure appeas'd, but that the madness diffus'd it self into the Villages of the adjacent Country. These people having in the time of one of the foremention'd Mutinies, taken occasion to rifle some Houses of the City, were return'd with their Booty to their own homes; by whose ill example, their Neighbours were so excited to Rapine, that in a moment all the Boors threw away the instruments of their labour, and betook themselves to Arms. In this posture they rob'd the Country houses, they assembled themselves in great numbers in all the Suburbs of *Bordeaux*, and would attempt to make their way into the City it self; where they were so much desired by the basest of the people, that they did their endeavours also to let them in. The greatest appearance of them was in the Suburb *de Saint Surin*, to which place the Duke's house was near enough for him to hear their clamours, and hideous yells, and from his Chamber Window that look'd into the Fields to see the Fire they had kindled in several houses, of which the greatest part were miserably consum'd. At the sight of these barbarous Riots, it was impossible to detain him; but, although he was at last fall'n into an almost unintermitted indisposition, he got out of his bed, mounted to Horse by night, and with forty or fifty Gentlemen, his Guards, and some of the Town Companies, went out towards these Mutineers. They had fortified themselves in several places of the Suburb, had Barricado'd the Church, and made a countenance of resolution to defend themselves; The Boors Mutiny. The Duke of *Espernon* goes out against them.

Anno 1635.

selves; nevertheless at the Duke's arrival, they almost all disbanded, and ran away, none saving those in the Church making any resistance, who also at the first Volley was discharg'd upon them, fled after their fellows; when the Cavalry putting themselves in pursuit of those who had recover'd the Fields, some forty or fifty of them were miserably slain. It is not to be imagin'd how strangely the Duke was afflicted at the death of these wretched people: This little evil nevertheless conduc'd very much to a far greater good; for the report of this Execution dispersing it self in a moment, throughout the whole Province, the other Country people who sate, expecting the good, or evil success of their fellows, made themselves, for this year, wise by the example of their misfortune; and without engaging in the folly of the greater Cities, were content to sit spectators of their Tumults, and Disorders. There were indeed hardly any more after this action; for the Duke *de la Valette* coming presently after to the Duke his Father, they bent their joynt endeavours to the healing of some secret discontents that yet remain'd in the minds of the people; when having, by gentle and obliging ways, made them sensible of their late miscarriages, and of their Duty, and Obedience for the time to come, they soon after, by the King's Order, publish'd an Act of Oblivion for all things that were pass'd; a Grace his Majesty had been pleas'd to grant to their intercession, and at their humble request.

And dispersed them.

From whence a calm ensues.

The Duke aspers'd after all his brave Service.

Who could have imagin'd that so many brave Actions of the Duke's (whether consider'd in the dangers to which he was so often oblig'd to expose his Person; the great conduct wherewith they were carried on, or the utility that deriv'd from them to the publick repose) that those Actions I say ought to have serv'd for a pretence to the blackest, and most hateful calumny, that could possibly have been invented to the prejudice of his Honour? It was nevertheless the fruit, and reward of his brave Service, after which no man certainly is ever again to repine at Detraction, or complain of Envy. *Briet*, a Counsellor in the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, openly profess'd himself to be no friend to the Duke, and secretly nourish'd in his bosom an implacable hatred, both to his Person and Name; instigated therefore with this accurs'd passion, he writ to the Archbishop of *Bordeaux* (who was no better inclin'd to the Duke) that it was to be prov'd, the Duke himself had been the Author of all these Commotions; that it was he who had so long fomented them, and that he would again revive them whenever he thought it convenient so to do, for the promoting of his own Authority in the Province, and to get himself a Reputation

tation at Court. He had not always writ after this manner, but on the contrary, after the action of the Barricades, the 15 of *June*, compell'd to it by the vertue of Truth, which will dart her Rays through the darkeſt Clouds of Malevolence and Envy, he had writ to *Monſieur de la Vrilliere*, Secretary of State, with whom he had a particular Familiarity and Correſpondence, a Letter that was ſent to the Duke, containing theſe words. *Anno* 1635.

SIR,

"If you be curious to know what paſs'd here upon Friday laſt, "I ſend you this ſhort, and true Account of it, as I could inform "my ſelf from the beſt hands. This Action of our Governour "was very great, and perform'd with great Bravery, Judgment, "and Fortune: had any ſiniſter Action befallen him, we had all "been loſt, and for my part I cannot but highly eſteem him. I "have nothing more at preſent, but that, *&c.* From *Bordeaux* "the 18th. of *June* 1635. But if he had in the beginning ſo highly applauded this Action, he had with no leſs malignity cenſur'd the ſequel of it, and the ſiniſter interpretation he put upon the Duke's good intentions, wrought ſo much the greater effect, by how much they fell upon a ſpirit diſpos'd of old, and of it ſelf to convert to ill, what good ſoever could come from the Duke's ſide. The Archbiſhop therefore with open Arms embrac'd this new occaſion of doing him a new miſchief; he ſpoke of it to Cardinal *Richelieu*, of whom he eaſily obtain'd order to write to *Briet*, as he alſo did, that he might promiſe both impunity, and reward to ſuch as ſhould prove the Duke of *Eſpernon* to be the Author of theſe Diſorders. The Archbiſhop's Letters to *Briet*, which were intercepted, ſpoke in theſe terms, and in others far more odious than theſe. *Briet* having receiv'd this Order, caus'd the *Hoſt* of the *Petit More*, the firſt, and one of the chiefeſt Ring-leaders, that had appear'd in this Sedition, to be tamper'd withal, cauſing him to be often ſpoken to, and tempted by one of his own Domeſticks, who was very familiar with him: but the Fellow, what promiſes ſoever they could make him, would never be corrupted into ſo foul a practice; and the Duke's good Fortune would have it, that there was honeſty enough in this man to ſecure him from thoſe dangers, wherein perſons of a much more eminent condition would otherwiſe have involv'd him. The honeſty of one of the Mutineers.

The Duke as yet knew nothing of the Miſchief that was brewing againſt him; but on the contrary, relying upon the merit of his Services, and the acknowledgment the King had made him hope for in all his diſpatches, he had never liv'd at greater eaſe in his

Anno 1635. his Government, than he thought he might expect to do for the time to come. In his Majesties Dispatch of the last of *June*, he writ to the Duke these words.

Cousin,

"I understand by your Letters of the 17th and nineteenth instant, and by the Relation annex'd unto them, besides the Account I receiv'd from the *Sieur de Magnas*, the Disorders that have hapned in my City of *Bordeaux*; whose ill example has also produc'd the like Insurrections in several other Cities, and places of my Province of *Guienne*: which I conceive to be of so high importance, that, had not powerful and speedy Remedies been seasonably applyed, worse and more dangerous Consequences were yet to be fear'd; as it had doubtless fall'n out in my said City of *Bordeaux*, if by your wonted Bravery, and Wisdom, you had not oppos'd the Torrent of that Mutinous People. And as all the Accounts have been given me of that business, as well by the Principal Officers of my said City, as other my Servants agree in this, That your Valour, together with your Zeal and Affection to my Service, have been equally eminent upon this occasion; so can I not omit to assure you, that I am so highly satisfied with your behaviour, that no opportunity shall ever present it self, wherein I may manifest my sence of your good Service in this Affair, by the effects of my Favour and Affection, but you shall find me very ready to embrace it: which the *Sieur de Magnas* shall the more expresly confirm to you on my behalf, &c. The Duke's other performances upon this occasion receiv'd from his Majesty the same Approbation, and Applause, and in all apparence he ought to rest very well satisfied with the Acknowledgment his Majesty was pleas'd to profess; when on a sudden, and without dreaming in the least of any such matter, he saw himself reduc'd to the necessity of a Justification. He did not however do it after the submiss and abject manner of a guilty man; but on the contrary, confident in the security of a good Conscience, he had no sooner notice of the aspersion had been cast upon him; but that he sent away immediately to the King, to demand his Majesties Justice, and writ to the Cardinal himself, complaining, that some persons had made use of his name to suborn false Witnesses, to the prejudice of him, and his Honour. The King granted him his desire, permitting him to prosecute his satisfaction in the Parliament of *Paris*; and the Cardinal, after having utterly deny'd the giving of any Order to the prejudice of the Duke's Interests, or that he ever doubted of his Candour, and

the

the ſincerity of his intentions, writ him an anſwer in theſe words. *Anno* 1635.

My Lord,

"I have receiv'd the Letter you was pleas'd to ſend me, and "conferr'd with *Mounſieur de Magnas*, about the occaſion of his "Journey; in anſwer whereunto I have nothing to return, but "this, that neither the King, nor any of his Servants, have ever "doubted in the leaſt of the ſincerity of your affection to his "Service, or of your paſſion to the proſperity of his Affairs; or "that you had in the late buſineſs of *Guienne*, any other, than the "ſame deſires with his Majeſty, and his Council; for which I "ſhall ever very willingly be your Caution. If any perſons have "reported otherwiſe, they muſt have done it meerly out of deſign "to vex you, and not that they could themſelves believe it; it be-"ing not to be imagin'd, that any one can be ſo ſenſleſs, who "knowing what has hapned at *Bordeaux*, and how you have be-"hav'd your ſelf in thoſe diſorders, can poſſibly doubt, that you "did not upon that occaſion contribute all that in you lay, or "that could be expected from your Vigilancy, and Valour to "the ſecurity of the Province. I do therefore conjure you to ſet "your heart at reſt, for any thing of that kind; and to believe that "neither the King, nor any of his Servants, who have the honour "to be about him, can poſſibly either upon this, or any other oc-"caſion, entertain the leaſt thought to your prejudice. His Ma-"jeſty has caus'd the *Sieur de Briet* to be ſent unto to come ſpeedi-"ly hither, *&c.*

Cardinal *Richelieu's* civil Letter to the Duke of *Eſpernon.*

The Cardinal could not in truth have writ to the Duke after a more obliging manner, or have carried himſelf more civilly to him, than he did at the beginning of this Affair; permitting Juſtice to be executed upon the fellow *Briet* had employ'd to corrupt the *Petit More*, who by Sentence of Parliament was condemn'd to make the Duke honourable ſatisfaction, and with a Torch in his hand, and a Halter about his Neck in his Shirt, to be Carted through the City of *Bordeaux*, and to ſerve ten years in the Gallies, which was accordingly executed upon him: but when it came to the buſineſs of *Briet* himſelf, who had reaſon to apprehend the iſſue of his cauſe, ſince he who had only been the Inſtrument of the Miſchief, whereof he had been the Contriver, had been ſo roughly handled, the Cardinal interpos'd his Intereſt with the Parliament in his behalf; who having once appear'd in his favour, his Power had ſo great an Aſcendant over all other Powers, how great ſoever in the Kingdom, that it was im-

The Duke receives ſome ſatisfaction.

Anno 1635.

But not full.

possible upon this occasion to obtain Justice contrary to his will and pleasure; so that the Duke notwithstanding all the Importunities he could after use, could never obtain from *Briet* the least Reparation.

If the Duke was wounded to have this Justice deny'd him, in so publick and so sensible a wrong, he was no less afflicted at the Order he soon after receiv'd, to permit that *Briet* might come, and execute the Functions of his Office in Parliament, in all security and freedom: He had expected at least that he should be detain'd at *Paris*, and that his Majesty would have had that complacency to his just indignation, as to have remov'd so hateful an object from his sight. But he saw very plainly, that the Cardinal was the Author of this Command: He knew also very well, how dangerous a thing it was, either to contradict, or provoke him. But how great soever his Credit might be, the violent effects whereof he had already felt, he would notwithstanding never submit to his will, nor lay down the Animosity he had justly taken up against a person from whom he had receiv'd so irreparable an Offence.

The Cardinal *de la Valette* sent at the head of a great Army into *Germany*.

Whilst the Duke was perplex'd with these troublesome Affairs, both in his own Government, and at Court, the Cardinal *de la Valette* his Son had been employ'd in the conduct of the greatest Army his Majesty had at that time on foot; the Command whereof was equally divided betwixt Duke *Veimar* and him. And if the Jealousie of our Confederates (who had oblig'd our two Generals to enter a good way into *Germany* to their Succour) had not bounded their Conquests, it is most certain they had made a very considerable progress into this mighty Empire. But those who had implor'd their assistance, choosing rather to be left weak, as they were, than to see the *French* Name rais'd to a greater height of Glory, and Reputation, by the Victories they would infallibly have obtain'd over those of their own Nation, it was impossible to perswade them to joyn their Forces with ours. By which tergiversation, if (as they did) they depriv'd our Generals of the advantages they might reasonably expect, it was also to make them acquire the honour of so brave a Retreat, as might justly be rank'd with the most famous Victories. Our Army, being advanc'd a great way into *Germany*, had all the Forces of the Emperour pour'd upon them; in which condition they had not only the *Rhine*, but several other Rivers also, and difficult passes to go over, and break through, before they could return into their own Countrey. Which notwithstanding they did, with their Swords in their hands; neither the incommodities of the ways,

A brave Retreat of the Cardinal *de la Valette*.

nor

nor the interpoſition of the Enemy, being able to ſtop them: ſo that they fought eight days together almoſt without intermiſſion, leaving the ways, by which they made their retreat, much more remarkable by the blood of their Enemies, than by that of their own Souldiers. *Anno* 1635.

Though the mouths of all men were full of the praiſe of this Action, that the Court appear'd to be infinitely ſatisfied with it, and that the Duke himſelf from all parts receiv'd congratulatory applauſes of ſo great an exploit in the perſon of his Son; he had notwithſtanding much rather this Son, advanc'd into the Church by his Learning, Birth, and Fortune to ſo eminent a degree of Dignity, and Reputation, ſhould wholly have apply'd himſelf to her Service, than that he ſhould expoſe ſo dear a Life to ſo dangerous a Profeſſion. He ever apprehended it would be fatal to him, and therefore had done all he could to diſſwade him from it, employing to that end the endeavours of ſeveral his moſt intimate Friends and Servants: but all in vain, either the humour of the Time, the inclination of his Son, the neceſſity of his Deſtiny, or all together ſtill prevailing with him, above the fears or foreſight of ſo affectionate a Father.

The Duke diſſatisfied that the Cardinal *de la Valette* his Son ſhould follow the profeſſion of Arms.

The Duke arriv'd now at an extreme old Age, worn out, and ſpent with the labours he had undergone during theſe Commotions, and the Vexations that had ſucceeded, was again in the beginning of Winter ſeiz'd by a very troubleſome, and very violent Diſeaſe. This ſeaſon, for ſeveral years, had never paſs'd over, without producing ſtrange alterations in his health; inſomuch that he would often ſay, he perceiv'd in the end it would do his buſineſs, and that he could not long defend himſelf againſt two Winters at once, that of Age, and that of the Seaſon; as it indeed fell out. At this time every one deſpair'd of his Life, and the report of his Death, that was ſpread in all parts, follow'd a few days after with the certain news of his Recovery; having aſtoniſh'd all the world, that now ſcarce paſs'd any longer for raillery, which had ſo pleaſantly been ſaid, *That he had out-liv'd the Age of dying*. In truth all Forein Parts, having for the ſpace of threeſcore and eight, or threeſcore and ten years been continually full of the great Name of *Eſpernon*, finding him ſtill in their Gazetts, one while taking Towns, another in the head of Armies; now Triumphing, and again in Diſgrace: but ever in ſome great and illuſtrious Occaſion; Strangers conceiv'd of him, that this muſt be the Grand-child of that Duke of *Eſpernon*, who had been the Favourite of *Henry* the III. of *France*, and could not perſwade themſelves that the lives of two men could furniſh this Hiſtory with ſo many important Actions.

The Duke of *Eſpernon* falls dangerouſly ſick.

Anno 1636.

The Duke, whilst he was yet sick, and even in the worst of his Sickness, had an inckling of some designs the *Spaniard* had upon several Frontiers of this Kingdom, and particularly upon those of his own Government; of which to be better assur'd, he was careful to send thither such persons, as were capable of discovery, and as he durst trust, to bring him true intelligence of what pass'd amongst our Neighbours abroad. By these Spies he understood that all the Frontiers of *Arragon*, *Biscay*, *Guipuscoa*, and other finitimous Provinces of *Spain*, had order to make Preparation of Arms, and were to set out a certain number of Souldiers by an appointed day: That to these Provincial Forces they would moreover adde several standing Regiments, and of both together to make up a considerable Body. Of all which the Duke was so precisely inform'd, that he did not only know the number of men, but even the names of all the Captains who were to Command them. Neither did he fail to send the King an Account of the Intelligence he had receiv'd: but our great Ministers were so taken up with other nearer, and more immediate Affairs, that they were not much concern'd at a danger two hundred Leagues from *Paris*. They therefore contented themselves with writing to the Duke, that he should cause *Bayonne* (the place that was principally threatned) to be fortified at the Charge of the Inhabitants; and as to the rest, that he was by his Wisdom, and Interest, to provide for all things within the Precincts of his Command. These Orders so general, and of so vast a Latitude, had formerly been the fullest Commissions the *Romans* were wont to give their Generals in the greatest necessities of Publick Danger: but they were in our times the narrowest, and the most limited that could possibly be granted, who had the King's Interest committed to their Trust. There were already others establish'd by Law, which no one without being Criminal was to exceed, and those were, *That no one should make Leavies, either of Men, or Mony, without Order by Letters Patents from the Council: That no one should mount Artillery, or take necessary Arms out of the Arsenals, without special Order so to do.* So that all the Power of the Kingdom, residing in the persons of the Prime Ministers, no Governour could make use of his own, without incurring the danger of Censure. The Duke knowing, that in the evil disposition the Court then was as towards him, this was only a device to make him run into some error, that might draw the King's Indignation upon him, wisely fear'd to be involv'd in those Calamities, under which, for Causes light enough in themselves, he had seen men of great Quality, and Merit to perish, was not easie to be trap'd that way. He therefore

The *Spaniard* makes preparation to invade *Guienne*.

The Court neglects the Duke's Intelligence,

Anno 1636.

therefore again writ to the King for more preciſe Orders in occurrences that might happen, and in thoſe dangers he had humbly repreſented to him; and in the end, with much importunity, obtain'd Order to ſend an Engineer to *Bayonne*, to ſee it fortified as far as forty thouſand Livers would extend; the one half whereof was to be rais'd out of his Majeſties Revenue, and the other upon the Inhabitants of the place. The Duke, ſeeing he could obtain no more, did as he was commanded, and began ſome Fortifications, which the want of money caus'd to be left imperfect, and by that means the Town left in a weaker condition, than if nothing had been done at all.

And provides very ſlenderly for the defence of the Frontiers.

This Affair, which at this time was the only one of moment in the Province, being put into this forwardneſs, the Duke conceiv'd he had now leiſure to look a little after the recovery of his own health; which that he might do at better convenience, and greater vacancy, from the perpetual diſtraction of the Affairs of the Province, he humbly intreated the King to give him leave for a few days to retire himſelf to *Plaſſac*, to the end he might at greater liberty make uſe of thoſe remedies, that were proper for his Diſeaſe. The King without any difficulty, and in very favourable terms, granted his ſo juſt requeſt: whereupon he accordingly in the beginning of *May* came to his Houſe of *Plaſſac*, but it was to make a very ſhort ſtay, he being ſcarcely there arriv'd, but that he receiv'd Order to return ſpeedily into *Guienne*, to look after the Affairs, that very much requir'd his Preſence there. The great Preparations that were every where making by the Enemies of *France*, to invade it, obliging him to provide alſo for his defence; as he did, and that ſo well, as in the end turn'd all their deſigns to their own confuſion. There never perhaps in this Kingdom had been more to do for the great men of it, than at this time; and as the Government of *Guienne* by its vaſt extent, made up one of the moſt important, and conſiderable Members of the State; ſo did it conſequently produce for its Governour, ſo many, and ſo various Affairs, that it is to be wondred at, a man of ſo extreme an Age could undergo ſo many, and ſo continual labours.

The firſt thing the Duke did after his return into the Province (which was in the latter end of *May*) was to execute an Expreſs Commiſſion had been directed to him from the King, for the enrolling the * Edict *de Crüe*, newly paſs'd by his Majeſty, for the addition of one Preſident, and twelve Counſellors to the Parliament of *Bordeaux*. This Affair could not paſs without encountring ſeveral Difficulties, all the other Parliaments of *France* were charg'd with the ſame Augmentations proportionably to the extent of

* A Statute of Augmentation.

Anno 1636. of their ſeveral Juriſdictions; this being therefore a common intereſt amongſt ſo many men of condition, it begat alſo a great correſpondency amonſt them to oppoſe it. The King having foreſeen, and expected all theſe obſtacles from the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, thought fit to inveſt the Duke with as much Authority, as he could himſelf deſire to overcome them; wherein his Majeſty, and thoſe of his Council doubted not, but that he would with great alacrity put all his Orders into ſevere Execution: they knew very well that there had been perpetual feuds betwixt him, and that Aſſembly, and, as it uſually falls out, deſign'd to make their own advantage of thoſe Diviſions: but the Duke taking a quite contrary courſe in this Affair, than what they had expected at Court, ſatisfied himſelf with only giving the Parliament to underſtand what, ſhould it come to the puſh, he had power to do, in caſe the King ſhould not be obey'd; exhorting them withal by their Wiſdoms to prevent, what he for his part would avoid, as far as was conſiſtent with his Duty; and remonſtrating to them, that in a concern of this kind, they ſhould not find him any ways to act by his own particular paſſion; neither would he either uſe, or abuſe the King's Name to ſatisfie his own Reſentments. This diſcreet, and moderate way of proceeding, having in time wrought upon ſome ſpirits, that a more violent courſe might perhaps have provok'd into more untoward reſolutions, ſucceeded ſo well, that by this means he procur'd a very conſiderable aſſiſtance to the advancement of his Majeſties Affairs; and that even with the good will, and free conſent of the Company, whoſe intereſts in return he husbanded, upon this occaſion, with the ſame tenderneſs, and care, as if they had effectually been his own.

At the ſame time that theſe Affairs were in agitation in *Guienne*, the Enemy, who had been long preparing for ſome notable Enterprize, was now ready on all ſides to invade the Kingdom; to provide therefore for the neceſſary expence in ſo critical an occaſion (all ordinary, and extraordinary ways beſides having been found to fall ſhort) the King was conſtrain'd to lock up his Treaſure from all other Expences, which did not directly reſpect the War: ſo that all the great men of the Kingdom ſaw themſelves excluded from all poſſibility of extracting from thence their Entertainments, Penſions, or other Aſſignments of right belonging, and annex'd unto their ſeveral Offices, and Commands. To ſupply which defect, part of theſe expences were thrown upon the people; they began at leaſt to impoſe upon them the Entertainments of the Governours of Provinces to be Leavied upon them,

by

by Commiſſions of the * *Taille*. *Bullion*, *Sur-Intendant* of the *Finances*, who profeſs'd a particular Friendſhip to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and pretended to be very ſolicitous of his Intereſts, offer'd him one of theſe Impoſitions for the payment of his Salary; adviſing him moreover, that out of this ſtock he ſhould pay himſelf ſeveral Arrears that were due to him: but the Duke rejected the propoſition, with a generoſity never enough to be commended; ſending him word, "That having for above threeſcore years "ſerv'd the Kings of *France*, without ever touching peny of the "Aſſignations they had pleas'd to think him worthy of, except-"ing what came immediately out of the Exchequer, he would not "begin towards his latter end, to extract a ſubſiſtence out of the "poor and miſerable people, he ſaw every day periſh before his "eyes for want of Bread: That being plac'd in his Government "to ſerve the King, and to govern his People, it was from the "Maſter he ſerv'd, and not from thoſe he commanded, that he was "to expect his Reward: That he had much rather be reduc'd to the "bare Revenue of his own Eſtate, than to ſee his Name in the Ex-"ciſe Office, or his Table furniſh'd out at the price of the Poor. Such as ſolicited his buſineſs for him at Court, to render him more facile to their perſwaſions, repreſented to him the example of all the other great men of the Kingdom, as well Princes as others, who they ſaid received now not one farthing any other way: But all would not prevail; he returning anſwer, "That he did not "take upon him to condemn any one for ſo doing, but that he "did not nevertheleſs conceive himſelf oblig'd to follow the Ex-"amples of any whomſoever; and that he had much rather un-"dergo the imputation of Singularity, in doing a thing he thought "to be juſt, than to do the contrary in imitation of all the world "beſides. And indeed he continued to the laſt ſo conſtant in this noble, and generous Reſolution, that he never after receiv'd one peny of any of his Aſſignments, not ſo much as of thoſe that "were due for the year before: So that at his Death he had near upon ſeven years Arrears due to him, amounting to above five hundred thouſand Livers: By which it may be judg'd how much his ſtrongeſt inclinations (for I cannot deny but that he was exceedingly cloſe handed in very many things) gave place to Intereſts, wherein his Honour was concern'd,

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* Taxes, or Impoſts.

A rare example of the Duke's love to the people.

If in this particular he was ſo ſolicitous of eaſing the King's Subjects that were under his Government, even to the prejudice of his own Intereſts; he was no leſs careful to keep them within the juſt limits of their Obedience, and Duty. The gathering in of the *Tailles* was at this time a matter of ſo great difficulty, that in

ſeveral

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several neighbouring Provinces, as in *Poictou*, *Xaintonge*, and in *Angoumois*, the people were in manifest Rebellion. The Duke determinately oppos'd himself against this ill example, and would never tolerate the least Disobedience to his Majesties Royal Pleasure; a strictness that being for their licencious Constitutions, or at least in their Opinions too severe, made the people no less murmur at him, for being too rough, than he was censur'd at Court for being too indulgent: But he was no more mov'd with Complaints of the one, than the Jealousie of the other; and his own satisfaction being his only Object, he did not much regard any other, than what he found in his own Conscience.

The Duke for all the injuries he had receiv'd of *Briet*, would take no other revenge, but only to put him into a fright.

Though the Duke's mind was taken up with so many Affairs of great difficulty, and trouble, he had yet so much room left there, as to allow something to his own particular resentments, which would ever upon occasion crowd in for a place with the Publick Concerns. The impunity of *Briet*, and the liberty had been granted to him again to execute his Office in the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, before his face, and as it were in defiance of him, was insupportable to such a spirit, as that he was possess'd withal; so that, what command soever the King had been pleas'd to lay upon him, to permit him so to do, it was impossible for him to pay his Majesty that chearful Obedience in this, he did in all other occasions. To which indigestive humour of his, his Animosity (but too just in it self) being every day exasperated more, and more by new Provocations; he, in the end, was no longer able so to conquer his passion; but that his patience, being wounded to the last degree, must of necessity overflow all bounds of moderation, and proceed to some effects of Revenge; so disproportionate nevertheless to the Injuries he had receiv'd, that if on the one side he was frugal of his own Conscience in sparing the Blood of an Enemy, he was not however excus'd from the blame of undertaking, and that with great bustle and noise, a thing of little, or no moment, and that notwithstanding had like to have turn'd very much to his own prejudice. After therefore the Duke had rejected the proposal of one of his own Souldiers, who offer'd to stab *Briet*, and to do it after such a manner, that he could never be suspected for the Murther; he commanded four of his Foot-men to kill his Coach-Horses in the open Street. This Command was executed one day, that *Briet* was returning out of the City to his own House; when his Coach-man being assaulted by these four Foot-men, they first pull'd him out of his Coach-box, and afterwards thrust their Swords into the Flancks of the Horses; whereupon the poor Beasts enrag'd with the smart of their

their Wounds, ran away full ſpeed, hurrying the Coach, and their Maſter in it three or four hundred paces along the Streets, till at laſt, at one and the ſame inſtant, upon the pavement they fell down, and dy'd. *Briet*, who had at firſt been terribly frighted with the ſight of the Swords, was not much leſs afraid of his Horſes precipitous Career, which was alſo all the harm he receiv'd; the Coach ſtop'd, and overturn'd at the death of the Horſes, giving him time to come out, half dead with Fear, and to retire to his own Houſe. The Relation of this buſineſs was immediately carried to the Duke, which ſhadow of Revenge was to him matter of entertainment, and laughter for an hour after: But the Parliament took it after a quite contrary manner, who offended to the height at the Injury done to one of their Robe, the next day aſſembled their ſeveral Chambers, to enquire into the Fact: There was none of them who were not very well ſatisfied with the Juſtice of the Duke's reſentment, and who would not have approv'd of his Revenge, had it proceeded a great deal further: but there was alſo hardly any one of them, who did not intereſt himſelf in the offence offer'd after ſo publick a manner to the Dignity, and Honour of the Aſſembly. Without doubt the buſineſs would have gone very ill with the Duke, had matters continued upon theſe terms, and thoſe of the Parliament after having declar'd themſelves Parties, remaining ſtill Judges, would neither have ſpar'd the Duke's Footmen, nor any other could have been prov'd concern'd in the Action; they had already prepoſſeſs'd the Cardinal, by repreſenting to him, that neither the King's Authority, nor that of his Eminency, had been ſufficient to protect an Officer in the Execution of his Duty, in the moſt honourable Body of the Province: but beſides that the Cardinal (ever very ill ſatisfied with the Duke, who on his part alſo did not much ſtudy to pleaſe him) was of himſelf ſufficiently diſpos'd to do him a miſchief, had not the occurrences of the time involv'd the Court in the greateſt diſorder, wherein perhaps it had ever been.

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The Parliament of *Bordeaux* intereſt themſelves in the affront offer'd to *Briet*.

The Enemy, after having long threatned the Kingdom, was in the end with a powerful Army entred into *Picardy*; and at their firſt coming had carried *la Capelle*, and *le Catelet*, aſſaulted *Corbie*, which they alſo took, and alarm'd *Paris* it ſelf to ſuch a degree, as is ſufficiently known to all. They were likewiſe enter'd into *Burgundy*, and were preparing for the like attempt upon *Languedoc*: and *Guienne* was not to be ſpar'd; neither was it a little while after: So that the great Miniſter, wholly taken up with concerns of ſo high importance, had no leiſure to look after the Duke's Affairs;

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fairs; neither did he think it convenient to nettle him, in a time when his services were so necessary to the Kingdom; and the Chancellor who still retain'd his old affection to the Duke's Interests, seeing himself absolute Master of this business, concealing it from the Parliaments knowledge, referr'd it to the ordinary Justice, where being animated with very little passion, it soon fell of it self.

The great Employments of the Duke of *Espernon*'s Family.

At this time of all others the Greatness of the Duke of *Espernon* seems especially to appear, by the important Employments, and Commands wherewith his whole Family were invested. The Duke *de Candale* his eldest Son was *Generalissimo* to the Armies of the Republick of *Venice*, an Ally to this Crown. The Duke *de la Valette* his second Son, was in the Army of *Picardy*, wherein though he had not in truth the Principal Command (the *Count de Soissons* being General there) yet had he the honour to be chosen out by the King, to infuse life, and vigour into that Army, the Souldiers whereof, by some ill successes had befall'n them, being exceedingly dejected, which were the express terms wherewith his Majesty allur'd him to that Service. The Cardinal *de la Valette* was also employ'd against *Galas* in *Burgundy*, into which Province the Enemy being entred with a formidable Army, had already made some Conquests before his arrival there. *Mirebeau* had been taken, *Saint Jean de Laonne* was besieg'd, and the best Cities of the Country were highly threatned; the fear there was exceeding great, and the danger had been no less, if the Cardinal *de la Valette*, by opposing himself to their designs, had not stop'd the progress of their Arms. He fought them with advantage in five or six several Engagements, and without ever being able to tempt them to a Battel with all the provocation he could use, forc'd them in the end to retire, with the ruine, and dissolution of their whole Army, that unprofitably mouldred away to nothing. As for the Father, his business lay in *Guienne*, a Province, that as it made up a principal part of the Kingdom, of how great utility must the Service necessarily be, that preserv'd it from disorder in so critical a time? A thing nevertheless fortunately effected, by his Wisdom so moderating the discontents of the people, as to keep them in so dangerous a Juncture of Affairs, from lashing into those extremes, whereinto by their former behaviour, it might reasonably be apprehended, should they find an opportunity of this nature, they would precipitously run.

The *Spaniard* enters *Guienne*.

This was indeed one of the most important, but not the only Service he did the King upon this occasion. The *Spanish* Council having (as has been said) determin'd to invade the Kingdom in several

ſeveral places at once, principally haſted to enter into *Guienne*; to come to which Province, they were to paſs through the Country of *Labourt* (which is that of *Biſcaye*) and by the way highly threatned the City of *Bayonne*. They knew very well the Duke of *Eſpernon* had no Forces to ſend into that Country; neither had he had them, durſt he indeed have done it, without the conſent of the Inhabitants; leſt, being a cholerick, and impatient people, as they naturally are, any thing he ſhould do of that kind, out of care to preſerve them, ſhould put them upon deſperate reſolutions, and make them wilfully loſe themſelves. They had before they came ſo deſpis'd the Enemies Forces, that they would not endure any one ſhould think of contributing to their preſervation; a ſecurity that did not a little afflict the Duke, who had been of old acquainted with the humour of this people, and knew them to be as timorous, and dejected when any danger was near at hand, as they were ſtout and haughty, when it was remote, and out of the proſpect of their fear. Not daring therefore to rely upon the valour, and Fidelity of ſuch a people in an Affair of ſo high importance, and moreover importun'd by the intelligence he receiv'd from all parts, that the Enemy was ready to enter the Country, he departed from *Bordeaux* the 6th. of *October*, arriv'd the tenth at *Nerac*, and the ſixteenth at *Bayonne*; with a diligence ſo much above the ſtrength of a man of his Age, that at his arrival there he was ſurpriz'd with a ſharp, and a dolorous diſtemper, ſo violent a Fever accompanying his pain, that for ſome days his Friends, and Servants knew not, what to hope would be the iſſue of his Diſeaſe. Though the Duke had with him no other Forces, ſave only his Company of *Gens d' Armes*, his Guards, and an hundred or ſixſcore Gentlemen Volunteers, he notwithſtanding ſtuck not, boldly to expoſe his Perſon, for the ſecurity of that Frontier, in the preſervation whereof conſiſted the ſafety of the whole Country.

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The Duke of *Eſpernon* falls ſick at *Bayonne*.

He was ſcarcely there arriv'd, when the people came running in crowds with news that the Enemy was upon the point to enter; who alſo on their part follow'd the intelligence ſo cloſe, that there was ſcarce any interval betwixt the report of their coming, and their being come. The Duke, though exceedingly ill, would by no means, that in an Affair of this Conſequence they ſhould conceal any thing from his knowledge; neither did he upon the firſt intimation fail to take order for all things with as much diligence, and care, as if he had been in the greateſt vigour of health: wherein his inſtructions were alſo ſuch, as had they been duly executed, and obſerv'd, the Enemy would have met with greater

The *Spaniſh* Army enters into *Biſcay*.

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The Duke sometime before he advanc'd towards this Frontier, foreseeing what work and trouble the invasion of a Forein Army was likely to create him, had intreated the King to send the Duke *de la Valette* his Son, who also had the Government of *Guienne* settled upon him in reversion, to his assistance; who accordingly came to him to *Bayonne*, the same day the Enemy entred the Country, and who having, as he pass'd by *Bordeaux*, heard of the Sickness of the Duke his Father, was by that ill news oblig'd to take Post, and was but newly alighted when intelligence was brought, that the Enemy was entring, and that thereupon had followed a great confusion amongst our own people. The Duke at this news was not a little distracted, betwixt two contrary Passions, by which he was at one, and the same time assaulted, either of paying the assistance to which he was in Nature, and Duty bound, to a good and languishing Father, or of pursuing what his Honour, and Bravery exacted from him, for the Service of his Prince, and Master: But that debate betwixt his Piety, and Honour was soon determin'd by the Father himself; and the mutual tenderness they had for one another was soon overcome, by the Affection they both had to their common duty. It was in the close of the Evening when the Duke *de la Valette* arriv'd at *Bayonne*, and the night was no sooner pass'd, when mounting on Horseback with some persons of on Condition, who had there waited in expectation of his coming, he went out to discover the Countenance of the Enemy: but neither his Presence, Exhortations, nor Example could work any effect upon the common people; whose Spirits had by the first days fright been so strangely subdu'd, that it was impossible to raise them the next, to any tolerable degree of resolution: so that in this general Consternation, all he could possibly do was to retreat without disorder, which also was not to be done without a very great deal of danger. The Duke *de la Valette* engag'd his Person so far to make good this Retreat, and to preserve the little Honour he had to manage in this Encounter, that he very often ran a very great hazard of his life, and certainly expos'd himself more, than he was any way oblig'd

The Duke *de la Valette* comes to his Father to *Bayonne*.

oblig'd to do, when being in the end retir'd (himself always the last man) he commanded *la Roche* Captain of the Duke his Fathers Guards, and also of his own, to make good the Bridge (which separates the *Bourg* of *Siboure*, from that of *Saint Jean de Luz*) against the Enemy that follow'd very close in his Rear. This Order was not to be executed without infinite danger, but the Duke *de la Valette* well enough knew, that he, to whom it was given, would not bely his former Actions; neither did *la Roche* deceive his expectation, who with forty Musketeers only which he had under his Command, stop'd the torrent of a Victorious Army, and after having kill'd two hundred of their men upon the place, amongst whom were eight or ten of their best Officers, and having by that means given our Foot time to put themselves into a place of safety, after he had sufficiently manifested his own Conduct, with the Valour and Dexterity of his Souldiers, he drew up the Draw-Bridge that lay over the middle of the River, and with very little loss retir'd to the Duke *de la Valette's* Troop, who staid to make good his Retreat. *Anno* 1636.

After this manner the *Spanish* Forces possess'd themselves of the Country of *Labourt*, and our men were no sooner retir'd on this side *Saint Jean de Luz*, but that the Enemy seiz'd it, and the same day presented themselves before *Socoa*. This *Socoa* was a little point of Land, jetting out into the Sea, convenient, and proper enough for Fortification; but those of the Country would never consent to have it fortified. Which notwithstanding the place of it self was of so advantageous a situation, that they had ventur'd to put into it two hundred Souldiers; who having had leisure to cast up some Works, made a countenance before the arrival of the *Spanish* Army, there bravely to defend themselves: but their Resolution was of no long continuance, the fear of the people soon infected the Souldier; and some Gentlemen who upon other occasions had given testimony of their Valour, having been appointed to command them, were so unhappy as not to preserve the same Reputation here. So that to be short, contrary to the opinion of the two Dukes, the Father, and the Son, and of all the men of Command about them, the place was deliver'd up without the least resistance, and the Enemy at the same instant there fortified themselves. *The Spaniards make themselves Masters of the Country of Labourt, and take the Fort of Socoa without resistance.*

It is not to be believ'd what a terror the entry of the *Spaniards*, and the taking of *Socoa*, it being but three Leagues distant from their City, strook into the Inhabitants of *Bayonne*; and, as all the Passions of the Populacy are extreme, they in a moment converted the absolute assurance, wherewith they had hitherto flatter'd themselves, *A panick fear in the City of Bayonne.*

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ſelves into a moſt infamous, and immoderate Fear; inſomuch that had not the Duke been preſent in the City, it had doubtleſs been in very great danger to be loſt: wherein nevertheleſs, if the Kingdom of *France* ſtood highly indebted to him for working by by his preſence ſo good an effect; they ſtood little leſs oblig'd to the *Spaniſh* Gravity, and Circumſpection, whoſe deliberate way of proceeding made them run into an error, uſually committed by ſuch, as perſwade themſelves their Enemies are provided againſt all ſorts of Accidents. For his cautious Enemy, forbearing out of this belief to preſent themſelves before *Bayonne*, unfurniſh'd of all things neceſſary for its defence, gave the Duke time by that means to make the Inhabitants reaſſume their former courage; and that to ſuch a degree, as from the deſpair of being able to defend themſelves, being grown to a confidence of doing it with honour, and advantage, they were ſoon in a condition to repel any thing the Enemy could attempt againſt them.

They are encourag'd by the Duke of *Eſpernon*.

The Duke ſeeing them in this good diſpoſition, caus'd a Review to be made of all ſuch as were able to bear Arms, which upon examination were found to be nine hundred only; and which notwithſtanding he ſo encourag'd, what by the conſideration of their Duty, and their own Intereſt (an Argument as prevalent at leaſt as any whatever in the minds of men) that they all unanimouſly ſwore to him, to live and dye in the defence of their City. Such as were not capable of bearing Arms, were employ'd at the Fortifications which were yet imperfect; a labour wherein the more delicate Sex would no more be ſpar'd than the men; by which means the work was follow'd on all hands with ſo unwearied a Diligence, that what remain'd to be done, was perfected in fewer days, than months would have been requir'd before the Enemies approach. This being thus provided for, they proceeded in the next place to examine what Grain was in the City; of which ſearch *Vertamont, Intendant de la Juſtice* had the charge committed to his care: and in this they found the greateſt defect, which was ſuch, that in three days the place muſt infallibly have been loſt, had the Enemy preſently clap'd down before it; for there was very little Corn to be found, and no Flower at all, all the Mills were without the City, and the neareſt of them a League diſtant. This defect was therefore of all things to be ſupply'd, which alone renders all ſorts of Proviſion, how great ſoever the Store, altogether uſeleſs: that therefore in a few days was accordingly done; and being the City, which is divided from the reſt of the Kingdom by the *Doux*, a great and deep River, was not to be reliev'd but on that ſide: The Duke was eſpecially ſolicitous to ſecure

The order taken by the Duke of *Eſpernon* for the conſervation of the place.

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the wodden Bridge that affords the City communication with the Suburb *du St. Eſprit*, and from thence with the reſt of *France*, by the County of *Lannes*. To that end therefore he caus'd two good Forts to be trac'd out in his own preſence upon two Eminences that commanded that Bridge; and made the Work to be ſo diligently follow'd, that they were in a few days put into a condition of defence. They alſo by his order haſtened the Leavies for ſome Recruits that were raiſing in *Guienne*, that they might be put into thoſe two Forts, by which means they were ſufficiently man'd. He moreover put three months Proviſion into the City, gave order for the perfecting of the Fortifications, wholly reaſſur'd the Inhabitants, and put the place into ſo good a condition, that nothing for the future, but by a regular Siege, was to be effected againſt it. After having thus provided for the ſafety of this City, he prepar'd himſelf to go take order for the defence of the other Cities, that were upon this Frontier, which were alſo in no little danger; yet was it not before he had further ſupply'd the neceſſities of the Inhabitants of *Bayonne*, who complaining to him that their Corporation was reduc'd to ſo great poverty, that it would be impoſſible for them to provide againſt a thouſand little Accidents that might happen to them, mov'd at their entreaties, he left with them all the money he had left of the Expence of his Houſe, ariſing to four and twenty thouſand Livers, which was owing to him at his Death, and was the only money he ever lent upon Security, and at Intereſt in the whole time of his Life. *Anno* 1636.

The *Spaniards* knew nothing of the ill condition of this place, till after it was fortifi'd, and ſupply'd in ſuch manner, as you have heard; and then they ſaw the error they had committed, but it was then too late. They declar'd however, to the Duke's Glory, and in their own Vindication, *That they did not repent them of their wary manner of proceeding; but that if it were to do again, they ſhould do the ſame, and that they could never think a place ill Fortified, that had a Duke of* Eſpernon *to defend it.* The Duke, what teſtimonies ſoever they ſo highly, and publickly gave, of the eſteem they had of his Vertue, was not notwithſtanding ſo to be charm'd with the Harmony of their Praiſes: but that being inform'd the Enemy, deſpairing for the future of being able to effect any thing upon *Bayonne* by force, was determin'd to paſs the River *Doux*, to fall upon *Dacqs*, by that means to cut off all Relief that could be put into *Bayonne*; to the end, that of it ſelf, and without the expence of a Siege, it might fall into their hands; he departed thence with the Duke *de la Valette* his Son, his faithful Companion in all the cares and troubles of this Expedition, to take order for

A remarkable overſight in the *Spaniard*.

The Duke of *Eſpernon* goes from *Bayonne* to *Dacqs*.

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for the defence of this little place, which they also in six days that they made their abode there, what by their Vivacity, and good Conduct, and partly at their own expence, put into so good a posture of safety, that it was out of all danger of Surprize.

And from thence sends a Dispatch to the King.

Having thus provided for the security of the most Important Places, they dispatch'd away a Gentleman to the King, to give his Majesty an Account of what they had done for his Service, and to receive his Commands, what they were to do for the time to come.

From *Dacqs* they went to *Mont de Marsan*, where they yet made some stay, as well in reference to the securing that place, as also to be better satisfied concerning an intimation had been given them, that the *Spanish* Army was resolv'd to pass the River in order to some notable Attempt. To this end Captain *la Roche* was sent to discover nearer hand the depth of the Enemies Designs; who soon perceiv'd by the Works they had begun at *Socoa*, that they had no thoughts of making any further progress into the Country that Winter. Having therefore at his return given his Masters this assurance, upon his Report, which they found afterwards to be very true, they continued on their way towards *Bordeaux*. The *Spaniards* on the other side applying themselves to their Fortifications, labour'd more successfully, than they imagin'd, to the Glory which was reserv'd for the Duke *de la Valette* in their Defeat the ensuing year; and having in the mean time lost all hopes of advancing further into the Country by force of Arms, fell to Caballs, and practices to seduce the Inhabitants of *Labourt* over to their side. They promis'd them Peace, freedom, Security, and all other advantages they could desire, if they would cohabit with them; they offer'd Protection to all such as would continue Neuters in their own Houses: but they threatned no little punishments to those, who should retire into *France*. All which Artifice nevertheless prevail'd nothing with the *Biscains*, there being not so much as any one Family, that did not prefer a voluntary Exile, before any Benefit, or Immunity that could derive from the bounty of invading Neighbours: So that if they were in the beginning condemn'd by some, for having manifested too little heat at the Enemies first coming in, every one in the end applauded their Fidelity, who would rather choose to abandon their Country, and Fortunes, than to enjoy them in the greatest quiet, and security, under the usurpation of a Forein and invasive Power.

An exemplary Fidelity in the Inhabitants of *Biscay*.

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As it was evident enough both by the number of the Enemy, and the good condition wherein they had had the leisure to fortifie themselves, that it was impossible to attempt any thing against them,

them, but by means proportionable to the greatnes of their Forces; the Duke ſate ſtill at *Bordeaux* in expectation of Orders from Court for their future proceeding. But they waited not long, *Haumont*, which was the Gentleman they had diſpatch'd thither, returning to *Bordeaux* almoſt as ſoon as they, furniſh'd with ſeveral very favourable Diſpatches; wherein after the King had highly magnified the Duke of *Eſpernon*'s Conduct, who by ſo little means had preſerv'd that Frontier, his Majeſty proceeded to let him know, he infinitely deſir'd the Enemy might be diſoblig'd from the places they had already poſſeſs'd; promiſing in order thereunto Men, Proviſions, Ammunition, a Train of Artillery, and what was neceſſary to the execution of ſo great a deſign: All this notwithſtanding remain'd in terms of a bare promiſe only, without ever coming to the leaſt effect; nay, there was not ſo much money to be had, as would ſerve for the raiſing of two Regiments of Foot, and four Troops of Horſe; though the Duke had not ſo much as one Souldier in the Province: a Summe, which though it amounted not to above fifty thouſand Livers, yet the Exchequers of the ſeveral Provinces, and the King's other Bancks being totally exhauſted, there was a neceſſity for the Duke to advance it, out of his own private Stock, which he alſo was willing to do; and though it went ſomething hard with him, had much rather in this urgency of his Majeſties Affairs, lay out the money of his own private Revenue (for of two years he had not touch'd one peny of the King's) than that the Country the Enemy had invaded ſhould be left unto them, which alſo was not to be preſerv'd, but by the oppoſition of ſome conſiderable Forces.

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The Duke of *Eſpernon* raiſes Forces with his own money.

While the Frontier of *Bayonne* found work enough for the two Dukes, the Royal Arms were employ'd for the recovery of *Corbie*; that being almoſt the only place of importance, the Enemy had made a Conqueſt of, with all their long, aud mighty preparation. In the beginning of this Siege, there was ſcarce any who did not believe the Fortune of the Cardinal depended upon the event of that Enterprize, and that, ſhould the King happen to be baffled before it, his Majeſty weary of maintaining the Quarrels of his Miniſter (for ſuch were all the Wars of Europe at that time time reputed) at ſo vaſt an expence of Treaſure, and with ſo much diſquiet to his Kingdom, would infallibly ſacrifice him to the Animoſities of Strangers, and the Diſcontents of the Great Ones of his own people, who equally deſir'd his Ruine: But the ſucceſs of this Leaguer, more ſpeedy, and fortunate than was to be expected, having reconcil'd the Cardinal to the Kings opinion, and aſtoniſh'd all thoſe who had propheſied an alteration in his

Anno 1637. Fortune, every one was ſtrook with admiration at a proſperity ſo beyond all example, inſomuch that even thoſe who had moſt thirſted after his Ruine, were the firſt to congratulate him for the good ſucceſs. 'Tis ſaid that of thoſe there were ſome, who, that they might with greater Elegancy ſhrowd themſelves from any jealouſie the Cardinal might entertain againſt them, made no difficulty to proſtitute their own Fidelity, and Honour, in diſcovering the Secrets either of their Maſters, or Friends, to him who was their common Enemy. It was by that ſort of people (as is believ'd) that the Cardinal had intelligence of a Plot, wherein the *Monſieur*, and the *Count de Soiſſons* had conſpir'd againſt him, with whom the Duke *de la Valette* was alſo deliver'd to him for one, who had a great hand in this Affair; and it is moſt certain that from thence the Cardinal laid the deſign to perſecute his Families and his own particular Fortune to the laſt extreme; ſo that from that time forward, there was neither bound, nor moderation in the implacable Hatred he conceiv'd againſt him upon this very account. How far the Duke *de la Valette*'s Reſentments might tranſport him towards the Cardinal, I cannot tell; but I am well enough inform'd in the ill uſage he receiv'd from him, as well in the perſon of the Duke his Father, as his own, to be bold to ſay, that he had all the reaſon in the world to be offended to a very high degree: but this Affair having been (as has been ſaid) either the occaſion, or at leaſt the pretence of all the great Perſecutions of this Family, it will not perhaps be impertinent to take things from the beginning, that they may be the better underſtood.

The firſt cauſe of the Duke *de la Valette*'s Diſgrace.

The Duke *de la Valette* being (as we have obſerv'd) entred into the Alliance of Cardinal *Richelieu*, had examples enough of ſeveral perſons of very great Quality before his eyes, to make him ſtoop to extraordinary Applications, and reſpects towards him: but nothing could ever induce him to bend below the terms of decency, and his own condition; ſo that he only paid him what reſpect was due, and nothing more: a way of living that by no means ſatisfied the Cardinal, who would exact from all conditions of men, a Reverence without all reſerve. A vanity of his, that although the Duke *de la Valette* was very perfect in, yet did not that knowledge make him alter his reſolution, chooſing rather to live with him in a leſs degree of Favour, than to beg Offices and Employments at the price of his own Honour. Many ſecret diſcontents ariſing from this firſt cauſe, it muſt of neceſſity follow, that theſe two Spirits having been ſo long diſſatisfied with one another, and ſo equally diſpos'd to a final Rupture, would at one time or another produce their ordinary effect. An occaſion

The manner of the Duke *de la Valett*'s Conduct after he entred into Cardinal *Richelieu*'s Alliance.

Diſcontents ariſe betwixt them.

occaſion preſented it ſelf at the Enemies entring into *Picardy*, and about the taking of *la Capelle*. The Baron *du Bec* was Governour of this place, which this Gentleman very well known to, and entirely belov'd by the Duke *de la Valette*, had ſurrendred ſooner, than the Cardinal could have wiſh'd, for want (as he pretended) of Proviſion. The Cardinal, who by an example of high ſeverity, would oblige the Governours of other places to hold out to the laſt extremities; or perhaps by that means to juſtifie himſelf to the King, from any cenſure he might undergo, as Prime Miniſter of State, in not having ſufficiently provided for the neceſſities of ſo important a place, caus'd an Honourable Council immediately to be Aſſembled. This Council conſiſted of all the Officers of the Crown, who were then to be found in *Paris*, together with ſome Counſellors of State, whoſe buſineſs it muſt be to condemn the Baron *du Bec*, as convict of Cowardiſe, and Treachery, to a privation of his Life and Honour. The Duke *de la Valette* was amongſt the reſt ſummon'd to this Aſſembly, wherein as he ſaw he was not call'd to it to deliver his free Opinion, that the Gentleman was beforehand mark'd out for Ruine, and that Sentence of Death muſt conſequently enſue; ſo did he endeavour with all the art he had to decline having any thing to do in that buſineſs: but it was altogether in vain. The Cardinal would admit of no excuſes, but after having ſent three times to his Houſe to ſeek him, *Chavigni*, Secretary of State, went the fourth time to tell him plainly, he muſt either ſatisfie, or abſolutely break with the Cardinal. This expreſs, and poſitive Declaration prevail'd in the end with the Duke *de la Valette* to go to the Council; but it was not nevertheleſs to comply in the leaſt with the animoſities of others. The Baron *du Bec*'s Affair was laid open in the Preſence of the King, and the Cardinal, and the greater part of the Judges concluded the Crimes laid to his charge, ſufficient to condemn the party accus'd: but the Duke *de la Valette* did not think himſelf oblig'd to be of that opinion, and conſequently could not conſent to his Condemnation. If the Cardinal had manifeſted ſomething of vehemency, in importuning the Duke to come to the Council, he expreſs'd yet a far greater indignation to find him of a judgment ſo far diſſenting from his own, inſomuch that at his coming out of the Council, taking the Duke *de la Valette* aſide, he could not contain himſelf from breaking into very unhandſome Language, proceeding to ſo bitter, and ſo injurious expreſſions, that the Duke was not able to forbear giving a very ſmart Reply, the Reverence due to the place where they then were permitting him at that time to do no more; though ſuch as

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Anno 1637. were acquainted with his temper, will easily judg, that he would omit no occasion of manifesting a higher resentment. In the heat of this Discontent he receiv'd the Command of which I have already spoken, to go joyn himself with the *Count de Soissons* in *Picardy*; and then the Cardinal could find some expressions of Civility, and Complement, to smooth him withal, at his departure; but an Offence being much harder to be repair'd, than committed, the Wound the Duke carried along with him in his Bosom, was not to be clos'd by so slender a Remedy. It was presently after this that the Cardinal was inform'd, the Duke *de la Valette* had hearkened to the Propositions had been made to him by the *Count de Soissons*, for the Revenge of their common Injuries, and that the *Monsieur* was also consenting with them.

The *Monsieur*, and the *Count de Soissons* retire from Court,

At the time the Cardinal receiv'd this intimation, the Duke *de la Valette*, to his good Fortune, was as far off as *Bayonne*; but the *Monsieur*, and the *Count de Soissons*, being both at *Paris*, escap'd but a very few hours of being both Arrested, having nevertheless time enough to withdraw themselves, they departed suddenly from *Paris*: when, though they scarce knew which way to fly for refuge from the power of their Enemy; yet hoping that either the danger the Duke *de la Valette* ran equally with them; or that the Generosity of the Duke of *Espernon* (who on the other side was himself not very well satisfied with the Court) might induce him to receive them into *Guienne*: they dispatch'd away thither first the *Count de Bourdeille*, and after him the *Count de Montresor* his Brother; of which both the one and the other had instructions to address themselves to the Duke *de la Valette*, that by his perswasions the Father might be rendred more favourable to their desires: But this Duke, who had much rather be alone expos'd to the Cardinal's whole stock of hatred, than to disquiet the old Age of the Duke his Father, by interessing him in his Quarrels, freely told them, "That the *Monsieur*, and the *Count* were to expect nothing "from his Mediation in this Affair: That he was indeed resolv'd "to follow his Fathers Resolutions; but that he would never "prompt him to any thing that might trouble his repose. *Montresor*, who came last, and who would not depart without a positive resolution, finding no hopes of concurrence in the Duke *de la Valette*, desir'd to talk in private with the Duke of *Espernon*. He was accordingly admitted into his Chamber, at ten of the Clock at night, after all his Servants were retir'd, where he represented to him, "The immediate danger wherein two great "Princes of the Blood were at this time engag'd by the violence of Cardinal *Richelieu*, their, and his particular Enemy: That

And send to the Duke of *Espernon* to engage him in their Quarrel.

in

"in ſecuring their lives he might alſo eſtabliſh his own Fortune, "and that of his Family: That he knew very well how great was "the number of diſcontented perſons, how violent the de- "ſpair of the people, and how intolerable the oppreſſion of all "the ſeveral Orders of the Kingdom: That all theſe favourable "diſpoſitions wanted only ſome conſiderable heads, to work "their common ſafety by the ruine of the Cardinals Affairs: "That there was not a perſon in the Kingdom, who would not "be ready ſpeedily to joyn with theſe Princes, ſeeing their good "intention for the Redreſs of the Publick, ſhould their cauſe be "ſupported by his prudent Conduct: "That this Act would "crown all the other actions of his life, for ever eſtabliſh the For- "tune of his own Family, and render oblig'd to him for their "Lives, and Honour, two Princes, the one the Son, and Bro- "ther of the King his Maſter's, his own Nephew, and Friend; and the other ſo paſſionately enamour'd of his Vertue, that he "would with all his heart lay aſide his condition, to obey his "Orders in the conduct of thoſe things they were to purſue for "their common ſafety. All theſe Reaſons, how plauſible ſoever in themſelves, and how handſomly ſoever laid before him, were not yet of force to ſhake a man ſo firm, and ſo confirm'd in his Duty, as the Duke of *Eſpernon*; who, although he very well knew, and that it was no hard matter for him to judg by the Example of theſe Princes, and of moſt of the great men of the Kingdom, that the Cardinal would not long hold his hand from ſtriking at his Fortune, which was the only one almoſt that remain'd unſhaken, would nevertheleſs rather chooſe to lie expos'd to this danger, than to ſecure himſelf, by being the promoter of a Civil War. He therefore anſwer'd *Montreſor*, "That he "was the *Monſieur*'s moſt humble Servant, that he was the *Count*'s "alſo: That they did a great deal of Honour in repoſing ſo "great a confidence in him, as to communicate ſo much of their "Intereſts, and Deſigns: That they could not do it to one that "was a more faithful Servant both to the King, and to them, or "more paſſionate for their good: That the greateſt teſtimony he "could poſſibly give them of that paſſion, was, humbly to be- "ſeech, and (if he durſt be ſo bold) to adviſe them, to have "ſpeedy recourſe to his Majeſties Bounty, and Royal Favour: "That for what concern'd himſelf, he was very ſenſible of all the "ill uſage he receiv'd from Court; but that he did by no means "impute it to the King: That ſeeing alſo he could not do him- "ſelf right, without offending him, he rather choſe ſtill to ſup- "port the oppreſſion under which he now ſuffer'd, than to revenge him-

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Who excuſes himſelf.

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" himself of his particular Enemies, by troubling the Peace of " the Kingdom, and by adding the mischief of a Civil War to " those miseries wherewith the poor people were already afflicted: " That he did most humbly conjure these Princes by the name, " and quality they bore, and by the Interest they had in the Good " of the Kingdom, to do the same, and to surrender all their " Animosities, and Discontents to the Publick, leaving to Hea- " ven, which was just, the Revenge of their Wrongs: That as " to the rest, they might assure themselves the Secret they had " been pleas'd to entrust him withal, should be faithfully lock'd " up in his heart, and that he would suffer all sorts of Extremi- " ties, rather than reveal it. *Montresor* being able to obtain no- thing more of the Duke, return'd with this answer back to the *Monsieur* his Master; who either prevail'd upon by the Duke's advice, or obeying the natural affection he had to the good of the Kingdom, very readily embrac'd the first overtures of Accommo- dation that were from the Court presented to him: But the *Count de Soissons*, not thinking it convenient to trust the Cardinal, what faithful, and sincere reconciliation soever could be promis'd to him, retir'd himself to *Sedan*, from whence he never more re- turn'd.

As there is no secret that time does not in the end discover, the advice the Duke had given the *Monsieur*, upon the Propositions he had sent him, was not long conceal'd from the knowledge of the Court. I am certain the discovery was neither made by the Duke, nor by any of his, the Fidelity, and Secresie he observ'd towards these Princes, giving on the contrary the Chancellour *Seguier* oc- casion to complain of him. This true Friend of his having un- derstood his Prudent, and Loyal Conduct, in this so important Affair, writ to him, after other things, in these terms, " Give " me leave to assure you that the King is infinitely satisfied with " your Behaviour: I was ever confident, and have ever said, that " the Princes solicitations would never prevail with you, who can " entertain no overture, nor embrace no Proposition inconsistent " with your Masters Service. I have learn'd this excellent Maxim " from your self, and your Actions have ever been so pure from " any blemish of that kind, that your Fidelity, which will stand " for a President to succeeding Ages, was never in any possibility " of being suspected; and did you stand in need of any one to " undertake for you in this case, I should offer my self to be the " man. I hope the Answer you sent this great Prince will " make him see his own good, and consider that of the Kingdom: " We here expect his Resolution, which we doubt not but will be very

" very good; forasmuch as all things he has desir'd of his Maje- *Anno*
" sties Bounty are granted to him, *&c.* The Duke, who little ex- 1637.
pected such a Complement as this, and that had not given the *Monsieur* this counsel with any intent to obtain thereby a thanks from the King, return'd the Chancellour a very civil Answer; but sent him word withal, " That if he had observ'd him in those " times wherein they had serv'd the King together wholly intent " upon his Majesties Interests, he was so far from having lost any " thing of that Zeal, and Affection, that on the contrary those " years which had pass'd over his head, had only serv'd to confirm " him in his Duty; but that he was infinitely surpriz'd to hear " the Court should be inform'd that he should have us'd any Ar- " guments to the *Monsieur* concerning the present Affairs, of force " to make him consider what he did owe to the Service of the " King, the good of the Kingdom, or his own preservation: " That he could assure him since his Highness departed last from " Court he had not seen him, nor any one employ'd by him; nei- " ther had he directly, or indirectly heard from him at all: That " the discourse therefore which had done him this good Office " with the King, must be something he might perhaps have said " in publick without other design, than the vanity he had upon all " occasions to manifest his passion to his Majesties Service, and to " exhort all men to continue firm in that Duty, *&c.* The Chan- cellour was by no means satisfied with this Answer, it seeming to him that the Duke was therein more reserv'd, than became their old acquaintance, or the entire confidence he might safely repose in his Friendship: but the Duke, who would by no means do the *Monsieur* the least ill office, or fail in his Fidelity to him, chose ra- ther to give his friend this little discontent, which he also knew would soon be forgot, than to fail in his Faith, which would be an eternal blemish to him, and so great a forfeit to Honour, as he could never have forgiven himself, as it had been impossible for him ever to repair.

Although the Cardinal prepossess'd with the ill Offices had been done by the Duke *de le Valette* had conceiv'd that high distaste against him, he usually manifested in such cases; he nevertheless made shift to smother it upon this occasion. He had at this time great use both of the Father, and the Son, in the Affairs of *Guienne*, upon their shoulders (he being sufficiently taken up with troubles nearer home) to lay the burthen of the care of that Province; so that he treated with them in terms of greater confi- dence, than ever, writing to the Duke of *Espernon* after this manner.

The Cardinal dissembles his dissatisfaction with the Dukes of *Espernon*, and *de la Valette*.

My

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My Lord,

"You will find by the King's Dispaches, that his Majesty is "unmindful of nothing he conceives necessary for the driving "his Enemies out of your Government, and does assure himself "you will upon this occasion give him a testimony of your Va- "lour and Experience, equally advantageous to the Reputation "of his Majesties Arms, and your own particular Glory. This "Action will crown all the rest of your Life, which makes me "confident you will undertake it, with the ardour both the King "himself has reason to expect from your zeal to his Service; and "amongst other his Majesties most passionate Servants, one who "honours you at the rate I do, who am, *&c.*

And puts them joyntly in Commission for the Affairs of *Guienne*.

The like Complement was also sent to the Duke *de la Valette*, which is a little too long to be inserted here, and wherein his Majesty sent a List, or form of a gallant Army, wherein were to be three Cnmpanies of *Gens-d' Armes*, twelve Troops of Light Horse, seven Regiments of Foot consisting of twenty Companies each, and three of ten, with Equipage for the Artillery, and other things necessary for the execution of a great Design. Had any part of these large promises been perform'd, the two Governours would have needed little perswasion to undertake the Enemy in what posture soever they had been: but the whole Winter almost being laps'd in vain expectation, the Duke *de la Valette* conceiving, that, if he did not do something of himself, the Enemy might be so establish'd upon the Frontier, that it would be afterwards a matter of extraordinary difficulty to dislodge him, advanc'd with the sole Regiments of *Guienne*, and of *Mun*, compos'd of the Duke his Father's Servants, and his own, and rais'd at their own charge. He found upon the place their Company of *Gens-d' Armes*, and two Troops of Light-Horse, with which small Forces he undertook to oppose the progress of an Enemy three times as strong as himself in number of men; he forc'd them from some posts of Advantage they had fortified in the Country; and so straitned their Quarters, and constrain'd them to lie so close in their Trenches, that he thenceforwards made them begin to feel necessities, which in succession of time gave him a Victory beyond all humane hope or expectation.

Whilst he was taken up with this Employment, which of it self was but too great for the small means he had wherewith to effect so great a Design; the Discontents that had so long lain hatching in the minds of the people, produc'd at this time the Mischief had so long been fear'd, and foreseen, and on a sudden disclos'd

clos'd one of the moſt formidable Revolts, that ever perhaps appear'd in the Kingdom. This diſorder began firſt in *Perigort*, from whence it ſuddenly crept into *Quercy*, and thence in a moment diffus'd it ſelf into *Agenois*, and *Bourdelois*; nay, even the Provinces of *Angoumois*, *Xaintonge*, and *Poictou* alſo, which but a little before had been quieted by the Wiſdom of *Villemontée Intendant de la Juſtice* in that Country, being not yet well ſettled in their Obedience, ſtirr'd up by the ill example of their Neighbours, ran into new, and more dangerous Commotions, than before: ſo that theſe joyning in the common miſchief with the reſt before mentioned, the Contagion ſpread it ſelf almoſt as far as the River *Loire*. That which render'd the Sedition of *Guienne* the more conſiderable was, that thoſe who ran into Arms were not unhandy Peaſants, but old Souldiers of the moſt Warlike Provinces of the Kingdom, who having long follow'd the Profeſſion of Arms, and not being able ſo ſoon to reduce themſelves to their former condition, would in the diſorders of popular Inſurrection ſeek out that licence, the ſweets whereof they had ſometime taſted, when their Riots had been in ſome meaſure juſtified by their Arms. Moſt Commotions of this nature have been obſerv'd to proceed by certain degrees, and the forming of the deſign has uſually been diſcover'd, before the clap of Thunder has been heard; they commonly advance ſtep by ſtep, and proceed from one gradation to another, to their determinate end: but this at its very birth appear'd in that exceſſive and formidable height, that like great Conflagrations which have long been ſmothering before they have broken out, it caſt out flames in a moment, which were hardly poſſibly to be extinguiſh'd. The firſt Intelligence the Duke of *Eſpernon* receiv'd of this accident, was, that there were already above thirty thouſand men in Arms, and it was true: amongſt whom many Gentlemen of good Quality were ſo indiſcreet as to engage; who though none of them was able to govern ſo unruly, and ſo confus'd a rabble, they nevertheleſs made choice of a Gentleman a Borderer of *Periguex*, call'd *la Mothe-la-Foreſt* to be their General, enforcing him to accept of that unhappy Command. This poor Gentleman finding himſelf the firſt day oppreſs'd with ſo great a burthen, after having in vain try'd all ways to diſingage himſelf, was fain in the end to undertake to Head them; wherein the moſt prudent thing he did, was to reduce this great multitude to a regular number, by chooſing out of the beſt Souldiers, and ſuch as were beſt Arm'd, ten thouſand good men, and diſmiſſing the reſt home to their own houſes with order to be ready to March upon the firſt Summons. This crew of Rakehells, made indeed

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A formidable Rebellion breaks out in ſeveral Provinces of *France*.

The number of the Rebels,

And their progreſs.

Anno 1637. in a few days a very considerable progress; but it was without any manner of opposition; the people generally having so great a kindness for the Rebellion, that there was scarce a City in the Province, which they might not conclude to be their own. They were receiv'd into *Bergerac*, and had possess'd themselves of the Stone-Bridge which is upon the River *Dordogne*; they were moreover so confident as to fall upon *Saint Foy*, and had not the Duke fortified the honest Inhabitants, against the licence of the baser sort of people, by sending first *Coderé* a Souldier of his Guards, a brave, and understanding fellow, and after him one of his Gentlemen call'd *Friget*, with an hundred and fifty Foot, rais'd amongst his own Vassals, the place had infallibly been lost. It was a Town of no little importance at this time; for beside the advantage of its situation, all the Arms the *Mareschal de St. Luc*, the King's Lieutenant of the Province, and particular Governour of this place, had formerly taken away from *Broüage* when he left that Government, were in the *Cittadel*, as also some pieces of Cannon, which would have supply'd the Rebels with such a conveniency, as would have encourag'd, and enabled them to attempt the best Cities of the Province.

The Duke of *Espernon* having in this extremity no more, than three very weak Regiments, which had been lately reform'd, and that by little and little, were drawing together in the Province, to go towards the Frontier, the Service to which they were design'd; writ to *St. Torse Aide de Camp*, who commanded them, to draw them out against the Mutineers: but that Gentleman, more discreet, and circumspect, than the Duke could have wish'd upon so urgent an occasion, chose rather betimes to abandon his Quarters to the Rebels, than to do them the honour to dispute them by any the least opposition.

The Duke after this seeing no means left to suppress this dangerous Faction, which every day increas'd to a more formidable height, and startled with the news he receiv'd from all parts, that some of the best Cities were ready to revolt, and only expected the approach of the Rebels to receive them; writ in all haste to the Duke *de la Valette* to come speedily to the Relief of the Province with some of those Forces he had with him upon the Frontier, since those in the Lower *Gascony* were not able to make head against the mischief already grown too great to be withstood. The Duke at this Summons, without deliberating upon the Duke his Father's Command, immediately put himself upon his March; but yet so that the Forein Enemy still continued shut up within their Trenches by the Marquis *de Poganne Mareschal de Camp*, with whom

whom during his abſence he left the Command of the Army, whilſt himſelf came to do the King, the Kingdom, and particularly the Province, one of the moſt important Services, could poſſibly be deſir'd in ſo dangerous a time. *Anno* 1637.

Being come to *Cadillac*, where his Father expected him ſick (for he was at laſt conſtrain'd to faint under the Burthen of Affairs, and the affliction wherewith theſe untoward occurrences had overcome his Spirits) and having from him receiv'd ſuch Inſtructions, as he was at that time in a condition to give, he early the next morning took Horſe to go in all haſte to *Marmanda*. The Duke his Father had already there caus'd ſome Troops to be gather'd together under the Command of the Marquis *de Monferrant Mareſchal de Camp*, and Lieutenant of his own Company of *Gens-d' Armes*; where the Duke was no ſooner arriv'd, but he underſtood that at *la Sauvetat*, a little Town about four Leagues off, there was a conſiderable Body of the Rebels, who had there fortified themſelves, and made ſhew of a reſolute Defence; an information that made him immediately March his Forces that way to go to aſſault them. All the ſtrength he had with him were no more than two thouſand five hundred Foot; but the Enemy were very many more, which notwithſtanding he made no difficulty himſelf to go view the place. At the firſt ſight he apprehended the danger of aſſaulting them without Cannon, fortified as they were on every ſide either with Walls, or ſtrong Barricado's; and many of the Officers about him were of opinion, he ſhould ſtay for ſome Field-Pieces, he had order'd to follow after: but having conſider'd, that to dally with theſe kind of people only, were to give them greater encouragement, and to augment their Inſolence; he gave order upon the inſtant to go on to the Aſſault. I have heard ſeveral who were preſent at, and had a ſhare in this Action, ſay, that the Aſſault was as vigorouſly given, and as obſtinately ſuſtain d, as any they had ever ſeen, though they had been in many very memorable occaſions, and that they ſhould eternally lament, that what was there on both ſides perform'd, had not been done againſt the Enemies of the Crown; ſince doubtleſs whatever they had undertaken muſt have ſucceeded to their immortal Glory. The Duke's men fir'd no further off than at the Muzzle of the Musket, and the other party did the ſame; ſo that on either ſide a great many men, with ſome Officers of the Duke's Regiments were ſlain: and the ſlaughter had queſtionleſs been much greater, had the beſieg'd been furniſh'd with Pikes, to their Fire Arms; but being deſtitute of that ſort of Defence, they were conſtrain'd, after they had diſcharg'd their Muskets, to abandon their Barri-

The Rebels ſuppreſs'd by the Duke *de la Valette*.

Anno 1637.

cado's, and to retire. *Madaillan* who commanded the Rebels gave the first example of a cowardly, and shameful flight, whom they pursu'd as far as *Quercy*, to which place he fled for refuge: but having escap'd the hands of the pursuers, he sav'd himself out of the Kingdom, from whence he return'd not but to execute one of the most detestable Villanies against the Duke of *Espernon* that could ever have entred into the imagination of an accursed Villain. The fatal and unhappy circumstances whereof, we shall soon present before you, wherein this wicked, and abominable wretch will appear to be both the instrument, and the cause of the Duke's approaching Death, and Ruine.

The forcing of this place was presently follow'd by the Surrender of *Bergerac*; the Mutineers had there made a countenance of defending themselves: but the example of their Complices being taken by Assault, render'd them more facile to the perswasions of their General, who was otherwise averse to War, than as he was compell'd to it by the unbridled Fury of some of the more violent Spirits, who as they prompted their fellows to greater mischief, would also urge him on to the greatest extremes. These two places being thus reduc'd to their Obedience, secur'd all the other Cities of the Province; so that although some few of the people continued still on foot, they were rather thought fit to be undertaken by the ordinary * Officers of Justice, than worth the pains, or notice of men of Arms.

* *Des Prevosts.*

The report of this Defeat soon spread it self into *Angoumois*, *Xaintonge*, and *Poictou*, whither the Duke *de Valette* also sent some few Forces, of those which were now supernumerary after this success, and where the people, through fear of punishment, remain'd in a posture of Obedience; by that means delivering the Court of one of the greatest, and most troublesome apprehensions wherewith the minds of the great Ministers could possibly be possess'd.

This Victory was by the Marquis *de Duras* judg'd of importance enough to deserve the pains of a Journey to Court, to carry news of it to the King; who as he had by his own Valour contributed very much to the good success, the Duke of *Espernon*, who had him in very great esteem, was also very willing that he should give his Majesty an account of the Action. Being therefore there arriv'd, he omitted nothing that might any ways recommend the merit of the Service: but he did not find the Court dispos'd to receive things that came from the Duke's at so favourable a rate, as in themselves they did justly deserve; they looking upon all that had been perform'd as good as nothing, and

The Court receives the news of the Duke *de la Valett*'s Victory, very coldly.

and impoſing upon them the aſſault of the Forts the *Spaniard* had erected upon the Frontier upon pain of his Majeſties Indignation, which was the firſt recompence of their Service. *Anno* 1637.

Already the Duke *de la Valette* had taken the way to his ordinary Poſt, and was arriv'd at his Quarters, which he had fortified oppoſite to the *Spaniſh* Trenches; when the Duke his Father receiv'd his Diſpatches from Court, wherein he had order, and expreſs power to ſerve himſelf with the King's money, and ſtrength of the Province; and moreover to lay what Impoſitions they ſhould together think fit upon the people, for the execution of his Majeſties Deſigns. The Duke of *Eſpernon* very well judg'd what was to be expected from theſe kind of Leavies, he knew with what difficulties, and delays the King's own Revenue was gather'd in: He was alſo not ignorant of the little kindneſs they had for him at Court: He knew very well that his Obedience herein might be converted to a Crime, all Leavies of money being expreſsly forbidden, excepting ſuch Taxes as ſhould be impos'd by the King himſelf: all which being duly conſider'd by him, made him reſolve to write to his Majeſty, "*That both himſelf, and his Son* "*were very ready franckly to expoſe their Lives for the execution of his* "*Majeſties Commands, provided ſomething of what was neceſſary might* "*be added to their Endeavours, that they might attempt to execute his* "*Orders with ſome poſſibility of ſucceſs: but that he ſhould ever im-* "*poſe a Tax upon his Majeſties Subjects, he moſt humbly beg'd to be* "*diſpens'd from any ſuch Employment, and that his Majeſty would be* "*pleas'd, ſince hitherto he had kept his hands clean from any thing of that* "*kind, he might ſtill preſerve his Reputation without expoſing it to the* "*Clamour of his miſerable Subjects, whoſe Neceſſities were to him al-* "*ready too well known.* Theſe laſt words wrought the moſt dangerous effect imaginable againſt him, the Court perſwading themſelves that he affected Popularity, and ſought this way to ingratiate himſelf with the people, to the end that he might by their aſſiſtance be able to maintain himſelf in his Government, and was in effect the principal Cauſe, if not the only Motive, that caus'd him to be remov'd from thence the enſuing year,

The Duke of *Eſpernon* refuſes to raiſe money by Impoſitions upon the people.

Whilſt the Duke of *Eſpernon* was engag'd in theſe troubleſome Diſputes with the Court, the Duke *de la Valette* continued the War with the Enemy, after the ſame manner he had begun, keeping them cloſe mew'd up in their Trenches, without permitting them to receive any relief from the Country, or ſo much as to taſte of the Air of the Field, where they never preſented themſelves without ſome notable diſadvantage. This way of making War having continued for two whole months together, had reduc'd

Anno 1637. reduc'd the *Spaniard* to Neceſſities were no longer to be endur'd; they were neceſſitated to have all their Proviſions out of their own Country, and thoſe to be brought to them by Sea, with infinite hazard, and inconvenience, and at an intolerable expence. The Duke *de la Valette* was very well inform'd of the ill condition to which they were reduc'd, their Neceſſities had bred an infinite number of Diſeaſes in their Camp, and the number of ſix thouſand men which they were at firſt, was diminiſh'd to that degree, that not above half of them were left alive. In this condition he prepar'd to make ſome attempt upon them, and to that end caus'd thoſe Forces, which by reaſon of the late Commotions, he had been oblig'd to leave in the Lower *Gaſcony*, to advance toward the Frontier; not doubting but at this time to effect that, which they would have had him ſome time before have attempted with almoſt certain, and apparent ruine: but the Enemy inform'd of his reſolution, by a ſhameful, and precipitous flight (which was the higheſt acknowledgment of their weakneſs he could poſſibly deſire) prevented his deſign. They embark'd therefore all their Artillery, their Equipage, and their Sick by night; the Port of *Socoa* (which they were Maſters of) affording them conveniency ſo to do, by the ſame way, and with ſo little noiſe drawing off the reſt of their Forces, that their deſign was not diſcover'd, till they were all aboard. The Duke *de la Valette* was no ſooner inform'd of their flight, but that he drew up to the Fort, which was ſurrendred to him without reſiſtance: But it is not to be imagin'd how many ſeveral Objects of Miſery were to be ſeen in their Camp; nor to what extremities, by his long perſeverance, they had been reduc'd. They then quitted him their Forts, giving him thereby the moſt abſolute, and moſt happy Victory could poſſibly be deſir'd; ſo that he had the good fortune almoſt without men (at leaſt with Forces not half ſo great as the Enemies) without money (having never touch'd a peny of the King's) almoſt without Victuals (having had none ſave what by the induſtry, and providence of *Vertamont Intendant de la Juſtice* had been convey'd to the Frontier) and without the loſs of any one man of note, to ruine an entire Army of an invading Enemy, to make them ſpend ten months time in vain, to conſume Proviſions ſufficient for the plentiful ſubſiſtence of the greateſt Army, and to leave three thouſand of their men behind them, for a teſtimony of their Defeat. Yet how great, and of what utility ſoever this Victory might be, to the Kingdoms Honour, and Safety, the Court was notwithſtanding diſſatisfied with the ſucceſs; who ſeeing he had done more, than any one durſt propoſe to himſelf, and outſtrip'd the

The Duke *de la Valette* defeats the *Spaniſh* Army without Fighting.

the hopes, and expectation of thoſe who were emulous of his Vertue, and would have been glad ſome diſaſter had befall'n him, were by no means ſatisfied with this performance; as if he had not done enough in doing ſo much with ſo little means, and with ſo great ſafety, and reputation to his own Perſon, and Name. Had he been at this time in a ſtate of Favour, what recompence might he not reaſonably have expected for two Services of ſo high importance, and both perform'd in one Campagne? Which though he fail'd of through the ill Offices of ſome, that blinded by Animoſity could not diſcern his Merit; yet ſuch as will make a right Judgment of things, muſt maugre the ingratitude, and injuſtice of the Age, ſet a right Value upon them. I know very well (without mentioning the Defeat of the *Spaniſh* Army, which ſpeaks ſufficiently for it ſelf) that the other exploit has been highly magnified by diſintereſted perſons, that had at that time the principal Command of *Poictou*, and *Xaintonge*; who have declar'd that all the Provinces on this ſide the River *Loire*, had run an extreme danger, had the general diſorder, to which the people were apparently, and abſolutely enclin'd, not been ſuppreſs'd by the vigour and celerity, wherewith the Duke acted upon this occaſion. *Anno* 1637. Which nevertheleſs is but coldly receiv'd at Court.

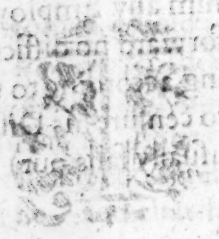
If the King's Affairs had the good ſucceſs you have heard, under the Conduct of the Duke *de la Valette* in *Guienne*, they ſucceeded no leſs fortunately upon the Frontier of *Picardy*, under the command of the Duke *de Candale*, and the Cardinal *de la Valette* his Brothers. Theſe two Generals joyntly commanded the King's Army in thoſe parts, and ſo well, that they had in a ſhort time retaken the Caſtle of *Cambreſis*, *Maugbeuge*, and *Lendrecies* in the end. That which was moſt remarkable in the Siege of this laſt place, was, that they employ'd fewer days to take it, than the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth had formerly ſquander'd away months to go without it; who after a ſix months Leaguer, had been conſtrain'd ingloriouſly to quit the Siege: And all theſe things were done in the very face of the Cardinal *Infanta*, who having been baffled in two ſignal Engagements, durſt no more make trial of our Generals Arms. The Duke of *Eſpernon* victorious in two extremities of the Kingdom, by the Valour of his three Sons, and hoping that the utility of theſe important Services for the Crown, would at leaſt ſecure the repoſe of his old Age, thought of nothing more, than by a gentle hand to compoſe the Affairs of his own Government, and ſo to order all things by his Moderation, and Juſtice, that the people committed to his Charge, might enjoy the ſweets of Peace, even in the greateſt tumults of War. To this end therefore he with great generoſity, and conſtancy, rejected the offer that The Duke *de Candale*, and the Cardinal *de la Valette* command the Army in *Picardy*.

Anno 1637. that was made to him, of the Command of a great Army wherewithal to invade the Enemies Country, propoſing to himſelf a greater glory in maintaining that little part of the Kingdom entruſted to his care, in ſecurity, and peace, than in all the Pomp that was laid before his eyes to allure him. How great a happineſs had it been if he could have effected this good deſign, and by that means have ſpun out the remainder of his exceeding old Age in the calms of Vacancy, and repoſe? neither was the fault his, that he did not bring this vertuous intention to the deſired end: but ſome ambitious, and intereſted Spirits, having infatuated the Court with propoſitions of vain and imaginary Conqueſts, prevail'd ſo far with the great Miniſter, that it was determinately reſolv'd, the Scene of the War ſhould be transferr'd into *Spain*, and that by the Siege of *Fontarabie* it ſhould be begun. The Enterprize was of no ſmall difficulty, as it has ſince been prov'd; which the Cardinal alſo was very perfect in, as having long before caus'd the place to be conſider'd by the Duke *de la Valette* himſelf, who had then diverted him from that deſign: upon this occaſion however he would no more remember the reaſons by which he had ſometimes ſuffer'd himſelf to be over-rul'd; but having premeditated to engage both the Father, and the Son in an Enterprize, wherein he reſolved they ſhould both periſh, he ſent them poſitive word, that they muſt either abſolutely undertake this War, and advance ſo much money, as was neceſſary to begin it, or that the King would ſend the Prince of *Condé* to command his Arms in *Guienne*. The Duke of *Eſpernon*, accuſtomed of old to the ill uſage of the Court, was nothing ſurpriz'd with theſe Threats; but on the contrary what was laid before him in the nature of a Penalty, being conformable to his own deſire, he gave the Court to underſtand, that he ſhould ever eſteem it a great Honour, to have this Prince a Judg of his Actions; and that he ſhould be very glad the King would pleaſe to give him a Command in his Government. He wanted not Servants about him, to diſſwade him from ſending ſuch a Meſſage, and to repreſent to him the danger of inviting a greater perſon than himſelf into a place where his Authority was abſolute, and where he had no rival to diſpute it with him; laying before him withal many more examples of ſuch as had repented the having ſubmitted their Power to a Superiour, than of ſuch as in ſo doing had found their expectation anſwer'd by the event: But the Duke was ſo confident in the Affection the Prince of *Condé* had manifeſted to him in theſe latter times, that he could not poſſibly entertain the leaſt diſtruſt, and moreover ſeeing it was abſolutely determin'd, that the Province

Province of *Guienne* ſhould bear the burthen of the War with *Spain*, he had much rather the Expences of the War ſhould be ſtated by a great Prince, who by his Quality was priviledg'd from all Forms, than that he by impoſing them ſhould be conſtrain'd to ſubmit to the ſeverity of an Inquiſition, and be brought by his Enemies to an Account. But that which moſt of all confirm'd him in this Reſolution, was the advantage that would thereby accrue to the Duke *de la Valette* his Son, who having nothing to do in Military Affairs, but to execute the Prince's Orders only, would by that means be nothing accountable for any event of the War; and as to any thing elſe, he was very well aſſur'd, that what Employment ſoever ſhould be conferr'd upon him, he would ever ſo behave himſelf, as to deſerve no other, than the greateſt honour and applauſe. *Anno* 1637.

Upon theſe prudent Conſiderations it was that the Duke reſolv'd to write to the Prince of *Condé*, to entreat he would pleaſe to accept the Command that was offer'd him in *Guienne*, aſſuring him (as it was very true) that nothing could be a greater ſatisfaction to him, than to have the Honour to kiſs his Hands in a place where he might have opportunity to give him ſome teſtimonies of the paſſionate affection he had for his Service. Neither was he ſatisfied with ſending him this Complement from himſelf alone, he would moreover make the Duke *de la Valette* do the ſame; ſo that the Prince, who before would never conſent to take upon him any Employment in the Duke's Governments, made thenceforward no difficulty to accept it: However, things not ſucceeding according to the Duke's deſire, men took hence an occaſion to cenſure his Diſcretion, and to condemn his Conduct, (as it uſually falls out) becauſe he prov'd unhappy in the end.

The End of the Eleventh Book.



THE HISTORY Of the LIFE of the Duke of Eſpernon.

The Twelfth Book.

THE Prince of *Condé* had no ſooner accepted the Employment, but that a very ample Commiſſion was forthwith drawn up for him, by virtue whereof he was to Command, not only in *Guienne*, but alſo in *Languedoc*, *Navarre*, *Bearne*, and *Foix*. His Letters Patents were diſpatch'd at *St. Germains en Laye* the Tenth of *March*; a Copy of which the Prince took care to ſend to the Duke of *Eſpernon* the one and twentieth, by the *Sieur Bonneau* his Secreary, together with a Letter that contained theſe words. *Anno* 1638.

Monſieur,

" It is with great reluctancy, that by his Majeſties Order I muſt " go to Command his Forces in your Government, knowing as " I do, that to have his Majeſties Service there well perform'd, " there had been no need of any other perſon than your ſelf, and " *Monſieur de la Valette* your Son; notwithſtanding ſuch being " his Royal Pleaſure I muſt of neceſſity obey. Of my Commiſ-

Anno 1638. "sion I have here sent you a Copy, assuring you withal, that in "the exercise of it, I shall take all occasions to manifest to you "my entire affection; and that I will be so long as I live,

Monsieur,
Your Affectionate Cousin,
and Humble Servant

Henry of *Bourbon.*

The Duke asks leave to retire himself to *Plassac.*

To this Letter the Duke return'd a very civil Answer, but, before he receiv'd it, had sent to desire leave to retire himself to his House *Plassac*; of which Request though the pretence was to enter into a course of Physick for the recovery of his Health; yet the true reason was, that he might be out of the way of having any Disputes with the Prince about the Affairs of his Government, which he could not, without great grief, have seen afflicted with those miseries wherewith it was threatned; nor perhaps without expressing such a dislike of that harsh way of proceeding, as might have given him Offence. A thing which all the Friends and Servants he had at Court having foreseen, they had advis'd him to this course; his Sons, who were best acquainted with his tickle, and impatient humour, were of this advice: but there is great apparence that the first thoughts of retiring were inspir'd by the Prince himself, who having in other Employments, where the Duke and he had serv'd together, had tryal enough of his difficult humour, would no more be subject to those contrarieties he had formerly endur'd, and had therefore doubtless prompted him with that resolution. The Duke's Request therefore being so conformable to the Princes desires, and to the sence of the Court, it was no hard matter for him to obtain that in the quality of a favour, which had doubtless been enjoyn'd him as a punishment, had he not by speaking first prevented a Command from the King to the same effect; for it had been from that time forward (as it has been evident since) been resolv'd upon to withdraw him from his Government, and to suspend him from all the Functions of his Command. Nevertheless having lighted so pat upon the humour of the great Ministers, by the advice of his Friends, he was very civilly treated in his Majesties Answer, which was couch'd in these terms.

Cousin,

"Having found by your Letter of the eigteenth instant, and "moreover understood by the mouth of the *Sieur de Lavrilliere* the

"the * Secretary of my Dispatches, that in order to your Health, "by the change of Air, and the use of some Remedies have been "prescrib'd you by your Physicians, you desire, for some time, to "retire your self to your House of *Plassac*: I send you this to let "you know, that any thing which may either concern your health, "or satisfaction being very pleasing to me, I do willingly grant "you the liberty you desire, to go to your said House; assuring "my self, that even from thence you will have a vigilant eye to "whatsoever may concern the good of my Service within the "precincts of your Government. In the mean time I shall pray "to God, Cousin, to have you in his Holy Protection. From "*St. Germains en Laye* the 28th. day of *March* 1638. The Duke very well satisfied with this answer, began to make himself ready to begin his Journey; so soon as the Prince should be arriv'd in *Guienne*; where, whilst he waited in expectation of his coming, he pass'd away the time with the Duke *de Candalé* his eldest Son, entertaining him with greater familiarity, and freedom, than till that time he had ever done; whose complacency, and fine Behaviour made at this time so great an impression upon the Duke his Father, that certainly this Son had never been so dear to him, as when he was upon the point to lose him; insomuch that his present joy was no little disposition to augment the approaching grief soon after occasion'd by his unexpected Death.

Anno 1637.

* *Secretaire de Commandements, ou d' Estat*, The four Principal Secretaries, who in the Court of *France* sign Letters Patents, and Dispatches of State.

The Duke *de la Valette* had in the interim of these Dispatches from the King, and the Prince of *Condé*; been oblig'd to make a Journey to Court, to which he had been engag'd contrary both to his Majesties express Order, and also his own resolution. He knew very well the ill Offices had been done him to the Cardinal since the business of *Corbie*, glanc'd at in the preceding Discourse, he was moreover very well acquainted with the implacable nature of the person, who conceiv'd himself so highly offended by him, to which his power was no less known to him, than his malice; considerations that altogether had made him positively determine not to put himself into his hands, that he might not add to the number of those who had already tasted the utmost effects of his Indignation; choosing rather to live in his Government in safety, though in disgrace, than to expose himself to the almost inevitable dangers he was to wade through to a faint, and dissembled Reconciliation. But how determinate soever he had been in that resolution, it was impossible for him to keep it; for those who had imprudently engag'd his Majesty in a War with *Spain*, as maliciously made the Cardinal some overtures of Accommodation, as a thing solicited by the Duke *de la Valette* himself, who desir'd nothing

The Duke *de la Valette* is constrained to make a journey to Court,

Anno 1638.

nothing less, exposing him by that means to the greatest hazard he perhaps ever ran in the whole time of his Life. The Treaty however being thus set on Foot, the Duke seeing himself reduc'd to a necessity, either of breaking openly with the Cardinal, or of going immediately to him, chose in truth the most dangerous course; but withal that by which he could at that time alone secure the Fortune of his Family, and the repose of the Duke his Father, which he ever preferr'd before his own particular safety. This last consideration therefore prevail'd with him to undertake this Journey, so that he went to Court, and had some Conference with the Cardinal; who, because he would make all the use of him he could before he would destroy him, thinking fit to spare him at that time, with a dissimulation peculiar to himself, receiv'd him at the greatest rate of kindness, and freedom could possibly be put on; protesting an absolute Oblivion of all former discontents, and making the King to give him the same assurance; which being done, he dismiss'd him, much more satisfied that he had escap'd the present danger, than any ways secure of his good intention for the time to come

But with infinite danger.

The Prince of Condé arrives in Guienne.

At his return from this Voyage, he found the Prince of *Condé* already arriv'd in *Guienne*. The Duke his Father had receiv'd him at *Bordeaux* with all imaginable Honours; wherein, though doubtless there was a great deal due to his Quality, as being a Prince of the Blood; yet it is most certain, that in this unusual complacency the Duke had an equal regard to his Person. His respect proceeded so far, that not content to pay him all the deference, and submission he was capable of in his own person, he would moreover extend his civility further, by employing his Authority, and interest with the Parliament of that City for his full satisfaction. The Prince would that at their coming to visit him, they should Complement him by the title of *Monseigneur*, and the Company insisted upon the contrary, as a term at that time not in use: but the Duke interposing thereupon, the Interest he had in the Deputies of that Assembly, prevail'd with them so far, that the Ceremony pass'd in the end according to the Princes desire.

All these Civilities paid by way of advance, met not however with that acknowledgment the Duke had reason to expect; he was not ignorant, that although the Prince us'd him with respect enough in outward shew, he nevertheless did him underhand all the ill Offices he could; he knew that scarce any, but such as were his known, and declared Enemies, were admitted to his presence: That he made himself merry with Stories they reported

ted of his behaviour, and was very attentive to, if not inquiſitive after the Informations of ſuch as were diſcontented with him: all which notwithſtanding, the Duke very ſecure in the Conſcience of his own Conduct, did not much concern himſelf at this unfriendly way of proceeding, but continued to live with the Prince at the ſame reſpective rate, paying him all imaginable Honours; and the inclination he had for his Service making him ſlight, or give little credit to thoſe flying rumours that daily came to his ear, he could not be jealous in the leaſt of an Affection he had by ſo many Titles ſo highly deſerv'd. It is alſo true that the Prince on the other ſide ſhew'd him in publick the beſt countenance he could poſſibly put on, would do him the honour to dine with him at his Houſe, and to that purpoſe invited himſelf, where the Duke entertain'd him after his accuſtomed manner, and with a ſplendour natural to him upon ſuch eminent occaſions. To this Entertainment the Prince brought ſome of his particular Servants, as the Duke alſo invited ſome of his own Friends; ſo that the Company conſiſted of eighteen perſons. It has been thought by ſome, that this was an appointment purpoſely contriv'd by the Prince, and thoſe about him, to make themſelves merry with the good old man, and with an intent to put him upon an extravagant recital of his old actions, full of Honour, and Glory, to turn afterwards his *Gaſcon* humour into Mirth, and Laughter. Neither did they fail to tempt him to it, by falling into diſcourſe of his Favour, Wars, Miſtriſſes, and other things, which vain and ambitious men are commonly well enough pleas'd withal, that they may have an occaſion to vent their vain-glory, by ſpeaking loud in their own praiſes; but the wiſe old Duke deceiv'd their expectation; anſwering to all that was propounded with ſo great modeſty, and diſcretion, and therein ſo highly ſatisfying all the Company, as gave the Prince impreſſions much contrary to thoſe wherewith he had perhaps been prepoſſeſs'd, confirming him more than ever in the opinion of his vertue, which to him was already well known, and that to ſuch a degree, that riſing from the Table, full of admiration, at ſo prudent, and ſo happy an old Age, I my ſelf heard him ſay to ſome of his Confidents, who perhaps had been brought thither to have their ſhare of the ſport, that certainly (ſpeaking of the Duke) he was the greateſt man in the world. *Anno* 1638.

But how great ſoever he might be, he was not, it ſeems, ſo happy to pleaſe him now, as he had been at other times; and either the Prince had chang'd his inclination with the face of Affairs, or if he yet retain'd a kindneſs for him, the ſtrict Orders he had receiv'd

Anno 1638. ceiv'd from Court, would not give him leave to discover it; so that he grew impatient of his stay at *Bordeaux*, from whence also the Duke was resolv'd not to depart, till some Assignments were first paid him, lest after his back should be once turn'd, that money might be converted to other use.

The delays therefore growing insupportable to the Prince, he resolv'd to complain of them to the Court, from whence that he might the more speedily obtain the thing he desir'd (which was a positive command for the Duke to depart the Province) he accompanied his Complaint with a very ill Office, which though deriv'd from a very light occasion, yet in the evil aspect of the ruling Planets of that time, the least pretext was but too powerful an argument to prejudice a man already proscrib'd for ruine. It was then no hard matter for the Prince to obtain his desire of the Court, and that in terms of the greatest severity, it being said that he had Orders for the Duke to depart from *Bordeaux* without further delay, and to retire himself to his House *Plassac*, according to the leave he had desir'd, and obtain'd, with an Injunction moreover not to stir from thence till his Majesties further Pleasure.

It should seem that the Prince would retain so much respect for the Duke upon this occasion, as not to afflict him before his departure with the knowledge of this severe Command, contenting himself with communicating the Dispatch to some few only of the Duke's Friends, and Enemies, without delivering it to himself: but not one of his Friends would take upon him to be the bearer of so unwelcome news, all of them generally apprehending lest the Duke, after so ill usage, and so contrary from what he had reason to expect at the Princes hands, might lash out into some passionate expressions, that would beget ill blood betwixt them. At last he departed from *Bordeaux* in *May*, when not conceiving himself to be so ill us'd either by the Prince or the Court, as he really was, before he began his Journey, he would go to receive his Commands; where after some expressions of Complement, and Respect, he told him, "That he was going to undertake a War, wherein he "would infallibly meet with greater difficulties than had been re- "presented to him: That it was not likely the King of *Spain*, "whose Power throughout all Europe was sufficiently known, "would suffer one of the best places of his Dominions to be lost, "without attempting to relieve it: That he did therefore "humbly beseech his Highness, if any occasion should hap- "pen wherein he might be serviceable, either to the King, or "to himself, he would be pleas'd to honour him with his Com- "mands; that in case he would do him that favour, he would

engage

" engage within fifteen days after he should receive his Summons, " to bring him a thousand Gentlemen to the Frontier, at the head " of whom he should take it for a great glory to die, thereby to ac- " quire his Highness the Honour of a signal Victory. The Duke might without all doubt have been a great deal better than his word, had he been made use of upon this occasion, and have rendred by that means the Battel of *Fontarabie* as illustrious, and successful, as it prov'd cloudy, and malevolent to the *French* Renown. *Anno* 1638.

The Duke was no sooner gone, but that the Prince began to prepare all things for the War. The Land Army by the exceeding diligence he used was quickly set on foot: but the Sea Forces were so long in making ready, that the Prince impatient of their delays, by which he was likely to lose the season, and opportunity of doing the Service the King expected from him, advanc'd to the Frontier, invested the place, and began the Siege. The Enemy alarm'd at the Vigour, and Celerity, wherewith the Prince made his Approaches by Land in order to the taking of the place, having the Sea open to them, two several times convey'd Relief into the Fortress in the very face of our Land Army, and at one of those put a Governour into it; a Relief of so infinite importance, as that it was first the cause of the places preservation, and afterwards of the disaster that befel the Royal Arms. The Royal Army baffled before *Fontarabie*.

I shall not trouble my Reader with a long Narrative of the manner of this Siege, I could on the contrary wish it were in my power to extinguish the memory of it for ever; not that the Enemy however obtain'd any so signal reputation by it, they only making use of a kind of Lethargy, of which our whole Army was at that time sick; so that although they made shift to kill a few people, that lay without motion, and consequently uncapable of any resistance; yet had they no other advantage by it, than what their Fortune, and our mischance combin'd together put into their hands, even beyond their own aim, or expectation. And this is all I should have said of this business, had not some endeavour'd to have engag'd the Duke *de la Valett*'s Honour in the miscarriage: but his interests being not to be separated from those of the Duke his Father, and the concern here being the vindication of Truth, and the defence of both their Honours, from Calumny, and the malice of malevolent men, I conceive I may here be permitted to say (always retaining the respect due to those who were not very favourable to them) that it is not to be deny'd, but that the Duke *de la Valette* was the first man, who going over on foot, and up to the middle in water, at the head of the Army open'd the way into the Enemies Country, beating them from For which the Duke *de la Valette* is unjustly blam'd.

Anno 1638.

Reasons for his Justification.

the Trenches they had cast up upon the Banks of the River, to defend that Pass: That at the Quarter where he commanded in the Siege, he had very much advanç'd his Approaches, and so as had infallibly reduc'd the place to a necessity of being taken on that side, had it not been reliev'd: neither is it to be contradicted, but that he gave advice to Fight the Relief so soon as ever it began to appear. They know moreover very well, that he had nothing at all to do in the Siege, at the time it was rais'd, he having resign'd his Post to the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, by express Order from the Prince, and under his own hand; that he was above a League distant from the Battel, when it was fought, and that being totally ignorant of the disorder, till he had it from the Runaways, who brought the Alarm into his Quarters; he thereupon immediately put himself into the head of those men he had with him: That he rallied as many as he could of those that were squandered, and that with these, and his own men having staid the pursuit of the Conquerours, he by that means preserved all those, who had escap'd from the Defeat. These truths, though sufficiently known to all the world, were not nevertheless of force to hinder his Enemies from laying the whole miscarriage of this business at his door, and from charging him, who was certainly innocent, with the fault of ten thousand who were guilty. He was not so much as permitted without a Crime, to set a manly countenance upon this disaster, or to manifest his Courage, and Assurance upon so dangerous an occasion; even his Valour, and constancy (an unheard of injustice) were the main things in his Accusation, it being objected against him that he was glad of the mischance, and was observ'd to laugh at the Defeat; because he did not appear dejected, and shew'd a countenance, void of fear, and confusion. He was not however so unjust to them, but has ever commended (as there was just cause) both the Actions, and Intentions of those who commanded at this Siege, never doubting in the least of their Sincerity, and passionate desire to serve the King effectually, and well; and ever believing, that had their Valour been seconded, as it ought to have been, they would have obtain'd those advantages over the Enemy, was reasonably to be expected from their Bravery, and good Conduct: But if the chance of Arms was contrary to them, if the panick Terror that seiz'd the Souldier, would not permit them to follow the example of their Leaders; and if his Counsels which would have procur'd safety to the Army were not follow'd, or approv'd, why should he be rendred criminal, for not having been able to prevail upon the humours, or opinions of other men?

Some

Anno 1638.

Some days before this Diſgrace hapned, the Duke of *Eſpernon* had return'd without Order into his Government, after having continued ſome months at his Houſe *Plaſſac*, wherein his deſign in truth was to have paſs'd away his time in repoſe at his other Houſe *Cadillac*, without intermedling at all with the trouble of Affairs: neither would he ſo much as go to *Bordeaux*, to the end that what accident ſoever ſhould happen, nothing might reflect upon him; nor that he might any ways appear reſponſible for the event of things, which he ever apprehended would be ſiniſter enough; and ſeeing the Orders had been left in the Province, depoſited in the hands of men of very little Experience, and Authority, and who had ſcarce any other argument to recommend them to that truſt, ſave only the hatred they openly bare to him; he very well judg'd by the apparence (which prov'd alſo in the end but too certain) that from theſe Orders ill executed (as they were like to be) nothing but diſaſter, and confuſion could enſue.

The Duke of *Eſpernon* returns without Order from the King in his Government of *Guienne*.

Whilſt the Duke liv'd in apprehenſion of this miſhap, he receiv'd the joyfulleſt news that could poſſibly arrive, which was, that of the Birth of *Monſegnieur* the *Dolphin*, the ſame whom we now ſee reigning, with ſo much Glory, and Happineſs in the Throne of *France*, that there is not that proſperity can fall within the limits of Humane Expectation, we may not reaſonably promiſe to our ſelves from ſo auſpicious a beginning. By a Diſpatch from the King, dated the fifth of *September* (the preciſe day of this illuſtrious Birth) the Duke was to order a publick Thankſgiving, and to cauſe Bonfires to be made for Joy of this Bleſſing to his Majeſty, and the whole Kingdom. The Courrier, who had been expreſsly diſpatch'd away to the Duke, having found him at *Cadillac* (willing (without all doubt) to flatter his credulity) told him, "*That it was his Majeſties deſire he ſhould himſelf in perſon be aſſiſting at the Ceremonies which were to be perform'd in the City of* Bordeaux, *to render the Solemnity the more Illuſtrious by his Preſence*; a deceit that gave a ſtrange addition of joy to the good old Duke, who could not in himſelf but hug and applaud his own foreſight, by which he had ſo ſeaſonably prevented the King's deſire; and in that pleaſing error he departed from *Cadillac* the 29th. of the ſame month to go to *Bordeaux*, where being arriv'd, he began the very ſame Evening by Bonfires, thundering of Cannon, and by infinite numbers of Lights, ſet up in all the Windows of the City, to manifeſt no leſs his own, than the publick contentment; and for a final teſtimony of the high ſatisfaction he had receiv'd by this good news, he rewarded the Courrier with a Chain of Gold,

The Duke of *Eſpernon* receives news of the Birth of the *Dolphin*.

Anno 1638.

to the value of 500. Crowns, which he gave him at the time he dismiss'd him back with his answer to the King.

The Duke receives news of the Defeat of *Fontarabie.*

But the inundation of this Joy, than which nothing could be greater, was (as it commonly falls out) only a fore-runner of the worst tidings could almost arrive, which was the disaster of *Fontarabie*, a private and uncertain murmur of the defeat of our Army arising even in the height of these publick Solemnities, and Acclamations; and as ill News does for the most part prove too true; so this which for the space of two, or three hours was a rumour only, pass'd on a sudden for certain, and met so little contradiction, that the truth of it was no longer to be doubted. The Duke of *Espernon*, though infinitely surpriz'd, at this evil success; yet not believing the Duke *de la Valette* could be any ways accomptable for the miscarriage, he was at present no further afflicted at it, than for what concern'd the prejudice he saw must thence of necessity derive to the prosperity of his Majesties Affairs, and the reputation of his Arms: but understanding soon after that their common Enemies endeavour'd to lay the blame of this baffle upon the Duke his Son, he then began prudently to apprehend, that in the evil dispositions of the Court against them at that time, such as were emulous of their Vertue, or that had particular animosities to the person either of the one, or the other, would with great eagerness embrace this occasion, though infinitely remote, to work their desired ruine.

The Duke of *Espernon* returns to *Plassac.*

As if therefore he had at a distance discover'd the Cloud that was gather'd to break upon him, he withdrew himself insensibly from *Bordeaux*, under colour of going to visit his Territories in *Medoc*, where he receiv'd the first Command by the ordinary way of the Post to return to *Plassac*, and from thence not to stir, till his Majesties further pleasure; and presently after had another brought him by *Milleres* one of the Gentlemen in ordinary to the King. This Gentleman had been expresly dispatch'd to the Duke *de la Valette*, to summon him from the King, to come render his Majesty an account of his actions; whom he also found very ready to obey the Order, and to begin his Journey so soon as he should receive permission so to do, by the return of a Gentleman, he had dispatch'd away to his Majesty for that purpose, upon the intimation he had receiv'd of the ill Offices had been done him at Court. As for the Duke of *Espernon* having prevented this second Order, by his early retiring, *Milleres* found him already at *Plassac*; from whence he also never after departed till three, or four years after, that he went to end his days at *Loches*.

Though it be no part of my design to anticipate the minds of men

men by extraordinary accidents, or to forge, and obtrude upon their belief Predictions, and Prodigies, to render the perſon of whom I ſpeak more venerable, and eſteem'd; I ought not, I conceive, nevertheleſs to omit ſuch memorable accidents, as ſometimes hapned during the progreſs of this long and illuſtrious Life. I ſhall therefore tell you, that when the Duke parted from *Bordeaux* to go this Journey into *Medoc*, of which I was now ſpeaking, he commanded me to ſtay behind in the City, there to expect his return. According to which Order I remain'd in the Town, when hapning one afternoon to be in a Houſe oppoſite to the Duke's Palace of *Puipaulin*, about three, or four of the Clock, on a ſudden, though the day was exceeding clear, and bright, there aroſe ſo violent a Storm, that after two, or three Claps of Thunder, a Bolt falling upon the higheſt Tower of his Lodgings, firſt carried away part of the covering, and from thence piercing through the roof of the main Body of the Houſe, ſet fire on ſome Furniture of conſiderable value, that were beſtow'd in the Garret, from whence deſcending lower into the Duke's own Chamber, it made a great Breach in the Chimney, and thence piercing further ſtill into the Chamber underneath the ſame, wherein his Sons were us'd to lie, it left its mark there alſo in the Tranſom of a Window, which it brake in two pieces, and proceeded thence to loſe it ſelf in the Foundations of the Fabrick. Who is it that would not have been ſtrook at this ill *Omen*? I muſt confeſs that at that time I was rather willing to rank this accident amongſt things of chance, than thence to derive conjectures of any miſadventure to come; conſidering the Portent (if ſuch it were) threatned him, in whoſe Honour, and good Fortune, I was my ſelf ſo nearly concern'd: So that all I made of it was to run to the Lodgings with a Kinſman of mine, who had been ſpectator with me of this Tempeſt, to look if the flaſh of Lightning we had ſeen to dart upon the Tower, had not fir'd the Houſe; which prov'd to be no unſeaſonable precaution, we finding the Furniture already flaming, ſo as to threaten the whole Pile with a total ruine: but we made ſhift to get it ſuddenly quench'd, which was alſo the only fruit of our Care, and all that could be done upon that occaſion.

Anno 1638.

A very extraordinary accident by Lightning.

The Duke was no ſooner arriv'd at his Houſe *Plaſſac*, but that he underſtood by *Haumont*, whom he had a few days before diſpatch'd to Court, to what a degree the King had been incens'd againſt the Duke *de la Valette* his Son; the Cardinal having declar'd ſo highly againſt him, as to proteſt in publick, *That he would in this caſe execute the Office of the King's Attorney General in*

Paſſionate expreſſions of the Cardinal againſt the Duke *de la Valette.*

Anno 1638.

in his prosecution (which were his expres words) *and that his Majesty had not forgot the busines of* Corbie; *nor as yet granted him an Indemnity concerning that Affair.* To be short, he appear'd so immeasurably animated against him, that no one doubted of the Duke *de la Valett's* manifest ruine, should he in this juncture of Affairs adventure to go to Court. He had notwithstanding put himself upon his way in order to that Journey, when being arriv'd near *Bordeaux*, he there receiv'd information of the evil dispositions of the Court towards him, and above all, that the busines of *Corbie* was still upon Record (for as touching that of *Fontarabie*, he was not much concern'd) which made him send an expres Dispatch to the Duke his Father, to entreat him, that by some one of his Servants, in whom they might equally confide, he would send him his opinion concerning his Journey to the King. This Servant accordingly arriv'd at *Bordeaux* the same day that the Duke *de la Valette* himself came thither, where he told him from the Duke his Father, "That in an Affair of the importance of that which was now in agitation, he ought not to expect advice from a Father, who was much more solicitous of "his safety than he himself could be: That herein his tenderness "and affection ought to stand equally suspected to them both: "That as he durst not give him counsel to go to Court, knowing as he did, to what a dangerous degree it was animated "against him; so could he not advise him to depart the Kingdom, "perhaps never to see his face again: That therefore he was himself to clear all those doubts, and thereupon to form his own "determination; wherein if he should resolve upon withdrawing "himself out of *France*, he was by no means of opinion that he "ought to engage his Safety on this side so many Rivers, to come "to take his leave of him, lest his Enemies might take that opportunity to attempt something upon his Person: That so short "a Visit would only serve to augment their mutual Affliction: "That he was therefore to have patience, and to reserve himself "for better times: And that he might assure himself of his Affection, which should never be wanting to him, whatever could "possibly arrive.

By which he is diverted from going to Court.

The Duke of *Espernon's* Disgraces.

We are now come to the time of the Duke of *Espernon's* greatest Disgraces, which from henceforward also were continual, and unintermitted to the hour of his Death; and Fortune, who had hitherto made a shew of going hand in hand with Vertue, and Prudence in the conduct of his Life, by a volubility, by so much the more dangerous and unseasonable, as it was the less suspected, and unforeseen, now totally forsook his Interests to leave him

him in the Arms, and to the protection of his own ſingle Vertue. The firſt, and the rudeſt ſhock his conſtancy could poſſibly receive, was the abſence of the Duke *de la Valette* his beloved Son; which after he had a few days lamented, with the tenderneſs, and compaſſion of an excellent, and paſſionately affectionate Father, he had news brought him of a rumour, that was already ſpread at *Bordeaux*, that the Prince of *Condé* was to be made ſole Governour of *Guienne*, and had already receiv'd Orders to diſpoſſeſs him of *Chaſteau-Trompette*, therein to place one of the King's Domeſtick Servants. The Duke had all his beſt Furniture, beſides other Riches, laid up in this place; who having not ſo much as once dream'd of being ſo ſuddenly diveſted of his Command, had not conſequently at his departure out of the Province, remov'd any thing from thence: Sudden order was therefore to be taken in an Affair of this importance, and even the very moments of time to be husbanded, which alſo were not many more, than was neceſſary for the effecting his purpoſe. Thoſe to whoſe fidelity and care he entruſted the management of this buſineſs were ſo diligent, and ſo faithful, that in one night, they ſecur'd to the value of above a million of Livers, what in Money, Jewels, and Plate; of which the Money, and Jewels were carried to *Plaſſac*, and there ſafe deliver'd into his own hands, and the Plate was convey'd to *Cadillac*, and all done with ſo great ſecreſie, that thoſe to whom the Government of the place was a few days after committed, expected to have found all this Treaſure there; which if they had, it would have been in great danger of being put into the King's hands, as the Arms, and other of the Duke's own peculiar Goods were, which he could never again recover, to the hour of his Death.

Anno 1638.

He is depos'd of his Government.

So ſoon as they had thus ſtript the Duke of his Command, and wreſted thoſe places he held in *Guienne* out of his hands, their common Enemies began openly to labour the perſecution not only of the Duke *de la Valette*, but of the Duke his Father alſo; wherein the Father being no ways queſtionable for the diſaſter of *Fontarabie*, as having had nothing at all to do in that Affair, he was blemiſh'd with all the ignominy that malice could invent, or the tongue of Calumny utter, againſt a man of Fidelity, and Honour; and his Son, who by his abſence lay expos'd to all the miſchief was intended againſt him, was proceeded againſt as a Criminal, and a Traytor. In order to the Duke *de la Valett*'s Tryal, Accuſers, and Witneſſes were found out, ſome whereof were frighted by menaces, and others ſuborn'd by money (for nothing was ſpar'd upon this occaſion) into theſe excellent

The *Duke* of *Eſpernon* calumniated.

Anno 1638. lent Offices; and out of this kind of Evidence an Information was suddenly drawn up, sufficient to darken, and overwhelm the clearest, and most unspotted innocence in the world. The Intercessions, and Services of the Duke *de Candale*, and the Cardinal *de la Valette*, who commanded the Army of *Italy* were fruitless, and invalid upon this occasion; nay, they had much ado to prevail for a little Truce, and cessation from those persecutions, wherewith the Ruling Powers were resolv'd to disquiet the old Age of the Duke their Father; and that was granted to them in the quality of an extraordinary Grace, and Favour, which was hardly to be excus'd without shame: With so unjust a return were they rewarded for the expence of their Fortunes, the hazard of their Lives, and their continual vigilancy and care, with an Army unfurnish'd of all necessaries of War, to withstand the greatest power of the most dangerous Enemies to the Crown, and Kingdom.

Anno 1639. All these Afflictions, how great soever, were yet but the forerunners of those, which by the Divine Justice, or Bounty were prepar'd, wherewith to exercise the Duke's Vertue. They soon shifted from outward things, to wound him more sensibly in his own person; and whether it were the unkindness he took at the ill usage he daily suffer'd, or the infirmities of his very great Age only, that occasion'd his distemper, so it was that he fell into the most acute, and most dangerous Disease, he had ever before sustain'd, during the whole course of his Life. He was for four months together seiz'd with a defluxion of Rhume, by which all his Members were strangely benumm'd, and that numness accompanied with excessive dolours in all his parts: from which pain he no sooner began to find some ease the *March* following, but that the joy of his Amendment was soon quash'd with the sad news of the Death of the Duke *de Candale* his eldest Son. This Son, become infinitely dear to the Duke his Father since his last Visit, lay at *Cazal* with part of the Army he had in charge joyntly with the Cardinal *de la Valette* his Brother; where the tenth day of *March*, falling ill of a Tertian Ague, and that growing to a double Tertian at the third Fit, and afterwards to an unintermitted Fever, it prov'd in the end mortal the eleventh day of his Sickness. The Cardinal his Brother immediately upon this accident dispatch'd away a Courrier to the Duke their Father to acquaint him with it; but some days pass'd over before any one durst tell him the news, for fear left the grief, which could not but be exceeding great, might cause him to relapse into his former disposition, from which also he was yet but upon the mending hand.

The Duke of *Espernon* falls dangerously sick.

The Death of the Duke *de Candale*.

At

At laſt his Servants apprehending it might by ſome, or other be indiſcreetly and unſeaſonably blurted out, they conceiv'd it better with ſome preparatory arguments, to ſweeten the bitterneſs of his loſs, to make him acquainted with it, than to detain him ſtill in ignorance of a thing, which could not always, nor very long be conceal'd from him. The Duke had kept about him during all the time of his laſt Sickneſs, a Father Capuchin, in whom he repos'd a ſingular Confidence: This good Father therefore as he was one day talking with him, having fall'n into a Diſcourſe of the inconſtancy of Humane Life, and the neceſſity of dying, and therein ſlip'd in ſome mention of the Duke *de Candale's* Sickneſs, the Duke preſently underſtood the reſt, and thereupon ſpar'd the good man the pains of any further preparation. When his countenance, wherein before this part of their Diſcourſe ſomething of chearfulneſs had appear'd, ſuddenly changing into a more ſevere Gravity (though only ſo as to compoſe it to his conſtancy) he ſaid, "Father, I have ever been diſpos'd to ſubmit my ſelf, and "all my concerns to the good pleaſure of God; and I beſeech him "of his goodneſs to give me Fortitude enough to conform my "ſelf alſo to it upon this occaſion: My Son is dead, I am certain "of it; and if he died in the fear of God, he is happier than we, "at leaſt out of the reach of thoſe perſecutions Fortune is prepa-"ring for us who are left behind. After which they preſented him the Letters that contain'd the Relation of his Death; by which the Duke being ſatisfied, it had been very conſtant, and Chriſtian, he ſaid again, "That he praiſed God from the bottom "of his heart, that in depriving him of one of his chiefeſt com-"forts, he had yet left him the hope in a ſhort time to ſee his Son "in a better Life. He afterwards entertain'd himſelf ſome time in pious Diſcourſes with that Holy Man; after which being again laid in bed, that he yet quitted not, but by intervals, he was heard in that privacy, a great while to weep thoſe tears, and vent thoſe ſighs, which with extraordinary violence upon himſelf he had ſuppreſs'd whilſt there was any witneſs by: But after having paid what was due to the impulſe of Nature, he ſummon'd his wonted conſtancy to encounter this Accident; the bitterneſs whereof, though he could by no art baniſh from his remembrance; yet did he ever keep himſelf upright from manifeſting his ſorrow with the leaſt weakneſs. There were very few perſons of condition in the Kingdom, who did not ſignifie to him by very civil Meſſages, and kind Letters, the part they ſhar'd with him in his grief upon this occaſion; amongſt whom Cardinal *Richelieu* himſelf was one, who made ſhift to find out ſome con-

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The Duke *de la Valette* sentenc'd to Death, with Confiscarion of Offices, Honors, and Estate.

solatory Complements for a man he at the same instant persecuted with the most bloody effects he could possibly inflict upon him, he at the same time prosecuting the Duke *de la Valette* to the last extreme: For the information that had been drawn up against him, having been laid open in the presence of his Majesty the 25th. day of *May*, the greater part of the Judges had concluded him worthy of Death, the forfeiture of his Offices, and the confiscation of his Estate; yet were they not all of that opinion, President *Believre*, amongst the rest, taking upon him the honest boldness, to defend the innocence of the accus'd, and by an Oration no less Judicious, and Eloquent, than hardy and equitable, acquitting his own Conscience, and confirming himself in the high esteem already conceiv'd of the great Worth, and Integrity which for so many happy years have been eminent in his Name, and Race.

It would not become me in this place to inlarge my self upon the words of this Sentence, it having been pronounc'd by persons, to whom too great a respect is due, for any one to dare to complain: neither in truth is it to them, that the severity of it ought to be imputed: for in criminal matters the Evidence are the chief Judges, and consequently they at whose doors all that was extraordinary or severe in his proceeding ought of right to be laid. It has since appear'd by the high and publick justification of the party accus'd, and that in the face of the most August Tribunal of Justice in all Europe, what has been thought of the Depositions that were preferr'd against him, the Parliament of *Paris* having restor'd him to his Honour, Life, Offices, and Estate, which had been all taken from him by the Arrest of the Council: And he has this Obligation to his Enemies, not only by their means to have had an occasion wherein to vindicate his Innocency, and Honour: but moreover to have receiv'd the Eulogies for his brave Services, which his modesty would not have permitted him to have endur'd, had his Vertue never been disputed.

The Duke *de la Valette* solemnly justified.

But this last good not arriving in time to serve for any consolation to the Duke of *Espernon*, and that all his misfortunes succeeded in the neck of one another, without any the least shadow of Prosperity intervening to sweeten his Affliction, is not the stability of his mind, and the constancy of his Courage highly to be commended, and admir'd, that could continue so firm in all the shocks of Fortune? A Fortitude that will discover it self, much better to our observation, if we separately consider the various occasions he had at this time wherein to exercise that Heroick Vertue. Disgrace knock'd at his Door from the first arrival

The Duke of *Espernon* still persecuted by the privation of a good part of his Estate.

of

of the Prince in *Guienne*, as you may have already obſerv'd, and his Afflictions began to unveil themſelves in the ill uſage he at that time receiv'd by Order from the Court, very much contrary to what he had all the reaſon in the world to hope for, and expect; they were continued to him by the Command he receiv'd to withdraw himſelf out of his Government, which ſeem'd to blaſt him with ſome kind of Ignominy and reproach: But what an overplus of vexation muſt it needs be, when by the ill ſucceſs of *Fontarabie*, he ſaw all the miſcarriage of that Expedition caſt upon his Son? what a grief to ſee him proſecuted for a Criminal, and himſelf at the ſame time look'd upon as a guilty man? They were both of them diveſted of their Offices, and Commands, and thoſe transferr'd into the hands of their mortal, and moſt implacable Enemies: So that the Duke *de la Valette* was conſtrain'd to give way to their Power, and through infinite dangers to fly for Sanctuary into *England*, a Kingdom at that time agitated with Mutinous Factions, and Civil Diſcords of their own; whilſt the Father in a Country Houſe, expos'd to their diſcretion, ſaw himſelf ſtrip'd of all his Employments, and his venerable old Age, ſo highly reverenc'd, and eſteem'd throughout the whole Kingdom, become an Object of Scorn to ſuch as a few days before had truckled under his Authority, and trembled at his Name. If he was touch'd to the quick by theſe Afflictions, he was no leſs ſenſible of the privation of all his Priviledges, Appointments, Penſions, and other Emoluments, that were the lawful Perquiſits of his ſeveral Offices, and Commands; whereby they cut him off at one blow above fifty thouſand Crowns of yearly Revenne, and by which means he found himſelf reduc'd to the bare Revenue of his own Eſtate, wherein he alſo ſuffer'd a very conſiderable diminution. Theſe Affronts, and injuries were ſucceeded by long, and painful Diſeaſes, and thoſe by the death of his eldeſt Son, together with the Condemnation of the ſecond, by which Sentence he alſo was dead in Law. Yet was not this all, and Almighty God, who upon ſo great, and illuſtrious a Subject would pleaſe to manifeſt the ſtrength of his Arm, left him nothing entire, upon which He did not evidently make it appear. There remain'd to him in all theſe miſhaps one refuge, that might ſtill afford ſome ſtay, and ſupport to his Affairs, and cheriſh him with ſome hope one day to reſtore them to their primitive condition: The Cardinal *de la Valette* his Son, was in a great Employment, he had formerly oblig'd Cardinal *Richelieu* to the higheſt degree, he was believ'd to be in great favour, and conſideration with him; he had at leaſt obtain'd a promiſe from him, that the old Age of the

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The Death of the Cardinal *de la Valette.*

Duke his Father should not be molested; this Son was also ravish'd from him with the rest, and nothing left him to which he could in his greatest extremities have any visible recourse. We have often heard mention of the several afflictions and chastisements wherewith Almighty God hath sometimes been pleas'd to visit sinful men: but let us consider whether amongst all the examples of his Justice, there be many more eminent, than these in the case of the Duke of *Espernon*. It had now been threescore and two years since the Duke first tasted the sweets of Favour, from which time Fortune, together with his own Vertue had rais'd him to all the degrees of Greatness, that render men considerable upon earth: There had scarce a year pass'd over his head, which had not added something to his Prosperity, he had acquir'd as great Riches, as many Offices, and Titles, as much Respect, Reputation, and Authority, as any other whoever of his time: but above all, his Greatness seem'd to be establish'd, and secure in the support of his three Sons; any of which by his merit was sufficient alone to sustain the Burthen, who all three in less than six months space were ravish'd from him, and himself reduc'd to the most deplorable solitude was possibly to be seen, or conceiv'd. He acknowledg'd the Finger of God to be in all this, he submitted to his Justice, and was never observ'd more to reverence his unresisted Power, than when his hand lay most heavy upon him.

But would it not be too light a preterition, to pass over the Death of the Cardinal *de la Valette* with so little Ceremony, and to take no further notice of it, than by what has been already said? Yes doubtless, and it was of too great importance to the interests of the Duke his Father, to be slipt over with so slight a mention. I shall therefore tell you, that this Cardinal, after the Death of the Duke *de Candale* his Brother, had alone sustain'd the King's declining Affairs in *Italy*, and with a very inconsiderable Army, had at once withstood the power of our Enemies, and the infidelity of our Allies: but in the end, either worn out with the continual toil of so many Affairs, or wounded with the ill usage he saw his Family daily receive, he fell into a Melancholy, that put him at last into a desperate Disease. The beginning of this Distemper was as light, as it had been in that of the Duke *de Candale*, and the issue of it as fatal. At the first news the Duke of *Espernon* receiv'd of his indisposition, though he had an account withal, that it was without any symptome of danger, he could not nevertheless forbear crying out aloud to those who were about him, That his Son was a dead man. A saying which, though at first spoke in passion only, in a few days turn'd into a Propheſie; the intel-

intelligence, that came in from time to time of his condition, ſtill ſignified an encreaſe of his Diſtemper, till after having ſeventeen days ſtrugled with a Diſeaſe, that at the fifth had been concluded mortal, he ended a glorious Life, by a very conſtant and Chriſtian Death. The Prince of *Joinville*, eldeſt Son to the Duke of *Guiſe*, exercis'd at that time his firſt Arms, under the Diſcipline of ſo dear, and ſo generous a Kinſman; the *Mareſchal de Turenne* had alſo an Employment of *Mareſchal de Camp* in his Army; both which writ the Duke of *Eſpernon* the ſad news of his Death, But *de Thou*, who never parted almoſt from his Bedſide in all the time of his Sickneſs, and who had his entire Confidence in all things, writ a long Relation of it to be preſented to the Duke, ſo ſoon as he ſhould be in a condition to endure the reading. Here it was that his Servants were in the greateſt ſtrait: they doubted not, but that this loſs, which apparently gave the laſt blow to all his hopes, would afflict him to the laſt degree; and although Nature, and the Vertues of this Son, ſhould have taken a leſs impreſſion upon him, than all the world knew they had done; they yet fear'd, his Conſtancy being exhauſted by preceding misfortunes, he had not a ſufficient ſtock left wherewithal to ſuſtain the aſſault of this new affliction. In this perplexity they had recourſe to *d' Eſpruets* Biſhop of *Saint Papoul*, a Prelate whom the Duke, as well for his profound Learning as his exemplary Piety, and Goodneſs had in great Reverence, and particular Eſteem. The Biſhop at the firſt word very readily put himſelf into his Coach, and in all diligence came to *Plaſſac*, where preſenting himſelf before the Duke, after he had ſome time entertain'd him with indifferent things, falling at laſt into diſcourſe of his Sons Sickneſs, he told him that all his Friends and Servants were in great ſuſpence at ſome uncertain rumours that were ſpread abroad in the Country. At that word the Duke was no more in doubt, but that he was dead; yet would he not upon the inſtant extract the utmoſt truth of his unfortunate loſs: but changing his Diſcourſe, entertain'd the Biſhop with Affairs of another nature, till they were both call'd to Dinner, as they ſoon after were. It may eaſily be judg'd what a Dinner this was for the Duke, who could feed on nothing ſave his own ſad Imaginations; his reſtleſſneſs all the while he ſate at meat, ſufficiently manifeſting the anguiſh of his Soul: he notwithſtanding contain'd himſelf in this violent agitation of mind, and continued at Table ſo long as was neceſſary to ſatisfie what was due to Decency, and Reſpect, without ſuffering himſelf to be tranſported into any action unbecoming his Gravity, and Wiſdom. The Table being taken away, and

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Anno 1639. and he having retir'd himself into his Chamber sooner, than he ordinarily us'd to do, he caus'd his Secretary to be call'd in his behalf to write to *Messieurs de Joinville*, *de Turenne*, *de Thou*, and *de Fontravilles*, to recommend to them the care of his Sons health, to whom all humane help was already fruitless, and vain; writing moreover to him himself some few lines under his own hand. One of his Gentlemen, who had lately been sent on the same errand, was now ready to depart with this new Dispatch, when the Duke, overcome with the violent agitations of his mind, was constrain'd to cast himself upon his Bed; where calling his Secretary to him, he said to him these words: "I do not "know why you should all dally with me thus long, nor to what "end you should conceal from me the Death of the Cardinal my "Son: is it that you imagine me so weak, I have not Fortitude "enough to support the News? Do not you deceive me, as the "rest have done, but tell me the naked truth, which also cannot "long be conceal'd from me. At which words the poor Gentleman, who for four or five days had had the power to govern his Tongue, had not now the same command over his Eyes; so that, his Tears having whether he would or no betray'd him to be the Messenger of the ill news he had hitherto so faithfully conceal'd, he proceeded by word of mouth to interpret, what was before but too legible in his tears, and told his Master, "That what he "had propheſied the first hour he heard of his Sons Sickness, was "but too true: That the news of his Death had been brought "four days ago, but that his people, apprehending lest so great a "blow of mishap might ruine his health, had address'd themselves to *Monsieur de Saint Papoul*, to fortifie him with his Consolation, in acquainting him with the fatal News. At which words he lift up his hands to Heaven, and after a profound Sigh, cried out aloud, "O Lord, since thou hast reserv'd my old Age "to survive the loss of my three Children, be pleas'd withal to "give me strength wherewith to support the severity of thy Judgments. Hereupon the Bishop of *Saint Papoul* was presently call'd in to him, who, after having highly commended his resignation of himself, and his Affairs to the Will of God, made him a Learned Discourse infinitely full of such admirable Arguments, and Examples both Christian, and Moral, as were proper for his disconsolate condition: And then it was that they presented him with the relations of the Sickness, and Death of the Cardinal his Son; wherein was observ'd so many testimonies of Piety, and Resignation, so firm a confidence in the Divine Mercy, and so little concern for Humane Life, that every one concluded him infinitely

The Duke of *Esperon*'s constancy.

finitely happy, to have taken his leave of it in ſo good, and ſo holy a diſpoſition; and it was alſo from thence that the Duke deriv'd his chiefeſt Conſolations. After this he requeſted ſome reſpite from his Friends wherein to ſatisfie the reſentments of Nature, and in private to pay ſome tears to his Affliction. His Curtains were therefore drawn, when his tears, which he had hitherto with ſo great violence to his ſorrow ſuppreſs'd, having now liberty to ſally out flow'd in ſo great abundance, that thoſe about him began to fear his immoderate paſſion might endanger his health: but having remain'd two hours in this condition, he himſelf at laſt rows'd up his ſpirits ſo long overcharg'd with grief, and was heard to ſay, "That Tears were to be left to women, and "that it would be a ſhame a man could not allay his grief, but by "ſo poor and effeminate a Remedy: That he would live perhaps "to ſurvive his Enemies: When ſtarting from his Bed, he had ſo great a power over himſelf, as the ſame day again to appear in publick. He entreated the Biſhop of *Papoul* to bear him company, where he walk'd with him above two hours on foot, entertaining him all the while, either with Diſcourſes of Piety, or the ſtate of his preſent Fortune, and that with a conſtancy this good Prelate could never ſufficiently magnifie, and admire. *Anno* 1639.

It muſt nevertheleſs be confeſs'd, that amongſt all theſe afflictions which were many, and extreme; the Duke likewiſe receiv'd very many, and great Conſolations, or at leaſt what were intended for ſuch, there being few perſons of any eminent condition in *France*, who did not manifeſt the part they ſhar'd with him in his grief. The King did him the Honour to write very obligingly to him; he receiv'd the ſame Favour from the Queen, the *Monſieur*, all the Princes, Cardinal *Richelieu*; and almoſt all who were any ways conſiderable, either in Birth, or Dignity in the Kingdom, gave him teſtimonies, either of their Affection, or Eſteem upon this ſad occaſion. But if out of all theſe Compliments he did extract any real Conſolation, it was chiefly from the gracious manifeſtations of the Queens Royal Favour to him, which took ſo much the deeper impreſſion upon his mind, by how much he knew they proceeded from the heart of this excellent Princeſs. He had ever made her the object of all his Services; neither was there any he would not have been very ready to have perform'd for her, even in this moment of his greateſt Adverſity: An inclination, that as it gave him a legitimate Title to her Grace, and Favour, ſo was he the man of all the other Great Ones of the Kingdom, that had the higheſt place in her Eſteem: but the condition of the time not permitting her to manifeſt it to that degree

The Duke of *Eſpernon* receives many Conſolatory Letters, both from the King, Queen, the *Monſieur*, Cardinal, and moſt of the Eminent perſons of the Kingdom.

Anno 1639. degree her Majesty could have desir'd, she did upon this occasion all she had the liberty to do; which was to send him a very obliging Letter, written with her own hand, of which the Contents were these.

The Queens Letter to the Duke of *Espernon.*

Cousin,

"I can here neither fully express, nor altogether conceal the "sorrow I share with you for the loss you have sustain'd in the "person of my Cousin the Cardinal *de la Valette* your Son; the "sence whereof being too great to be express'd by words, I shall "only entreat you to believe, that I partake in it equally with any "person living: And since it is from God alone, that you are to "hope for a true Consolation, I do from my heart beseech him of "his Divine Goodness to fortifie your mind against the severity of "this accident, and to pour his Blessings upon you in the abun-"dance that is heartily wish'd by her, whom you know really to "be,

Your very good Cousin

From *St. Germains en Laye* the 12th of *October.* 1639. *Anne.*

Cardinal *Richelieu* also would not upon such an occasion be wanting in the Ceremony of a Complement; but it signified no more than so, and these were the words.

The Cardinal's Letter to the Duke of *Espernon.*

My Lord,

"I cannot sufficiently manifest to you the extreme sorrow I sus-"stain for the Death of *Monsieur*, the Cardinal *de la Valette*, and "the affliction wherewith you must of necessity resent it. So that "being my self incapable of receiving any Consolation upon this "sad Accident, I am so much the more unfit to administer it to "you. The manner wherewith I ever liv'd with him, his Affe-"ction towards me, and the singular Esteem I ever had for him, "will without much difficulty perswade you to believe this truth; "which is so certain, that were it possible for a man with his Blood "to redeem such a Friend, I would give a great deal of mine to re-"trive him. There is none save God Almighty himself, who can "allay your Griefs, I beseech you therefore to apply your self to "him, and to believe that I am,

My Lord,

From *Lyons* the 19th of *October.* 1639. Your, *&c.*

It

Anno 1639.

It was ſufficiently known to all *France*, that if one Friend can oblige another, the Cardinal *de la Valette* had oblig'd that of *Richelieu* to the higheſt degree: which made the Duke of *Eſpernon* (importun'd by his Friends to try if he yet retain'd any memory of that Friendſhip he in his Letter ſo highly profeſs'd) in the end to obtain ſo much of his own haughty humour, as to write to him this that follows.

The Duke of *Eſpernon*'s Letter to Cardinal *Richelieu*.

My Lord,

"The Teſtimonies you have done me the honour to give me "in one of your Letters of the part you ſhare with me in the grief "I ſuſtain for the loſs of my Son the Cardinal *de la Valette*, has "made me hope you will be no leſs ſenſible of the other Affli- "ctions, and Grievances wherewith I am from all parts aſſaulted. "I ſhall therefore take the liberty to repreſent them to you, and to "tell your Lordſhip, that ſince the time I left my Government to "retire my ſelf to this place, there is no ſort of Injury, or Out- "rage with which I have not by my Enemies been unjuſtly of- "fended: Who after having diſſected me in publick by injuri- "ous Declarations, have ſince publiſh'd defamatory Libels againſt "me, therewith, as much as in them lies, to blemiſh the Ho- "nour I have juſtly acquir'd in the Service of the Kings my Ma- "ſters. Neither have they been ſatisfied with attempting upon "my ſingle Perſon, and the Perſons of my Sons only; but I "have neither Friend, nor Servant, they do not moſt violently, "and injuriouſly perſecute, as if it were a Crime to embrace, or "own my Intereſts, and Concerns. I know (my Lord) that nei- "ther the King, nor your ſelf know any thing of this proceeding, "and that you are too juſt to conſent, that after fourſcore years "paſs'd, of which the greateſt part have been employ'd in the "Service of the Kings my Maſters, and for the good of the King- "dom, I ſhould be ſo ſeverely us'd under your Adminiſtration. "I have now loſt the Cardinal my Son, whilſt ſerving the King in "*Italy*, his elder Brother but a few months ſince went before him; "which great loſſes I have born with patience out of the ſole con- "ſideration of the Service they periſh'd in, which has ſerv'd for "ſome allay to my Affliction. I aſſure my ſelf that their Merits, "and Services (ſince I my ſelf am no more in a condition to "ſerve either his Majeſty or you) will (my Lord) at leaſt ſecure "the repoſe of an afflicted Father, who daily expects that benefit "from his Age, and Nature, *&c.*

From *Ploſſac* this firſt of *Decemb.* 1639.

Anno 1639. This Letter with how great reluctancy ſoever the Duke had conſented to write it, though it produc'd no good effect, the Duke notwithſtanding who had expected no better ſucceſs, reap'd this advantage by it, that he by that means deliver'd himſelf from the importunities of thoſe who otherwiſe would upon other occaſions have been preſſing with him to have been ſtill imploring the Cardinal's Favour. But after this Repulſe nothing of that nature was ever more to be extorted from him; ſo that if he afterwards writ, it was ever either to preſerve the Decorum of common civility, or upon pure neceſſity, or to the end his Friends might not condemn him for having by his own obſtinacy pull'd upon himſelf the miſchiefs which had long been preparing againſt him. Thus therefore depriv'd of all humane aſſiſtance, ſince the Cardinal (without whom all the reſt of what Quality ſoever ſignified nothing) was oppoſite to his Intereſts, he wholly reſign'd himſelf into the hands of God, and would no more make application to any other but to him alone. He had ever born a great Reſpect, and Zeal to Religion; and for above twenty years before his Death, had been obſerv'd to be ſo conſtant to his Beads, that not a day paſs'd over his head wherein he did not ſpend three whole hours in Devotion. At this time, as the perſecutions of malevolent men grew more violent againſt him, ſo did he redouble his Prayers to Heaven, and has ever believ'd, that it was from thence he deriv'd the ſtrength, and fortitude to ſupport all the accidents that befel him, and the diſgraces that were hourly multiplied upon him.

Anno 1640. This calm and innocent way of living created either ſo great an eſteem for his Vertue, or ſo great a compaſſion for his Adverſity in the minds of men, that there was ſcarce any who did not manifeſt ſome tendernes for a perſon of his eminent condition ſo unjuſtly oppreſs'd. Inſomuch that the Prince of *Condé*, who had not been able (ſo poſitive his Orders were) to avoid employing his Authority to the ruine of his Fortune, could not but diſcover, that he alſo amongſt the reſt was touch'd with commiſeration of his Wrongs, and deplorable condition; ſo that whether it were, that he therein glanc'd at ſome particular advantages to himſelf, or that it was meerly an act of his Generoſity in order to the Duke's repoſe, he ſent him word as he was upon his Journey to *Bordeaux*:

The Prince of *Condé* offers his Service to the Duke of *Eſpernon* upon ſome Conditions.

"That he had compaſſion on his Misfortune, and Solitude, and if "he unluckily had formerly had a hand in the Diſgraces had be"fall'n him, he would much more willingly employ it to his re"dreſs: That his Afflictions how great ſoever, were not altoge"ther without remedy; but that he had one Son ſtill ſurviving,

from

"from whom he might yet derive comfort: That although the "Court was highly animated, and incens'd againſt him, he would "notwithſtanding do his utmoſt endeavour, and ſet it hard to "obtain his return into *France*; provided he would be content "to reſign his Governments, in lieu whereof he would alſo pro-"cure him ſome reaſonable recompence; and that by this means "he might ſpend the remainder of his days in company, which "it ſelf would render the worſt of evils ſupportable to him. *Geneſte* a Counſellor in the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, known of long to have been a particular Friend to the Duke, was made choice of by the Prince to offer this propoſal to him; but he had Inſtructions withal, not to own he did it by any expreſs Order from the Prince, unleſs he ſhould firſt perceive the Duke very ready to embrace the motion. The Duke, unable to endure the firſt overture, would return no anſwer at all, thinking by that means to diſingage himſelf from that unpleaſing Treaty: but the Prince, who (as it was ſaid) having caſt his eye upon *Languedoc*, and openly diſcovered a deſire to be inveſted in that Government, had perhaps a deſign to make that of *Guienne* the Price of the other. It was moreover believ'd he had a mind to tranſlate the Office of Colonel into the hands of a Favourite, thereby to promote his own pretence: For one, or both of theſe reaſons therefore he would not be repuls'd at the Duke's firſt tacit denial: but not long after having left *Bordeaux* to return to Court, his way through *Xaintonge* gave him opportunity, as he paſs'd by to ſee the *Count de Jonzac*, the King's Lieutenant in that Province, and one of the moſt intimate Friends the Duke at that time had in the Kingdom. To him therefore he gave expreſs charge to go to the Duke, and to go through with that Negotiation, he had not only occaſionally committed to *Geneſte*; to which he alſo requir'd a preciſe and poſitive anſwer. The *Count de Jonzac* could do no other, than obey the Prince in this particular, though he was already very well aſſur'd, he ſhould bring him no ſatisfactory return from the Duke concerning this Affair. This Gentleman was without all doubt the depoſitary of the Duke's moſt ſecret thoughts, and intentions; and I am certain in ſeveral very important occaſions had prov'd exceeding faithful to him: So that, there being ſcarce any thing reſerv'd, which he did not freely commit to his Secreſie, and Truſt, it is to be preſum'd the Duke had not conceal'd from him this Propoſition from the Prince, together with the fix'd and determinate Reſolution he had put on as to that buſineſs. He therefore only confirm'd to him anew, what he had already ſufficiently aſſur'd him of; deſiring him withal,

Anno 1640.

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Which are rejected by the Duke.

since the Prince would have a positive answer, to tell him on his behalf, "That he could have wish'd, having ever honour'd him "as he had done, he had sooner had those considerations for him, "he was pleas'd at present to profess: That his compassion was "now out of season: That he was content alone to undergo all "his misfortunes the remaining part of his life, and that he had "much rather never more see the Duke *de la Valette* his Son, than "to see him reduc'd to the condition of a private person: That "he would accept no Recompence for his Offices, and Com-"mands, forasmuch as he was resolved never to part with them; "and that he had enough remaining through the favour and libe-"rality of the Kings his Masters, to spare those profits, and emo-"luments he had formerly receiv'd. And to the end that for the time to come he might secure himself from being any more im-portun'd with such distasteful proposols, he declar'd aloud, that should any of his Friends ever entertain him with the like dis-course, he should never take that man for his Friend again: but in case any over whom he had an Authority should presume once to open his mouth to such a purpose, he would handle him so as should manifest to all the world how highly he was offended at the motion.

The Duke soon perceiv'd that the Court was by no means pleas'd with this answer, the ill usage he had hitherto receiv'd, being after this refusal evidently doubled upon him; insomuch that he had news brought the Cardinal had been importun'd by the Enemies of his Family, to remove him from *Plassac*, that being (as they pretended) too near to *Bordeaux*, where, by the conveni-ence of so dangerous a vicinity, he might still maintain a Corre-spondence there, and set what practices he pleas'd on foot, to the prejudice of the Publick Peace. Thus even when confin'd to a Country House, disarm'd, and naked, as he then was, and as it were buried under his own ruines, his sole Name, and Authority was formidable to his Enemies, even in so low a condition. Such as were most violent against him, advis'd to have him shut up in Prison, and the more moderate sort would only have him confin'd to some remote places, which they had already pointed out for him in *Auvergne*. Yet did all these ill-sounding rumours at this time produce no evil effects; and it was said the Cardinal would keep his word, he had given to the Cardinal *de la Valette*, not to add to the persecution of the Duke his Father; but if he did not openly do it, and so as to own his own act, he at least gave the Duke's most implacable Enemies leave to do what he himself was either asham'd of, or had no mind to own; men who abusing

New persecutions for the Duke of *Espernon*.

that

that liberty committed out-rages againſt him, unworthy both of their own, and his condition; and ſuch as the Prince, who at this time was no ways favourable to him, could not himſelf endure, and therefore did him a noble right: but I rather chooſe to omit the recital of it, than to revive the reſentment of things almoſt, if not altogether, extinguiſh'd and forgot, by a relation that would otherwiſe perhaps, be pertinent enough to my ſtory. *Anno* 1640.

In this violent perſecution, the Duke's Servants humbly advis'd him to ſlacken the ſtiffneſs, he had hitherto ever maintain'd, and eſpecially towards the Cardinal; in hopes that by a little ſoothing his vain humour (immeaſurably greedy of Glory) with ſomething above what he had formerly us'd to do, he might obtain ſome ſatisfaction from him. Whereupon they repreſented to him the examples of the Princes of the Blood, who by having a little warp'd from their degree, and parted with ſome ſmall advantages in his conſideration, had by ſo doing given the other Great Ones of the Kingdom an honourable colour, and pretext to go ſomething leſs in their Quality alſo in the Cardinal's Favour: but theſe Arguments could by no means prevail upon his invincible Spirit. He made anſwer; "That could he ever deliberate to ſubmit to "civilities beyond what he had uſually done, he ſhould however much leſs do it in the time of his Diſgrace, than at any "other: That he ought no more to conſider the condition to "which Fortune had now reduc'd him, than that from which "he was fall'n: That what at another time would paſs only for "Complement, would now be interpreted an act of Fear: That "if he muſt periſh, he had much rather have the injuſtice of his "Enemies whereof to complain, than to ſtand oblig'd to his "own weakneſs for his preſervation: That the example of the "Princes of the Blood ſignified nothing to him: That their Quality was inſeparably annex'd to their Birth: That therefore it "could never by any demiſſion of theirs be alienated from them: "That what would be call'd Prudence in perſons of that condition to accommodate themſelves to the time, would be interpre-"ted an inexcuſable meanneſs in him; and that they ſhould never "ſee him do any thing, either by example or perſwaſion, that "ſhould in the leaſt prejudice, or reflect upon his Honour.

The Duke of *Eſpernon*'s noble conſtancy.

Before this, and ſoon after the Death of the Cardinal *de la Valette*, ſome there were who endeavour'd to perſwade him to ask of the King, and the Cardinal ſome of the Benefices which were become vacant by his Deceaſe; but he with the ſame conſtancy refus'd to do that alſo, telling thoſe who urg'd him ſo to do, "That he would not augment the grief of his loſs, by the diſhonor

of

Anno 1640.

"of a repulse: That being depriv'd of the person of his "Son, his Estate was to him of very little consideration; and "that if his Enemies had had the pleasure of making him unhap- "py, they should never have that of reproaching him, that they "had made him do any mean, or unhandsome thing.

So long before this also, as from the Duke's first arrival at *Plassac*, some of his Servants thinking thereby to flatter his thrifty humour, had propos'd to him, in the great diminution of his Revenue, some retrenchment in his Expences also: a proposition in truth by the Duke well enough receiv'd, considering that in a private Country House, neither his Table, nor his Stables requir'd the same Splendour, as when he resided in his Government; so that he moreover gave way an account should be stated, to see what they could reduce his Expences to: but when it came to the push, he rejected all, saying, "That he had for above three- "score years together maintain'd himself in the same Port, and "Lustre, and that those who were his persecuters should never "have that advantage over him, as to make him abate in the least "of his ordinary way of living, and that finally in the same Splen- "dor he had liv'd, he was resolv'd he would dye.

'Tis methinks a very strange thing, and very well worthy our observation, that amongst all the Alarms were daily given him, in all the adversities he was made to undergo, and with all the ill news, which either to afflict, or forewarn him, he hourly receiv'd, he never lost (as he himself did profess) so much as one nights sleep. A thing no one can impute to his insensibility, who was but too tender that way, and over-sensible of the least touch of Offence. Who is it then, but must admire the stability, and unshaken constancy of that noble Soul, which in the fury of all these Tempests (sufficient to disorder the greatest resolution) remain'd as calm, and undisturb'd, as in the most tranquil estate of his most prosperous Fortune?

Neither was he content to maintain this serenity, and Stoical contempt of injuries in his own person: he would moreover that his Servants should be inspir'd with the same Courage, and generous Principles, of which I have seen some incur his disgrace, for having only wept before him. He thought men of such mean Spirits unworthy of his Dependence, and would above all things that without disguise, or reservation, they should acquaint him with the true state of his Affairs, how foul soever it might be; being accustomed to say, "That it was a kind of Consola- "tion to know the worst of things, and to what a degree a "man was unhappy; since Doubts, and Fears, rendring an evil infinite

"infinite to the imagination, it was in that incertitude utterly "impoſſible, for any one to take a true meaſure, or to form right "reſolutions, from things that were boundleſs, and unlimited: But withal, he whoſe Office it was to acquaint him with any thing of that nature, was alſo to have a care ſo to compoſe his countenance, that he might not therein diſcover either ſorrow, or apprehenſion. Nay he would himſelf oftentimes antedate his own Affliction, by asking ſuch as were oblig'd to diſcourſe his Affairs to him, if they had heard no ill news that day? occaſionally comforting thoſe in whom he repos'd the greateſt confidence, and appearing himself, in all outward ſhew, the leaſt concern'd at the misfortunes befel him. *Anno* 1640.

In the greateſt Confuſion of things, and the moſt violent heat of his Perſecution, he was with nothing ſo much delighted, as to hear what a fear his Enemies were in, and how much they apprehended his Power. Unhappy as he was, he yet retain'd ſo much vanity, as to ſuffer himſelf to be tranſported with that kind of adulation; a frailty, which as it ſooneſt, and with great facility inſinuates it ſelf into the moſt generous minds, was alſo the laſt thing almoſt that forſook him.

He was never heard in the greateſt height of Adverſity to complain of Fortune; but on the contrary, when ſome of his Friends have ſometimes put him upon that Diſcourſe, would ſay, "That "he ſhould be very ungrateful for the benefits of Fortune, who "had for the ſpace of threeſcore years been continually favour-"able to him, ſhould he murmur, or repine, that ſhe ſhould for-"ſake him for the ſmall remainder of time he had now to live: "That he had rarely obſerv'd a whole life to be fortunate, even "of thoſe had been much ſhorter than his; and that in the incon-"ſtancy, and inſtability of Humane Affairs, it was no little ad-"vantage to have been reſerv'd for the Trial of Diſgrace, till a "time when he was hardly any more capable of taſting the ſweets of a more proſperous Fortune.

That which ought yet further to make us admire the Conſtancy, and Vigour he ever kept entire in all his Words, and Actions is, that he was neither with-held by a moroſe Gravity in the one, nor hurried on by an impetuous Fury in the other. He very well underſtood that his way of living was utterly contrary to the conſtitution of the time, and in ſpeaking of his own Conduct, would ſometimes confeſs to his particular Friends, that having often reflected upon his own Carriage, long before it had pull'd upon him thoſe Diſgraces which now lay ſo heavy upon him; ſhould he have diſcover'd his Sons inclin'd to follow the ſame Maxims,

Anno 1640.

Maxims, he would have diſſwaded them from it: but that having himſelf kept up ſomething of a ſteady humour throughout the paſt Reigns, he thought it now unfit to deprave, and give the lye to threeſcore years of life, to preſerve what yet remain'd, with imbecillity, and ſhame; and that if he muſt fall he would periſh altogether.

But though he obſtinately maintain'd this ſullen, and wilful humour in matters wherein he conceiv'd his Honour to be concern'd, he wanted not neyertheleſs complacency, and reſpect enough in things that only reſpected his Duty. This year therefore having produc'd the King two brave Conqueſts, namely, that of *Arras*, and that of *Turin*, he would not, upon this occaſion, fail to manifeſt the intereſt, that, as a good *Frenchman* he pretended to, in the proſperity of his Majeſties Arms. A Complement that was further directed to the Cardinal, who doubtleſs had a very great ſhare in all the ſucceſſes of his Majeſties Affairs. The *Count de Maillé* was the Envoy of this Diſpatch, by whom this Affair, and ſome other of the Duke's concerns, were ſo diſcreetly managed, that he brought back a very favourable Letter from the Cardinal, together with ſeveral expreſſions by word of mouth of far greater kindneſs: but the effects were very different, as we ſhall ſee in the revolution of the enſuing year.

But before we take our leaves of this, I muſt preſent you with the Relation of a little Accident, by which it will appear, that even in the height of his Diſgraces, Fortune could not ſo altogether forget the Duke, but that ſhe muſt impart ſome of her petty Favours to him; which though not ſufficient to compenſate his Adverſity, ſhe, at leaſt by thoſe trifling Obligations, made it ſeem ſhe could not find in her heart totally to abandon a perſon who had formerly been ſo dear unto her. A young Fellow the Duke had bred, and brought up from his Infancy to the age of man, and by whom he had long been attended in his Chamber, ſo far at laſt forgot his Duty, as to deſign to rob his Maſter. He was not long before he executed that deſign, and with ſuch dexterity, that he purloin'd two thouſand Piſtols out of a Trunck in his Chamber, the Duke diſcovering nothing of his loſs till above ſix months after. This Companion having thus perform'd his Feat, was, with his Maſters leave retir'd into his own Country, upon the Frontiers of *Spain*, where he had either imbezzel'd, or laid out a good part of the money. The Duke no ſooner diſcover'd the Theft, but that he as ſoon gueſt who had been the Thief, and nam'd him to thoſe who were then waiting in his Chamber: but he was at firſt in ſome ſuſpence, whether or no he

Three remarkable ſtories of the Duke of *Eſpernon*'s good Fortune, whereof this is the firſt.

he ſhould buſtle in a buſineſs, that it would be no eaſie matter for him to prove. In the end importun'd by ſome of his Servants, not to tolerate an Action of ſo ill example, he ſent away a Prevoſt to take him, wherein he was alſo ſo ſucceſsful, as to have him forc'd away from his own Country (the moſt favourable to Actions of this nature in *France*) and brought before him, where he was no ſooner come, but that he confeſs'd his fault, and reſtor'd the money he had taken to a * *Teſton*. *Anno* 1640.

* A piece of money to the value of xviii. pence ſterling.

This Story puts me in mind of two others, which I conceive ought not to be omitted, Being one day in the great Church of *Metz*, at Veſpers upon a ſolemn Feſtival: he whoſe Office it was to Cenſe the Prieſts, came alſo to offer it to the Duke, who pulling off his Gloves with greater reſpect to receive the Honour was done him, a Diamond of very great value he wore upon his Finger, drop'd out of the Socket, and fell to ground without his taking any notice of it at all: But the Cenſor was ſoon aware of the accident, and that he might with the more cleanly conveyance gather up the Diamond, having made a Reverence ſo low, as with his knees to touch the ground, he with great dexterity ſnapt up the Stone without being obſerv'd by any, and retir'd The Duke having again put on his Gloves, ſtaid out the remainder of the Office, which being done, he return'd home to his own Lodging. Supper time being come, and the Duke being to waſh before he ſate down to Table, going to pull off his Ring, as he always us'd to do, when he waſh'd his hands, he perceiv'd the Stone to be loſt: Whereupon without further aſtoniſhment, or deliberation, he gave order to have the man that Cens'd at Veſpers brought before him. He had obſerv'd, though without any kind of ſuſpicion, the extraordinary low Reverence the Fellow had made him, and his quick and ready apprehenſion made him now jealous, that ſo unuſal a Complement had not been paid him without ſome deſign. The man being therefore brought before him, he without more Ceremony, or Examination, poſitively demanded of him his Diamond, which the other at firſt deny'd: but being commanded the ſecond time to produce it, and that preſently, or he ſhould be preſently hang'd, the poor man, as if that word had been of as great validity, as an hundred Witneſſes, and ſo many Judges, without making any other reply, humbly beſought the Duke to let ſome of his people go home with him for his Diamond, which he alſo immediately reſtor'd. In this his own Wiſdom was his Friend, and another leſs circumſpect would alſo haue been leſs favour'd by Fortune. The ſecond Story.

But I ſhall here preſent you with a third accident of the ſame nature, The third Story.

Anno 1640. nature, which was a pure effect of Chance, and of which the example may go hand in hand with those marvellous Successes, which are related for wonderful, even of such as have been the most eminently favour'd by Fortune. The Duke many years before all this, going one time to *Paris*, had taken *Loches* in his way, as he ordinarily us'd to do; when being come to *la Haye* in *Tourain* at the time of year when days are at the longest, he would after supper go take a walk in the Meadows without the City. The Grass was not yet cut, but ready for the Scythe, when playing with some of his Followers, (for he was at this time in that wanton Age) a Pearl in the fashion of a Pear of two which he always wore in his Ears, fell down into the Grass, without being at present perceiv'd by him. Those two Pearls were noted for the fairest of that time, each of them being valued at ten thousand Crowns. The men of the *French* Court in those days us'd to trick themselves with such things as these, which now even amongst the Ladies are scarcely any more in use. The Duke going at night to put off his Pendants, before he went to Bed, perceiv'd one of them to be lost: the night was already shut up, and in the cleareſt light of day it had been almost impossible to have found so little a thing, in so great a clutter of thick, and deep Grass, as in that place cover'd the face of the ground. He had nevertheless so great a confidence in his good luck, as to command one of his *Valett's de Chambre* to go seek his Pearl, and to bring it to him; as if he had been in fee with Fortune, and that she had been oblig'd to second all his desires. But it so fell out, that she immediately put that into the hands of the *Valette de Chambre*, which he despair'd ever to find, and he brought the Pearl presently back to his Master: a thing that rendred all the Company no less astonish'd at the confidence the Duke had in his good Fortune, than at his good Fortune it self.

Anno 1641. After these digressions it is now high time for us to pursue our former Discourse. The *Count de Maillé* then being return'd from Court in the beginning of Winter, found the Duke fall'n sick of a very troublesome Disease. This season for some years pass'd had been so inauspicious to him, that he would ordinarily call it his Enemy; as it prov'd in the end, and that to such a degree as to deprive him of his Life. At this time nevertheless it contented it self a second time to afflict him with another defluxion of Rhume, which having run through all the parts of his Body with extraordinary torment, left him at last in so great a weakness, that he lay near six months before he could recover to any indifferent posture of health. In this tedious, and troublesome Sickness, he receiv'd

The Duke of *Espernon* falls dangerously sick.

ceiv'd very great comfort in the company of the Dutcheſs *de la Valette* his Daughter-in-law, and the Marquiſe *de la Valette* his Grand-child, who forſook the Court to attend him in his Solitude, and Retirement. Both theſe arriv'd at *Plaſſac* ſometime before the Dukes Sickneſs: The Marquis *de la Valette*, now Duke *de Candale*, had been there a good while before, the Duke his Grand father having reſolv'd himſelf to take care of his Education, and to form him betimes to thoſe great Actions, of which his Predeceſſors had left him ſo beautiful Examples. In the ſweet Converſation of this innocent Family, did this Illuſtrious old man flatter his Grief, and deceive his Afflictions; creating to himſelf a kind of fruition out of that Confinement, and Privacy, his Enemies had for a puniſhment inflicted on him. Living in this Calm of Repoſe, which the Tempeſts of his Fortune had at laſt fretted themſelves into, and hoping therein to ſpin out the remainder of his Life, he was ſurpriz'd with an unexpected Command from the King, to leave his Houſe of *Plaſſac*, and to remove thence to *Loches*. And ſeeing this Affair (of it ſelf untoward enough) was the fountain from whence ſeveral other afflictions deriv'd themſelves, which alſo in the end occaſion'd his Death, it ſhould not methinks be impertinent to give a full Relation of a Tranſaction, by which we are now about to conclude his Life. *Anno* 1641.

From the time that the *Count de Soiſſons* departed from Court to retire himſelf to *Sedan* (of which we have already ſpoken) this Prince had reſted content with the enjoyment of his own Eſtate, and the payment of thoſe Penſions aſſign'd him from the Crown; and (it has been ſaid) that had thoſe Penſions been continued to him, would have remain'd in the ſame quiet poſture wherein he had liv'd ever ſince his departure from Court, chooſing rather to languiſh in Sloth, and out of all Employment, than by his Ambition to diſcompoſe the Peace of his Country. But as if his Enemies had been diſpoſers of his Deſtiny, they would never grant him thoſe juſt, and reaſonable conditions he deſir'd; inſomuch that they impos'd upon him a neceſſity of applying himſelf to Forein Princes. Theſe therefore having ſupplied him with ſome Forces, his own Intereſt having procur'd him ſome others within the Kingdom, and the Duke *de Bouillon* (who was equally intereſted with him in his cauſe) having arm'd a great number of his Friends, he of all theſe together made up a very conſiderable Army. Theſe Forces however, how great ſoever they were, would notwithſtanding have given the Cardinal no very great Alarm, had he not found withal, that even at home there was ſo formidable a Faction form'd in this Prince's favour, as that the

The eſtate of the Affairs of the Kingdom, from whence the Cardinal took occaſion to ſend the Duke of *Eſpernon* to *Loches*.

Anno 1641. Kingdom was universally engag'd in his designs: But when he saw that the people openly declar'd in his Quarrel, and that the whole Frontier of *Champagne*, together with the best Cities of that Province, threatned to revolt in his Favour, that *Paris* it self open'd her Arms to receive him; and that it was to be fear'd, if some sudden course was not taken, that without a blow strook, or the least resistance, he should see himself reduc'd to his Mercy, then it was (as has been reported) that he seriously repented himself he had not been more just to him, and that he had not rendred himself more facile to his equitable demands: But having fruitlesly attempted to quiet this storm, by some overtures of Accommodation, those Propositions being rejected, there was now a necessity of coming to the decision of Arms. The Cardinal therefore endeavour'd with all imaginable expedition to oppose a good Army against him under the Command of the *Mareschal de Chastillon*; to whom he also gave expres Orders at any hand to hazard the fortune of a Battel, before the evil dispositions of the people could produce those sinister effects, he had all the reason in the world to apprehend. In this posture of Affairs, his most redoubted Enemies, being the Great Ones he had offended, he conceiv'd it in the first place necessary to secure the Duke of *Espernon*, not doubting but that a man of his known spirit, and so highly offended by him, would take hold of the first opportunity to revenge himself of those insupportable Injuries he had so continually receiv'd at his hands. But over and above this jealousie which the Cardinal had reasonably enough conceiv'd upon the forementioned accounts, the Duke's ill Fortune would moreover at this time joyn with his Enemy to give him some colourable pretence for this new injury, and injustice. All the Kingdom believ'd that the Cardinal *de la Valette* had before his Decease, obtain'd of this great Minister an assurance of repose for his Father the remaining part of his Life; and there had been no new occasion offer'd, that could justifie the violation of this promise; so that his private, and solitary way of living sheltring him from all the Tempests of the busie World, he thought to live quiet, and secure in that harbour whereinto even by his misfortunes he had been so fortunately thrown. In this estate a wretched Fellow, utterly unknown to the Duke, or to any of his, without any the least acquaintance with any of his Family, or any frequentation in his House, was so malicious, as in his name to go to the *Sieur du Bourg*, Governour of the little Fort the *Spaniards* had possess'd themselves of at their entry into *Biscaye*, and by me before call'd *Socoa*, offering him in the names of the Dukes of *Espernon*, and *de la Valette* (whom

(whom he had never ſeen) a very great recompence, if he would deliver up that Fort into their hands. *Le Bourg* eaſily imagin'd that this place being ſo well known as it was to theſe two Dukes, could not be ſo ardently coveted by them, it being of very little importance; and conſequently did at the very firſt believe the perſon that made him this Propoſition, muſt be ſome Impoſtor, who hop'd to obtain ſome recompence for informing againſt him, and afterwards to run away; but a Rope in the end was his reward. Though (as I have ſaid) *le Bourg* well enough underſtood this Fellow to be a Counterfeit, he notwithſtanding either to render himſelf more conſiderable at theſe two Dukes Expence, or more exactly to diſcharge his Duty than upon ſuch an occaſion he was oblig'd to do, fail'd not however to give the Court an account of the Propoſition had been made to him, detaining the Impoſtor Priſoner in the mean time. Whereupon he ſoon after receiv'd Orders to deliver him into the hands of *Lauſon Intendant de la Juſtice* in *Guienne*; by whom though he was condemn'd to die, and the Sentence accordingly executed upon him, yet at preſent they made uſe of this Impoſture to colour a Command to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, to depart from *Plaſſac*, and to transfer himſelf to *Loches*. *Varennes* one of the Gentlemen in Ordinary to the King, was appointed to carry this Order, who the 20th. of *June*, about two of the Clock in the afternoon arriv'd with it at *Plaſſac*. The Duke was at that time a Bed, where he us'd to take two or three hours repoſe every afternoon; by reaſon whereof *Varennes* being neceſſitated to attend his waking, he ask'd to ſpeak with the *Count de Maillé* in the mean time; which he did to anticipate the Duke by ſome excuſes, in that he was ſo unhappy, as to be always ſent upon unwelcome Commiſſions (for it was he alſo who in the buſineſs of the Archbiſhop of *Bordeaux*, had been the Bearer of the Order was ſent the Duke to retire out of his Government to *Plaſſac*.) The *Count de Maillé*, having by diſcourſing with him underſtood *Varenne*'s Errand, doubted not but that the Duke muſt needs be infinitely ſurpriz'd at the Novelty of this Command; wherefore having conſulted with ſuch of the Duke's Servants as were of moſt conſideration about him, they concluded it moſt convenient, that he ſhould by his Secretary be beforehand acquainted with it, to the end he might be prepar'd to receive it with leſs emotion. The buſineſs therefore being thus order'd amongſt them, was accordingly executed, and the Duke was no ſooner awake, but that the Secretary coming to his Bed-ſide, told him that a Gentleman from the King was newly arriv'd, who had brought him an Order to depart from *Plaſſac*, and go away to

Anno 1640.

A malicious Contrivance againſt the Duke of *Eſpernon*.

Anno 1640. to *Loches*. The Duke, who had of old fortified his mind againſt the worſt of events, and not finding in this that extremity of evils it lay in his Enemies power to inflict upon him, without being at all mov'd at the ſuddenneſs of the thing; calmly reply'd, and is that all? After which words a little compoſing himſelf, he commanded his Secretary to call the Gentleman in. *Varennes* was preſently brought into his Chamber, who, advancing to the Bedſide, preſented him with the King's Letter, which the Duke opening, he found it to contain theſe words.

The King's Letter to the Duke of *Eſpernon*.

Couſin,

"I am ſorry that by your Sons ill carriage, together with ſome "Intelligence I have lately receiv'd out of *Guienne*, I am con- "ſtrain'd to tell you, that I deſire you will at preſent leave your "abode at *Plaſſac*, where you now are, and come to *Loches*. *Va-* "*rennes* one of my Gentlemen, by whom you will receive this "Diſpatch, will inform you more particularly of my intention "herein, in whom you are to repoſe an entire confidence, and be- "lief. In the mean time I pray God, Couſin, to have you in his "Holy Protection.

From *Abbeville* this 13th. of *June* 1641.

This Letter being read, and *Varennes* offering anew at the ſame excuſes he had already made to the *Count de Maillé*, the Duke cut him ſhort, by telling him, that whatever came from the King was infinitely welcome, and that excuſes were not neceſſary where a man did nothing but what it was his Duty to do; after which he fell into a pretty long diſcourſe, wherein he manifeſted ſo much judgment, and conſtancy upon ſo unpleaſing an accident, as made every one admire that heard him: It was very near word for word in theſe terms, "That threeſcore years being now laps'd "ſince he had firſt had the Honour to ſerve the Kings his Ma- "ſters, and to teach ſuch as their Majeſties had ſubjected under his "Authority to obey, it would be inexcuſable in him, ſhould he "in that time have profited ſo little himſelf, as not to know how "in his own perſon to practice the Precepts he had laid down to "others: That he was very ready to pay the King all the Obedi- "ence his Majeſty could himſelf deſire: That had he a ſufficient "ſtock of ſtrength, and health to perform that Journey Poſt, he "would immediately mount to Horſe, by that promptneſs to "ſhew how every Subject ought to obey his Prince; not that he "did not nevertheleſs underſtand himſelf to be very unkindly

us'd,

"us'd, and look'd upon this proceeding as exceſſively ſevere to "him who had never fail'd in the leaſt in his Majeſties Service, "and to whom no one living could impute the leaſt offence to his "Duty: That his Enemies made it their pretence to uſe him ill, "from the ill carriage of his Son; as if a Father could be any ways "reſponſible for the defaults of his Children, or ought to ſuffer for "their Offences. Not that I do (he preſently caught himſelf) in "the leaſt confeſs thoſe wherewith they have charg'd my Son the "Duke *de la Valette*; he is an honeſt man, and innocent: and "had the King been rightly inform'd of his Actions, his Majeſty "might with better reaſon have commended his Services, than "(as he is pleas'd to do) to condemn his Conduct. Upon which expreſſion, excuſing himſelf for that little eſcape of his reſentment, he proceeded to ſay, "Is it not very hard that my Enemies will "expoſe my old Age to the ſcorn, and mockery of the one half "of the Kingdom I am to paſs through to the place of my Exile? "Why will they not at leaſt give me leave to finiſh the ſmall re-"mainder of my days I have to live in the obſcurity of this Soli-"tude? After which, asking him if there was any time limited for his ſetting out, or if he had receiv'd any Order to continue with him till his departure? and *Varennes* having deny'd both the one, and the other, he continued to ſay, "That ſince they were "pleas'd to proceed ſo favourably with him, he would be no ill "Husband of his time: That he would give order to have his "Equipage made ready with the ſooneſt; but that he had let "them hang by to ruſt, and rot for four years together, that "he had been in that Houſe. In the concluſion of all, *Varennes* having entreated an Anſwer to his Letter, the Duke gave him one in theſe terms. *Anno* 1641.

SIR,

"I have by the *Sieur de Varennes* receiv'd the Command your "Majeſty has been pleas'd to ſend me to quit my Reſidence in this "place, and to go to *Loches*, upon ſome information your Ma-"jeſty has receiv'd to the prejudice of the Duke *de la Valette* my "Son. If my ſaid Son continue to follow my Counſels, and Ex-"ample, as I am certain he will ever do, he can never commit "any thing that may either offend your Majeſty, or that ſhall be "unworthy of his Birth. For what concerns my ſelf Sir, who for "threeſcore years paſs'd have never ceas'd to render the Kings "your Royal Predeceſſors, and your Majeſty all ſorts of faithful, "and humble Service, and Obedience, I ſhall continue with all "poſſible expedition to teſtifie my reſpect to this new Command. The Duke of *Eſpernon's* Letter to the King.

It

Anno 1641. "It is true, Sir, that I am ſomething ſurpriz'd at it, and that having "continued now four years together in this Houſe, I had ſet up "my reſt, and concluded here to end my days; by which mi-"ſtake I am at preſent utterly deſtitute of Equipage both for my "ſelf, my Daughter-in-law, and my little Children: but I "ſhall with all poſſible diligence make my preparation, and "though my Health be exceedingly impair'd, both by my "great Age, and my late Sickneſs; which having detain'd me four "months in Bed, has left me in a very weak condition: I ſhall "notwithſtanding chearfully expoſe my little remainder of Life, "to this long, and troubleſome Journey, in obedience to your "Majeſties good pleaſure, and ſhall think my ſelf exceeding hap-"py, if I may conclude it in manifeſting my Zeal, and Paſſion, as I "have ever done my Obedience, and inviolate Fidelity, *&c.*

From *Plaſſac* this 20th. of *June*, 1641.

Neither in this anſwer, nor in his Diſcourſe to *Varennes*, had he made any Reply to that part of the King's Letter, which mention'd the intelligence his Majeſty had receiv'd out of *Guienne*; forasmuch as he was as yet totally ignorant of the buſineſs of *Socoa*: but having ſometime after underſtood that his name had been made uſe of in that Affair, he conceiv'd it very neceſſary for him to addreſs himſelf to the *Mareſchal de Scomberg*, to requeſt that he would penetrate into the bottom of that Impoſture, that ſo he might be able to inform his Majeſty of the truth of the Story. This *Mareſchal* had been withdrawn from his Government of *Languedoc*, as well as the Duke of *Eſpernon* had been out of that of *Guienne*: but being it had been done without any viſible mark of Diſgrace, and only out of deferenee to the Prince, who was impatient of the leaſt contradiction from any of the Governours of the Provinces, where he had any thing to do, he had been diſmiſs'd with an honourable Commiſſion into *Guienne*, to Command as the Kings Lieutenant in that Province. His carriage there towards the Duke of *Eſpernon* was very different from that of thoſe who had preceded him in that Employment, he highly, and publickly declaring, that he ſhar'd in the feeling an honeſt man ought to have of the ill uſage had been inflicted upon a man of that eminent Quality, and who had ever behav'd himſelf without all manner of reproach: Neither was this the only teſtimony of his Friendſhip, he proceeding from theſe favourable expreſſions, to effects of a much more obliging nature. They had propos'd to him the Government of *Guienne* in recompence of

The generous proceeding of the *Mareſchal de Scomberg*.

that of *Languedoc* (with the privation of which he had alſo been tacitly threatned) but all thoſe offers, and menaces could never prevail upon him, he profeſſing that he had much rather chooſe to be without any Employment at all, than to be inveſted with the ſpoils of two perſons of that eminent condition yet living, and with whom he was not convinc'd that any fault could juſtly be found; exerciſing moreover the Commiſſion he had there with ſo great tenderneſs and reſpect to them, that though he had thereby as ample Authority, as he could himſelf deſire; he would notwithſtanding never come to execute any of his Functions at *Bordeaux*, the Capital City of that Province. He would not ſo much as come near it, but contented himſelf to ſtay at *Agen*, which he made the ſeat of his reſidence till his return into *Languedoc*: and whereas others, who had commanded there before him, had carried themſelves very rudely to the Duke's Friends, and Servants there, the *Mareſchal* on the contrary took them into his eſpecial Truſt, and Favour, conceiving he could not make a better choice, than of ſuch men, as had paſs'd the tryal of his late Adverſity. This noble way af proceeding had ſo highly oblig'd the Duke, that he made no difficulty to ſolicite his Favour, a thing he had never done to any ſince his perſecution; he writ to him therefore before he departed from *Plaſſac*, intreating him to cauſe the Impoſtor by whom he had been accus'd to be throughly ſifted, that he might be able to ſatisfie the Court of what could be diſcover'd from his Examination. The *Mareſchal* upon this Letter did the Duke all the good Offices could be expected from his generous and noble Nature, and writ ſo favourably to the Council in his behalf, as from *des Noyers* Secretary of State to obtain this anſwer: a Copy whereof he ſent to the Duke. *Anno* 1641.

"For what concerns the Fellow that is detain'd Priſoner at "*Socoa*, I could have wiſh'd that *Monſieur du Bourg* had better ex- "amined the buſineſs, before he had acquainted the King with "it, and brought ſo great an inconvenience upon perſons of that "condition: *Monſieur de Lauzon*, who is at *Bayonne*, will in two "hours time be able to clear all doubts, obſerving the Order I "have ſent him according to your deſire. In effect the buſineſs was perfectly clear'd, and the Dukes Innocence ſufficiently manifeſt: but notwithſtanding the reſolutions that had been taken againſt him were nothing alter'd; neither indeed did he ſolicit any thing of that kind, nor would addreſs himſelf to any other, ſaving the *Mareſchal de Scomberg* only, his deſign being only to ſecure his Reputation, and not to receive any the leaſt favour from his Enemies.

Anno 1641.

The Duke of *Espernon*'s irresolution concerning the Journey of *Loches*,

Yet whatever he had said to *Varennes*, or whatsoever he had writ to the King concerning the diligence he would use to put himself upon his way; he did not for all that make so much haste, that three weeks at least were not laps'd before he began his Journy. He spun out the preparation of his Equipage in great length, and although he at first manifested an absolute, and franck disposition to depart, either the tenderness, and apprehension of his Friends, or his own doubts, and diffidences, had possess'd him with so great a jealousie, that he could not easily perswade himself to perform a thing he saw was nevertheless by no means to be avoided. Some, who would seem to be most solicitous of his Person, and Safety, had often represented to him, "That the Castle of *Loches* "was a Prison of State: That it had already been made use of "in that nature upon very considerable * occasions: That it be- "ing situate in the heart of the Kingdom, his Captivity would "be the more severe, by how much there was no possibility of "an escape, and that so soon as he should be come thither, it "would be in the power of any one of the *Exempts-des Guardes*, "to charge the Garrison, and to make himself Master of the Gate "to engage his Liberty for ever. It was no hard matter to foresee, that all these inconveniences might possibly arrive: but being his forbearing to go, would inevitably convince him of the highest disobedience, the discreeter sort of men concluded it the safest for him to try if he could not avoid the utmost extremes, by an entire confidence in his Majesties Justice, and in outward shew to perform that with great alacrity, and freedom, which in effect there was a necessity upon him, he must however do. The Duke saw clearly enough into the truth of this last advice; yet could he not without great repugnancy, and unwillingness follow that Counsel; and the natural desire of the Liberty, he believ'd ready to be ravish'd from him (or that at best depended only upon his Enemies Capricio) possess'd him with so great a disquiet of mind, as fail'd little of endangering his health by a new relapse. He nevertheless by his constancy, once more overcame all his resentments, and mistrusts, and arming himself with a generous resolution, determin'd in the end to do, what must either speedily be done, or he must inevitably lose himself for ever. But forasmuch as he discover'd some little beam of hope in the *Count de Soisson*'s undertaking (whose party was tacitly favour'd by all the Male-contents, and with greater reason by him, than all the rest) he observ'd such an Order in his departure from *Plassac*, and throughout the whole progress of his Journey, as on the one side to avoid the imputation of Disobedience, should the *Count*'s Affairs

* One whereof I find in *Davila* when the Duke of *Elleauf* was sent thither Prisoner presently after the Death of the Duke of *Guise* at *Blois*.

fairs meet with any ill ſucceſs; and on the other to be in a condition ſuddenly to return into his Government to favour his Cauſe, ſhould there be the leaſt apparence (as there was a great deal) that this Prince could receive any advantage by his joyning with him. *Anno* 1641.

The better then to fit all things for his propos'd deſign, he was near a month in preparing his Equipage: the moſt neceſſary things muſt by all means be bought at places a great way off, though they might have been had much nearer at hand; and when all things were got ready, he was advis'd to feign ſome incommodities in his Health, as the remains of his late Sickneſs: an advice he for a few days put in practice, though in the end he muſt of neceſſity ſet out, and it was the 12th. day of *July*. He had been ſometime in ſuſpence, whether he ſhould take the Dutcheſs *de la Valette* and her little Children along with him this Journey, or no; he could not in the great apprehenſions had been infus'd into him of the loſs of his own Liberty, conſent that perſons ſo dear unto him ſhould bear a part in ſo great a Diſgrace; who as they were in other things the greateſt Conſolation he had, ſo were they in this none of the leaſt cauſes of his Affliction: but their Piety ſoon cut off all deliberation, and they carried that by the violence of their importunity, which they could not otherwiſe obtain of ſo good a Father, and were at laſt admitted to the Voyage.

The *Count de Soiſſons* makes great preparation for War.

During theſe delays in the Duke's ſlender Preparation, the *Count de Soiſſons*, and the Duke *de Bouillon*, had made ſo mighty ones wherewith to oppoſe the Power of the King, that they were apparently the ſtronger Party, and in a condition to bring over the Victory to their own ſide. The Armies of the one, and the other party were ſo near, and both ſo animated againſt one another, that it was hardly poſſible they ſhould avoid coming immediately to Blows; every one in his wiſhes favour'd the *Count's* Deſigns, and all the people, the Cities, and generally all *France* open'd their Arms to receive him: neither was the Duke of *Eſpernon* ignorant of theſe good diſpoſitions towards him, with whom he went along in his Heart, and Judgment; ſo that hoping much on the one ſide, and fearing ſomething nevertheleſs on the other, he began his Journey. From *Plaſſac*, his firſt days Journey was to *Pons*, a League and a half only diſtant from his own Houſe, which although a very little one, and that he perform'd it in his Litter, he notwithſtanding went to Bed preſently after his arrival, and all the next day reſted there. The day following he went to *Cognac*, to viſit the *Count de Jonzac*, in which little Town,

Anno 1641. which had formerly been a member of his Government of *Angoumois*, he found a great number of Gentlemen, and Ladies of very good Quality, whom the compassion of his sinister Fortune had assembled there to pay him their last Visit, as they believ'd, and as indeed it prov'd to be. He could not upon this occasion, so govern his own humour, as to be perswaded to feign himself indispos'd, that being a part he could only play, when there was none by to see him: but in the great world his Prudence could never obtain so great an Authority over his haughty Spirit: but that he must ever make a shew of more Health and vigour, than he really had. A thing his Servants were very much afflicted at, as very much out of season; some of which having represented to him the example of the Duke of *Rhetz*, who a long time preserv'd his Life, and kept his Offices, by having with great art, and industry given hopes, that the latter, would soon become vacant by the loss of the other; he despis'd that sort of Prudence, telling them that the malignity of old Age, would soon enough, and to his great grief render him altogether useless, without that he needed to antedate that unhappy time by artifice, and dissimulation.

That which I conceive made him so resolute to despise all Counsels that carried with them any similitude of fear, was the frequent intelligence he receiv'd from a very good hand of the good posture the *Count*'s Affairs were in: full of which good news he departed from *Cognac* to go to *Neuvy*, a House belonging to the Baron of *Auton* his Nephew, where he intended to counterfeit the sick man, till he should have certain intelligence of the success of the *Count*'s Arms: but he had no time to make a long dissimulation of it, for two days after his arrival at this place, the Countess *de Brienne* passing that way to go into *Angoumois*, came to give him a Visit, and brought him the first news of the winning of the Battel of *Sedan*, but withal of the *Count*'s unhappy Death. The truth of this disaster soon cur'd the Duke of his pretended Indisposition; he very well knew that the loss of this Prince did not only take away the fruits of his Victory, but would moreover infallibly transfer it to the contrary side: And then it was that he saw how much he stood oblig'd to his own Wisdom, and how great an error he had run into, had he yielded more to the tenderness of his Friends, than to his own maturer Counsels; for had this news found him yet at *Plassac*, with what probable excuses could he have palliated the Intelligence, he was believ'd to maintain with the *Count*; or what more specious pretence could his Enemies have desir'd, to have added to the ill usage they

News brought to the Duke of *Espernon* of the Death of the *Count de Soissons*, slain at the Battel of *Sedan*.

they had ſo long made him undergo? Even his own delays, and ſome too free expreſſions had eſcap'd from him in the almoſt certain expectation he had been poſſeſs'd withal of a hopeful iſſue, did not a little afflict him; wherefore the better to conceal all that had paſs'd, he immediately reſolv'd upon ſending away a Gentleman to Court with a Letter antedated ſome few days before, to the end it might not be imagin'd, he had writ ſince the Death of the *Count*; which Letter contain'd theſe words. *Anno* 1641.

SIR,

"I ſend this Gentleman to acquaint your Majeſty with the Obe- The Duke of *Eſpernon's* Letter to the King.
"dience I have paid to the command you was pleas'd to ſend me
"to go to *Loches*; 'tis now ſix days ſince I ſet out to begin this
"Journey, which I ſhould alſo Sir have done much ſooner,
"would my health have permitted; or could I with leſs trouble
"have procur'd the Equipages neceſſary for my departure. From
"the time that I have been in a condition to move, I have been
"in motion, having never had the leaſt repugnancy to your Ma-
"jeſties command: I ſhall ever have the ſame inclination to obey
"them, and in the laſt moments of my Life, make it my glory to
"manifeſt to your Majeſty, that I have never ſwerv'd from the ab-
"ſolute Obedience, that was vow'd to you from your birth, by

Sir,

Your, &c.

And being he conceiv'd it not enough to give the King this account only, unleſs at the ſame time the Cardinal was alſo ſatisfied with his Conduct, he wrote to him in like manner, and almoſt in the ſame words he had done to the King.

Whilſt theſe Letters were poſting to Court, he, by very ſhort Journeys was ſtill advancing towards *Loches*, where, notwithſtanding all the delays he could make, having the hazard of his Liberty ever preſent to his imagination, he thought he ſhould but too ſoon arrive. With theſe melancholy thoughts going on to *Poictiers*, the compaſſion which the principal Officers, and the people of that City manifeſted for his preſent Adverſity, did much augment his Grief, and ſuſpicion of ſome future miſchief. He there receiv'd from all the Orders of the City the ſame Honours, and Reſpect, as if he had ſtill ſtood in the higheſt degree of his Proſperity, and Favour, and every one making the ſame reflections upon his preſent condition, that he himſelf did; the people ran from all parts to ſee ſo great an example of the Injuſtice,

Viciſ-

Anno 1641. Viciſſitude, and Extravagancy of Fortune, which occaſion'd ſo great a crow'd even in his own Lodgins, as put him upon a reſolution to go out on foot into the Market-place of the City, which was alſo near to his Inne, to ſatisfie the curioſity they had to behold him: but he was thereby in ſo great danger to be ſtifled by the multitude, that he had no way to free himſelf, but by the favour of his Coach, that he was of neceſſity conſtrain'd to ſend for to diſingage him. From *Poictiers* he continued his way to *la Tricherie*; but he had made ſo little haſte withal, as had given his Courrier time to go to Court, and to return, whilſt he had been advancing, twelve, or fifteen Leagues of his Journey only; ſo that he found him ſtill upon his way, when he brought him this Diſpatch from the King.

His Majeſties Letter to the Duke.

Couſin,

"I was very well pleas'd to find by your Letter, that you had "put your ſelf upon your way to *Loches*, ſo ſoon as your "health would permit; neither did I doubt, but you would up- "on this occaſion conform your ſelf unto my deſires: and I do "moreover aſſure my ſelf you will ever do the ſame, whereby "you will oblige me to continue to you the teſtimonies of my Af- "fection; upon which aſſurance I pray God, *&c.*

From *Rhemes* the 21. of *July*, 1641.

That of the Cardinal was couch'd in theſe terms.

The Cardinals Letter to the Duke.

Monſieur,

"The King is very well ſatisfied with your Obedience to his "Commands, which he alſo has laid upon you in order to your "own particular good; and I for my part have receiv'd a very "high contentment in underſtanding by this Gentleman the good "diſpoſition wherein you now are; a continuation whereof I "heartily wiſh you, as being, *&c.*

To add yet ſomething more to the ſatisfaction the Duke had receiv'd by theſe two kind Letters, the Gentleman that brought them moreover aſſur'd him, that he had obſerv'd at Court no other than Serene, and Auſpicious Countenances; and that there was nothing which for the future threatned any worſe uſage, than what he had already receiv'd: Inſomuch that even his beſt Friends there, and thoſe who were moſt ſolicitous of him did believe, that had he not already receiv'd a Command to depart from

Plaſſac,

Plaſſac, they would not now have enjoyn'd him that trouble, the Cardinal being reaſſur'd by the Death of the *Count de Soiſſons*: but ſeeing that Order had been already ſent him, they would rather chooſe to have it executed, contrary to all reaſon, than to revoke it with any kind of Juſtice. Theſe Diſpatches, and this news from Court, being ſo much better than the Duke had expected, did a little quiet his mind; ſo that in the end he arriv'd at *Loches*, with much leſs apprehenſion, and far greater chearfulneſs than he had parted from *Plaſſac*. *Anno* 1641.

This ſatisfaction was improv'd to him by the extraordinary Acclamations wherewith all the people receiv'd him at his arrival there, which was upon the third of *Auguſt*, there being no kind of Honours, nor any evidences of Publick Joy omitted at his Reception. All the Perſons of Quality, of which there are a very great number thereabouts, came to viſit him: The City of *Tours* paid him the ſame Reſpect, and the Archbiſhop having given the example to the reſt of the City, the Chapter, and Preſident alſo ſent to Complement him: beſides which Civilities from the Body in general, and the ſeveral Societies, and Fraternities in particular, almoſt all the Magiſtrates, and Officers, at leaſt the moſt conſiderable of them, came in their own perſons to wait upon him; inſomuch that it ſeem'd, whilſt Courted, and Complemented at this unexpected rate, he was nothing fall'n from his former Proſperity, and Greatneſs. All theſe Honours (of which he was as ſenſible as any) having reviv'd his Spirits, and conſequently quickned, and rais'd his Wit, and Fancy, he made himſelf to be highly admir'd, by an infinite number of the Curious, who being continually asking him a thouſand Queſtions concerning the State Secret of paſt Tranſactions, he clear'd them of ſeveral important Doubts, which few men living could unriddle; and explain'd to them many paſſages in *d' Avila*'s Hiſtory, which at this time was ſo new in *France*, that it was in the hands of very few. He had a complacency for all ſorts of people, far above what till now he had ever had, and a gracious and winning ſweetneſs for his own Servants they had never known before: by which obliging and free faſhion, together with the antient eſteem annext to his Perſon, and Vertue, he in an inſtant won the Love, and Applauſe of all the world. In this publick and univerſal Favour, and Reputation, and in the aſſurance had been given him from Court, that nothing ſiniſter was to be apprehended thence, the memory of his antient Authority began again to revive in his mind, and that put him upon a deſire to exerciſe it in this little Government; which that he might the better do, he particularly inform'd

The Duke of *Eſpernon* arrives at *Loches*, and is there receiv'd with great Honour.

Anno 1641. inform'd himself of all the Affairs of the City, and Country about it, he caus'd all the Courriers that pass'd that way to come immediately to himself, and suffer'd nothing of Publick Business, to be determin'd without first giving him an account: so that in a place where it seem'd he had nothing at all to do, he was ingenious enough to find himself employment, and to create himself some diversion, and delight.

Who is it but must be astonish'd in this condition of the Duke's, and after so many, and so great Severities exercis'd upon him, to see the Cardinal, who was the Authour of all, make no difficulty to address to him, and to request favours at his hands? In the height of all his Persecutions, they had still retain'd for him some shadow of his Office of Colonel; and about this time one of his Officers Aide Major to the Regiment of Guards, call'd *Ocamp*, having been slain at the Siege of *Aire*, *Montant* his Brother address'd himself to the Cardinal, by his Interceſſion to be invested with his Brothers Command. The Duke would never descend so low towards the Cardinal (though he had met with several occasions wherein he might with much more reason have done it) not so much as after the death of the Cardinal his Son, he being (as has been already said) never to be prevail'd upon to ask him any one of his Benefices: but Cardinal *Richelieu*, without being mov'd at the genetosity of this Example, writ this Letter to the Duke.

Monsieur,

The Cardinals Letter to the Duke of *Espernon*.

"The *Sieur de Montant* who is coming to wait upon you, to "make suit for the Office of Aide Major to the Regiment of "Guards, formerly possess'd by his Brother, slain at the Siege "of *Aire*, having intreated me to fortifie his Request by my Re- "commendation: I write this to satisfie his desire, and to tell "you, that in my opinion, you cannot make choice of any one "that will either be more acceptable to the Regiment, or that in "his own person will more worthily discharge it. For what con- "cerns my own particular, I shall think my self highly oblig'd, "if you manifest to him, upon this occasion, that my Intercessi- "on has been useful to him, and that you have a consideration "for the Request of

Monsieur,

From *Rethel* this 28th. of *July*, 1641.

Your, &c.

There

There was not any about the Duke, who was not aſtoniſh'd at this Requeſt, and he himſelf to that degree, that he had much ado to perſwade himſelf the Letter was not ſuppoſititious, and forg'd: having nevertheleſs conſider'd how unlikely it was, that in ſo publick a thing, any perſon whatever durſt be ſo bold, as to counterfeit the Seal of ſo powerful, and ſo fear'd a Miniſter, he began to ſuſpect it might be ſome Artifice to extract from him a denial, from thence to derive a pretext for the future to diſpoſe of all Offices that ſhould become vacant in the *French* Infantry, without having any more recourſe to him for his Conſent. Knowing therefore very well, that he, who only intreated, had Power to take; and that he would doubtleſs do it, did he not preſently grant his requeſt, he rather quitted to him, than gave him the Command, and thereupon ſent him a Letter, of which this is the Copy. *Anno* 1641.

Monſieur,

"The *Sieur de Montant* being come to me with a Letter from "you, wherein you deſire of me in his Favour the Office of "Aide Major to the Regiment of Guards, become vacant by the "Death of his Brother; I was no leſs pleas'd than amaz'd to "ſee, that in the Condition I now am, I have any thing left that "may be acceptable to you. This is it has oblig'd me to diſpatch "away this Gentleman, on purpoſe to bring you a Blank "Commiſſion of the Office you deſire, that you may fill it up "with any you have a mind to gratifie with that Command, "reſerving to my ſelf herein nothing, ſave the ſole ſatisfaction of "letting you ſee how much I am, The Duke's anſwer.

Monſieur, *&c.*

From *Loches* this 12th. of *Auguſt*, 1641.

The Cardinal would by no means comprehend the terms of this Letter, though they were not ſo obſcure, but that the true ſenſe was very eaſie to be underſtood; he accepted the Office however very well, without conſidering nevertheleſs, how few occaſions of that kind remain'd to the Duke, wherein to oblige his own Servants, and to add yet more to our wonder, return'd him thanks in theſe words.

Monſieur,

"The obliging faſhion wherewith you have been pleas'd to "gratifie me concerning the Office of Aide Major to the Regi- "ment of Guards, for which I writ to you in the behalf of the The Cardinal's Return to the Duke's anſwer.

Anno 1641.

"*Sieur de Montant*, has given me so high a sense of the Favour, "that I can never sufficiently thank you, nor express how infi- "nitely kindly I take it. I beseech you to believe that my gratitude "is such, as thereto nothing can be added, no more than to "the desire I have to meet with occasions, wherein by my Servi- "ces I may manifest to you, That I am, *&c.* From *Blerancour* this 16th of *August*, 1641. Was it any other than a meer mockery to accompany these smooth words with the severest usage, where- with an honest man could possibly be persecuted?

Commotions at Court, stir'd up by the Favourite *Cinq-Mars.*

Yet was not all the Favour of that time absolutely contrary to the Duke, and his Interests; and if he was by the Car- dinal persecuted to the degree we have already seen, *Cinq- Mars Grand Escuyer* of *France*, and the King's true Favourite, had at least as great an inclination to serve, as the other had manife- sted a desire to hurt him. This young Gentleman one of the most accomplish'd, and unhappy that Nature ever produc'd in his time, either jealous of the Cardinal's Power, or prompted by more vertuous and laudable Motives, openly labour'd to over- throw his Credit with the King. He had for his principal Con- fidents, *de Thou*, and *Fontrailles*, both the one and the other a particular Friend, and Servant to the Duke of *Espernon*, by whose good Offices *Cinq-Mars* had been wrought into so great a kind- ness for the Duke, that he often receiv'd very respective Comple- ments from him. I do not believe notwithstanding, that the Duke had any hand in his Designs, if not so far as they might be conducing to the Service of the Queen; for in truth he had so wholly devoted himself to the Service of this Princess (every day threatned with the loss of the King by his continual Sickness) that he was resolv'd, upon occasion, to expose all things for her Service, and that of the Princes her Children; a disposition in him the Queen was very well assur'd of: Neither did she a little rely up- on the Credit, and Fidelity of so considerable a Servant. As to the other disorders of the Court, I very well know he did by no means approve them: but on the other side fearing lest *Fon- trailles*, whom he entirely lov'd, should engage himself too far in those Factions, he never writ to him, though he did it very of- ten, without adding in a Postscript under his own hand. * *Sur tout gardez vous de la Bastille*, an advice he as discreetly follow'd, and in good time: But for *de Thou*, being come to see him at *Lo- ches*, soon after his arrival there, I know very well, as having been a Witness to it, that he exhorted and conjur'd him by all the Ties betwixt them, to forsake the frequentations, and engage- ments he had at Court, and to settle himself to some moderate conditi-

* Above all things take heed of the Bastille.

condition in the Long Robe, which he had taken upon him. He had acquir'd ſo many rare, and eminent qualities proper for that calling, as might have rendred him one of the greateſt men of the Profeſſion: and beſides that, the Duke was induc'd to give him theſe prudent Exhortations, by the conſideration of their Alliance, and the Affection and Eſteem he had for his perſon; he did moreover herein not a little gratifie the deſire of his Relations, and Friends, who, knowing what a Power the Duke had with him, never ceas'd importuning him to uſe his utmoſt intereſt, and endeavour to withdraw him from that unquiet kind of life, he had for ſome time lead. But his Deſtiny carried it above their Prudence, and Foreſight; and he muſt in the end add to the number of the Illuſtrious unhappy of his time. The Duke had not the grief of ſeeing his deplorable end, his own Death ſometime preceding, as we ſhall ſhortly ſee, and of which this in my opinion was the cauſe.

Anno 1641.

Monſieur de Thou involv'd in the *Grand Eſcuyer's* ruine

From the time that the Duke of *Eſpernon* had been eſtabliſh'd in the Government of *Guienne*, he having conceiv'd, that to add greater weight to his Authority, it would not be inconvenient to inflict ſome exemplary puniſhment, upon ſome notable Offenders: a Gentleman of that Province, but one the moſt unworthy of that Quality of any that ever wore that Character, called *Madaillan*, fell within the danger of his Juſtice. The Duke therefore being ſolicited, and importun'd on a thouſand hands, to cauſe Juſtice to be executed upon this man, for an infinite number of Crimes, whereof he ſtood Convict, he at laſt attempted to ſeize him, that he might be brought to condigne Puniſhment: but this wretch as Diſtruſtful and Cunning, as Villanous, and Wicked, ſtill found means to eſcape the hands of the Serjeants, who had order from the Duke to apprehend him, and lay a long time conceal'd in the Province. In the end notwithſtanding he was conſtrain'd to fly, which he did, and put himſelf into the Enemies Armies, not to Fight, for he was never guilty of any handſome Action, but to Plunder and to Betray; inſomuch that in a very little ſpace, he had to his other Crimes added that of a Fugitive from all Parties. He was in Pay with the *Imperialiſts*, the *Swedes*, the *Spaniards*, and the States of *Holland*; after which famous Exploits he return'd home to his own houſe, hoping that time had worn out of the Duke's mind the memory of his former Offences: but he ſoon perceiv'd there was no abiding in the Duke's Government, for men of his known and detected manners. He there liv'd therefore in ſo perpetual fear, as made him to keep a kind of Garriſon in

The Calumny of *Madaillan* againſt the Duke, the cauſe of his Death.

Madaillan's Character.

Anno 1641.

his House; which the Duke having notice of, he resolv'd to cause some of his Souldiery to beset the House, and by fine force to take him. This Deliberation, which could not be executed without some noise, gave *Madaillan* leisure to make his escape: he took therefore at this time the way of *Italy*, and went to *Genoa*, where he presented Prince *Auria* with some counterfeit Letters from the Duke of *Montmorency*, under favour of which, he gull'd this Prince of some very considerable Summes of Money. From thence he went to *Rome*, where he insinuated himself into the Family of the *Count de Brassac*, Ambassadour there for the King of *France*, of whom, by virtue of other Counterfeit Letters, he was favourably receiv'd: But it is not to be believ'd how many Cheats, Insolencies, and other abominable Crimes he committed under our Ambassadours Protection; till in the end the *Count* tir'd out with the Complaints he daily receiv'd of his lewd Behaviour, was upon the point to have deliver'd him into the hands of Justice, if he had not fairly ran away. After this manner *Madaillan* returns back into *France*; neither could he possibly have arriv'd in a more favourable conjuncture for such men as he, it being precisely at the time of the great Revolts of *Guienne*, and wherein he also had the share that was his due. The King being willing to communicate his Grace at the Duke's instance towards such as had been guilty of those Disorders, the said Duke had nevertheless a care, to cause such to be excepted from the general Indemnity, as were tax'd with other hainous and notorious Crimes, conceiving it neither just, nor of good Example, that by new Crimes men should pretend to Pardon for the old, and that by great Offences they should obtain an impunity for others of less importance. The King maturely weighing these good Reasons of the Duke, proceeded according to his Advice; by which means *Madaillan* found himself in much more danger after the Pardon of the other Delinquents, than at any time before he had ever been. His Conscience, besides the Crimes already mention'd, did moreove accuse him of several others, of a horrid, and unheard of nature; For the incest he had committed with his own Daughter, had in his Process been prov'd against him; the Parricide having moreover caus'd three Children he had by her to be murther'd before his own eyes. He had been Convict of having four Wives at one, and the same time, and of all the other abominable Actions can be imagin'd: what was there then that ought to be suspected from an Enemy arm'd with so much wickedness, and so many horrid, and detested Crimes?

This desperate Villain seeing himself, and his Affairs, in so lost and

and irrecoverable a condition, and knowing the perſecution the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and all his Family ſuffer'd under at that time, took a reſolution to fall upon him to his final Ruine, and to aſſault him with ſo hateful a Calumny, as that the ſole Accuſation ſhould of it ſelf, and of courſe, put the party accus'd out of all manner of defence. Big therefore with this accurs'd deſign, he goes to *Paris*, where not finding the King, he addreſſes himſelf to the Dutcheſs of *Eguillon*; to whom concealing his Name, as being too well known, in a ſtudied Diſcourſe of which he was capable enough, he delivers in great ſecreſie, That there was a Conſpiracy on foot againſt the proper Perſon of the King himſelf, and alſo againſt that of the Cardinal her Uncle. Neither was he content to make a bare diſcovery of the pretended Treaſon, and proceeded moreover to undertake to juſtifie what he had ſaid by literal proofs, provided he might have three months Protection granted him in *Guienne*, where his Enemies, he ſaid, had invented falſe Crimes againſt him, on purpoſe to deſtroy him. It is to be preſum'd, he did not forget the Duke of *Eſpernon's* name, in this firſt Accuſation, though it was afterwards deny'd at Court, when the buſineſs came to be diſcover'd. The Dutcheſs however, intereſted as ſhe was in the Perſon of the Cardinal, and ſtartled as ſhe ought to be, with the horror of ſo prodigious a Treaſon, writ in all haſte to the Court, which was then at *Amiens*; from whence without any difficulty at all ſhe obtain'd the ſafe Conduct *Madaillan* had deſir'd in order to the producing his Proofs. He muſt needs have ſome money alſo, which was likewiſe given him, with an Order to take up more in the Province; ſo that to the aſtoniſhment of all good men, behold this wicked Villain reſtor'd to his Country, and again ſettled in his own Houſe. He preſents his Letters of ſafe Conduct to the Parliament, where they were Recorded, and ſoon after Aſſembles all thoſe whom the Relation of their Offences could any ways render favourable to him, to his own Houſe. Amongſt this ſort of people there were three or four notorious Impoſtors, to whom with the reſt of his Complices he very gravely repreſented, "The Obligation "they all had to him, for the ſpecial care he had taken, both of "their Lives, and Fortunes; telling them that he had now that "of the Duke of *Eſpernon* their common Perſecutor, abſolutely "in his power, to diſpoſe of it to their Benefit, and Advantage: "That in order hereunto he had undertaken by his diligence to "prove, the Duke had meditated an Attempt upon the Perſons "of the King, and the great Miniſter: That therefore every one

Anno 1641.

His Reſolution to ruine the Duke of *Eſpernon*.

His Artifice herein.

He propoſes his Deſign to his Complices.

was

Anno 1641.

"there was to do his utmost endeavour, that an act of that merit, "utility, and importance to them all might not be left imperfect; "especially considering, that thereupon depended their happi- "ness, Security, Repose, and Advancement. These promises were far greater than had been any ways necessary to allure such mean, and abject Minds into his wicked design; so that they immediately, and without further deliberation, put their hands to the work: The Secretaries Character was easie enough to be imitated; but they could never Counterfeit the Duke's Seal, which being very intricate, was exceedingly difficult to be resembled to any tolerable degree. *Madaillan* then seeing this way would not take, applies himself to one *Grillety* a notorious Ring-Leader of the Padders: This Fellow, after the Defeat, and Dissipation of his Complices, had retir'd himself into a Forest of *Perigort*, where with strange Boldness, and Impudence, he committed so many Robberies, and Murthers, as had rendred his name Famous even in the very Court it self. To this man, as he had done before to the rest, he offers Indemnity, and Recompence, if he would accuse the Duke of *Espernon* to have dealt with him to attempt an Assassinate upon the Persons of the King, and Cardinal *Richelieu*. 'Tis said, that, although nourish'd in Blood, and Slaughter, and oppress with Crimes, for which he could expect no Pardon, this man nevertheless was not wicked enough to hearken to this Proposition; insomuch that at the first he absolutely refus'd to do it, and if afterwards the hopes of Pardon tempted him into that damnable practice, it was not however to persist in his wickedness to the utmost tryal, as we shall hereafter see.

Madaillans practices had alarm'd the whole Country, no body doubting but that the frequent Assemblies of such a crew of Villains, would infallibly produce some prodigious mischief. The Duke's Servants, of which there were very many in that Neighbourhood, as in all other parts of the Province, did easily judg that this Consultation was principally intended against him, and were not a little troubled at it: but they could not at first imagine the wickedness of their design to be so great, as it really was. *Saint Quentin* a Servant from Father to Son, very affectionate to the Duke's Family, and who had been bred up from his younger years with the Duke *de la Valette* his Son, sent the first intelligence of this Conspiracy: but it was no other than Conjecture only; the certainty of it was brought the Duke by *Auterive*, who came post to him (and I think it was upon the 8th. day of *November*) to discover to him the whole contrivance of this treache-

The Duke receives intelligence of *Madaillan's* Conspiracy.

treacherous deſign. Another Gentleman a Neighbour of his had a Nephew who was a great Comrade of *Madaillan's*, and a great Confident of his, from whom he had learn'd the whole Affair, of which he was not content to deliver *Auterive* a ſimple Relation by word of mouth only, but would moreover give him the whole Circumſtance of it in writing, that it might by the Duke be the better believ'd. The Duke having read, and communicated this Intelligence to ſome of his Domeſticks, was ſurpriz'd with ſo great an aſtoniſhment, as the like had never, upon any occaſion whatever been obſerv'd in him before. He was in Bed, according to his cuſtom, though it was in the afternoon, when this news came to him; and doubtleſs it was convenient for him, that it ſhould find him in that poſture, the better to reſiſt ſo ſtrange a ſurprize. His firſt thought was, that an Accuſation of ſo black, and odious a nature had not been contriv'd without order, and concluded thence, that his Enemies, weary of his long Life, would at one blow deprive him of that, his Eſtate, Offices, and Honour. In this violent agitation of mind, which was viſible enough in his Countenance, he commanded his Secretary immediately to depart to go with *Auterive* to the Court. He would ſound to the bottom what opinion they there had concerning this Affair; but he deſir'd withal, that the Truth might be exactly ſifted out, that ſo he might have means to juſtifie his own Innocency, and to cauſe the Authors of ſo damnable a miſchief to be ſeverely puniſh'd. The Secretary had order to addreſs himſelf to *Monſieur Fabert*, at that time Captain of the Regiment of Guards, by his means to get acceſs to *Chavigny*, the Secretary of State, by him with greater facility to be admitted to the Cardinal's preſence. The buſineſs was carried on according to the Duke's deſire; *Auterive* and the Secretary, without any difficulty, got to ſpeak with *Chavigny*, who promis'd the next day to procure them Audience.

Anno 1642.

And diſpatches his Secretary to Court, to juſtifie himſelf.

The next day being come, which was the 15th of *November*, they were accordingly admitted into the Cardinal's Preſence, where the Secretary having a Letter of Credence from the Duke his Maſter, he advanc'd to preſent it; which the Cardinal having received, and read, he told him; "That *Monſieur d' Eſpernon* had "referr'd the further explication of what he deſir'd he ſhould be "acquainted withal to him, who was the Bearer; wherefore he "deſir'd to know what Service he deſir'd of him? He had been before ſufficiently inform'd of all by *Chavigny*, who was there preſent: but would nevertheleſs permit, that he who had deliver'd

Anno 1641. liver'd him the Letter, ſhould again report to him the life of the wretched perſon, who had ſo vilely accus'd his Maſter. Whereupon the Secretary ſummarily repeated, "All you have heard "before, ſetting out *Madaillan* in his own colours, and for ſuch "as he truly was; acquainting the Cardinal moreover of the di-"ligence the Duke had us'd to apprehend him, and to bring him "to condigne Puniſhment for his many, and hainous Crimes; "making it appear, that from thence proceeded the malice of this "Accuſer, and that that was the thing which had prompted "him to invent this hateful Calumny, by which he intended to "eclipſe the Duke's Honour; intreating him at laſt, as the high-"eſt Favour his Maſter could receive at his hands, to give order "that the falſity of this Accuſation might be ſtrictly examin'd "by any perſon he ſhould think fit to appoint, and not to permit "that the moſt ancient Officer of the Crown, who had ſerv'd "four Kings without Reproach, ſhould in the laſt Act of his "Life undergo the moſt odious of all Aſperſions, without re-"ceiving the ſatisfaction he might reaſonably promiſe to him-"ſelf from his Eminences Juſtice, and his own Innocency.

The Cardinal, after he had hearkened to this Diſcourſe, which was pretty long, with great Civility, and Patience, the Secretary having done, made anſwer, "That it was true, the King "being five or ſix weeks ago at *Amiens*, *Meſſieurs*, the Miniſters "who ſtaid behind at *Paris*, had given him intimation of a "man of the Province of *Guienne*, who deliver'd himſelf to be "a Gentleman, and whom they had found to be a man of un-"derſtanding, that was purpoſely come thither to aſſure them, "that a Conſpiracy had been made in *Guienne*, to attempt upon "the Life of the King, and that he had offer'd to prove his Ac-"cuſation by ſufficient evidence in Writing, under the Hands of "the Conſpirators. You will very well judg (added the Car-"dinal) that an Advertiſement of this kind, was of too important "a nature to be neglected: but he deny'd withal that the Duke's "name had ever been mention'd in that Affair; aſſuring him "moreover, that had it been ſo much as glanc'd at in that Infor-"mation, he ſhould immediately have concluded the whole "thing altogether forg'd, and falſe, as he now abſolutely did: "That he knew the Duke to be too good a man to entertain ſo "criminal a thought, and that he would ever anſwer for him, as "for himſelf: That therefore he ought not to concern himſelf "about his Juſtification, and that he had been very well waſh'd "(which was his own expreſſion) but that notwithſtanding they were to conſider which way to give him ſatisfaction, in cauſing thoſe

His Secretary is favourably receiv'd by the Cardinal.

"thoſe who had been the Authors of his Calumny, to be brought "to exemplary puniſhment. After which he enquir'd by what means *Madaillan* might be taken, concluding in the end that the King ſhould give the Duke power to apprehend him, if poſſible, even in *Guienne* it ſelf; that in the mean time he would give order to have him ſent for to Court, whither in a very ſhort time he had alſo promis'd to come; that by one means or other, it ſhould be a hard matter for him to eſcape; and, that if he did once fall into his hands, he would deliver him up into thoſe of Juſtice, as he afterwards did, and in that was very juſt to his word. *Anno* 1641.

The King's Diſpatch was made ready at this time; but the Secretary could not however ſo ſoon depart, as by this ſucceſsful beginning he was in hopes he ſhould have done, *Chavigny*, who had order to deliver him his Diſpatch, appointing him to ſtay yet ſome few days longer. But theſe few days were ſpun out into ſome few weeks, during which interval he had notice given him by ſeveral of his Friends, that there was an Order granted out to Arreſt him, to make him give an account of thoſe Counterfeit Papers were laid to his charge. Theſe advertiſements, which he receiv'd from very good hands, did much more trouble him for the regard he had to the Duke his Maſter, than for any thing that concern'd himſelf; he believ'd that they would proceed in this Affair by the way, and in the forms of Juſtice, which was nothing conſonant to what had been promis'd him in the beginning. The Duke's Servants, to whom he had inſtructions to communicate all things, were alſo infinitely ſurpriz'd at the news: but he forbore not, what danger ſoever had been repreſented to him, to appear as at other times in all places where his buſineſs lay. After he had given all the time was neceſſary, wherein to clear any doubts that might have been ſtarted concerning this Affair, and weary to ſee no more than the firſt hour he came, he reſolv'd at laſt, finding he could obtain nothing from *Chavigny*, to make his Addreſs immediately to the Cardinal himſelf, hoping from him at leaſt to learn the true reaſons, why he had been thus long delay'd. This deſign accordingly took effect, and the Cardinal having eſpied him amongſt a crowd of other Solicitors, and Suitors that were attending in the Hall, caus'd him preſently to be call'd to tell him, "That upon the hopes *Madaillan* had gi- "ven him of his coming every day to Town, he had deſir'd he "might ſtay to be a witneſs of his Confinement: but that ſee- "ing there was no end of his delays, he might now return to his "Maſter, and aſſure him, that what he had promis'd upon this "occaſion, ſhould be punctually perform'd: That it would alſo

And an Order granted to apprehend *Madaillan*, and his Complices.

Anno 1641.

"be neceſſary he on his part ſhould employ all the Friends, and "Servants he had in *Guienne*, to cauſe the Slanderer to be taken, "and that, the thing being of that importance to his Honour, he "did not doubt but the Duke would herein uſe endeavours pro-"portionable to the quality of the Affair. After which he pour'd out himſelf in ſeveral expreſſions of very great Civility concerning the Duke: but they were ſo diſtant from his manner of proceeding, and ſo differing from the ill uſage he made his Maſter at the ſame time undergo; that giving them no place in his belief, he ſcarce allow'd them a room in his memory. After this manner the Duke's Secretary departed from Court, charg'd with Letters from the King, and the Cardinal, which were couch'd in theſe terms.

The King's Letter to the Duke of *Eſpernon*.

Couſin,

"Having underſtood by the *Sieur Girard*, the intimation you "have receiv'd, that one *Madaillan* of *Sauvetat* had an intent to "accuſe you of a deſign to attempt upon my Perſon, as alſo up-"on that of my Couſin the Cardinal of *Richelieu*; I write you "this to let you know, It is my pleaſure, that you cauſe the ſaid "*Madaillan* to be apprehended in any place where he ſhall be "found; as alſo the named *le Sage*, *Bois-Martin*, *Seingoux*, and "a certain Scrivener dwelling at *la Linde* in *Perigort*, whom, it is "ſaid, he intends to make uſe of to fortifie his Calumny. I doubt "not but you will uſe all imaginable diligence to cauſe the fore-"mentioned perſons to be taken, and to diſpoſe them into ſome "ſecure hold until you receive my further Order. In which aſſu-"rance I pray God, Couſin, *&c.*

At *St. Germaine en Laye* this 10th. of *Decemb.* 1641.

That of the Cardinal contain'd theſe words.

The Cardinal's Letter to the Duke of *Eſpernon*.

Monſieur,

The *Sieur Girard* will acquaint you with how great facility the "King has been pleas'd to give way to the clearing the Calumny, "wherewith you have diſcover'd ſome malicious people have a "deſign to aſperſe you. I can aſſure you that ſuch a juſtification "is not at all neceſſary for the poſſeſſing his Majeſty, touching the "buſineſs in agitation, with ſuch impreſſions of you, as you "would your ſelf deſire: but he will be very glad for your own "ſatisfaction, that ſo wicked an Impoſture be puniſh'd according "to its deſert. For my own particular I ſhall ever be very proud

to

" to meet occasions wherein I may manifest how great an esteem " I have for your Person, and how much I am, &c. " Anno 1641.

" From *Ruel* this 10th of *Decemb.* 1641.

The Duke after the departure of his Secretary was fall'n into so profound a Melancholy, accompanied with a lingring Fever, that the reading the favourable Letters he brought him back at his return, was not of Vertue wholly to cure a Disease that had already taken too deep root in his mind. He was affected with grief to that degree, that nothing could content him: but he was nevertheless a little reviv'd to find that this Affair had not deriv'd it self from the source he had at first suspected, nor produc'd those dangerous effects he reasonably apprehended it would. In this little interval of repose, he dispatch'd *Auterive* in all diligence into *Guienne*, with the most expres Orders he could possibly tell how to give, to cause *Madaillan*, and his Complices to be apprehended: but it was labour lost; he went of his own accord to put himself into the Cardinal's hands, who kept his word with the Duke, committing him the very day of his arrival to the * *Conciergerie du Palais*, from whence he came no more forth, but to suffer the punishment of his Crimes. But that was not till after the return of the Duke *de la Valette*, who with so much passion, and generosity prosecuted this accurs'd Villain, the real instrument of the Duke his Father's Death, that in the end he procur'd his chastisement by the hand of the Hangman.

* Or Prisons

After the dismission of *Auterive*, of which I have now spoken, the Duke made yet another dispatch, which also was almost the last of his Life, and that was to Cardinal *Richelieu*. All his Friends at Court, knowing how civilly the Duke had been us'd by him in the business of *Madaillan*, had joyntly given him advice to return him thanks by some expres Messenger; at whose perswasions he writ to him by the *Count de Maillé* (whom he entreated to undertake that Journey) and these were the words of the Letter.

The Duke of *Espernon* sends a Letter of thanks to Cardinal *Richelieu*.

Monsieur,

" After the Favours wherewith you were pleas'd to oblige me, " when my Secretary a few days since took a journey to wait up- " on you, I were of all men living the most ingrate, should I " not to the utmost of what I possibly can, manifest to you the " the high sense I have of so great an Obligation. The care of " which Commission, I thought I could not better entrust to any, " than to my Cousin *Monsieur de Maillé*, whom I have intreated

Anno 1641. "to protest to you in my behalf, that I will preserve the memory, "and acknowledgment of that signal Favour to the last hour of "my life. I do beseech you to believe this great truth, which by my "Actions should be justified, and confirmed to you, if the power "to serve you were equal to the will he shall ever retain; who is,

Monsieur,
Your most Humble, and
most Obedient Servant, *&c.*

This Complement of *Most Obedient*, which I have here purposely transcrib'd, was none of his usual stile, it had now also by inadvertency scap'd his Pen, and he sent an express Courrier after the *Count de Maillé*, to retrive his Letter so soon as he perceiv'd he had subscrib'd it after that manner: Instead thereof sending him another with the ordinary Subscription of *Most Humble and most Affectionate*, choosing rather to be thought stiffe, and punctillious, than to go less in the condition he then was, and to descend to an extraordinary civility, which might rather be interpreted, and imputed to weakness, and want of courage, than to complacency, and gratitude. His first Letter was indeed never delivered: but he also never saw it again. His Death preceded the return of the *Count de Maillé*, who had still kept it in his hands; and the time was now come, when this long life, which had escap'd from so many, and so eminent dangers, must end by a Disease that was easily enough to be foreseen: but for which no remedy could possibly be found.

Anno 1642. The Sickness and Death of the Duke of *Espernon*.

I have already given an account of the dangerous effect, the news of *Madaillan*'s Conspiracy produc'd to the ruine of the Duke's Health. And I shall now tell you that it was a wound which had pierc'd so deep into his heart, as no Balsam, neither of the King's, nor Cardinal's civil, and obliging Letters, of his Friends Consolations, or of the conscience of his own Innocency, of greater vertue than them both, that could be apply'd, could possibly cure. The assurances he had receiv'd from Court, that this Calumny had made no impression to his disadvantage there, nor the hopes he had thence receiv'd of receiving thereupon a full, and honourable satisfaction, could never so appease the tempest of his mind, that the discontents he had deriv'd from this accursed cause, was not continually working upon all the unpleasing Objects his unquiet thoughts could represent to his imagination. He was grown impatient almost of all kind of Company; the divertisements which had formerly been most acceptable

able to him were become nauſeous, and offenſive, and nothing was now ſo pleaſing to him as ſolitude, which till this time he had ever abhorr'd. An alteration that he himſelf was very ſenſible of, and would often ſpeak of it to thoſe with whom he was pleas'd to be the moſt familiar about him, as a certain preſage of his approaching End: he nevertheleſs did all he could to diſappoint his ill humour, which he had no way to do but by play ſometimes in his Chamber, ſeeing he found himſelf incapable of taking any pleaſure abroad. *Anno* 1642.

Thus ſpinning out the ſmall remainder of his life in this perpetual trouble of mind, his ſtrength was every day obſerv'd viſibly to impair: not long before he had been ſeen to tire out young, and vigorous men with walking (for it muſt needs be confeſs'd that never man perhaps felt the infirmities of Age ſo late as he) whereas now, and on a ſudden he appear'd ſo faint, and overworn, that he could ſcarce take two turns in his Chamber without repoſing himſelf. It was now come to that paſs, that he muſt repoſe for good and all, and the ſeventh of *January*, having in the night been ſurpriz'd with a grudging of an Ague, he paſt it over with great unquietneſs, and without any reſt at all.

The next day notwithſtanding he could make a ſhift to riſe to talk with ſome of his principal Servants of his Affairs, and to make ſome Diſpatches, as in the times of his better health: but he found withal ſo great a thirſt upon him, as he could neither by a Broth, nor two great Glaſſes of cold water, his familiar, and beſt Remedy, quench, and overcome. He went nevertheleſs to Maſs in a Cabinet adjoyning to his own Chamber; but he was not able to ſtay it out: inſomuch that preſently after the Elevation, he was conſtrain'd to retire, and to betake himſelf to his Bed. And it was for the laſt time, his Fever immediately ſeizing him with ſo great violence, that it never after left him, but with his Life.

Within a few hours after he had been laid in Bed, *Fabert*, whom he had a paſſionate deſire to ſee, and had a long time expected, came to ſee him. He was by him preſented with a great many Letters from ſeveral of his Friends: But the Duke without opening any one of them, contented himſelf with embracing him only, and entreating to be excus'd, that he was not in a condition that day to entertain him, referr'd it till the next morning, in hopes by that time to be in a better poſture of Health. At another time his active, and curious Spirit, that was never tir'd out with buſineſs, would not have referr'd the diſcourſing with a Friend he ſo dearly lov'd, till the morrow: but now, as if he had

Anno 1642.

had foreseen what a small share remain'd to him of Worldly things, he had not so much as the Curiosity to inform himself of any.

His Fever, which the first day was judg'd to be Quotidian (a sort of Ague he us'd frequently to have, and which also did not a little contribute to the better support of his Health) continued from the first, to the second, and from the second, to the third Fit, with so excessive violence, that *Motivier* his Physician, a man very excellent in his profession, and who had for many years been very diligent about his Person, judg'd him from that time forwards to be in very great danger, as well by reason of his wonderful great Age, and the evil dispositions that had preceded his Disease, as from the Disease it self. He was therefore of opinion that a Father Capuchin should be sent for, to the end he might in due time prepare him for Confession; the Fathers of that Order having a particular priviledge to administer that Sacrament to him. They were the more hasty to make this provision for his Conscience, by how much they perceiv'd him sometimes to fall into Fits of Raving, which gave them an apprehension, that his distemper encreasing, his judgment might be totally taken from him, which notwithstanding did not so fall out. This good Father being come to the Duke, under pretence of a meer Visit only, put him insensibly upon the contempt of worldly things, and the necessity of Death, and came at last by degrees to touch a little at Confession. The Duke though by this discourse he presently gues's'd at the ill opinion they had of him, and that they began to despair of his Life, yet did he nevertheless make no shew of astonishment, or surprize: but on the contrary submitting, with great serenity, and calmness to the good Pleasure of Almighty God, he told the Holy Father, "That he had highly "oblig'd him in putting him in mind of his Conscience: That he "was Old, and Sick: That in a better estate of Health his end "could not be far distant from him; and that being by the Grace "of God a Christian, he intended to dye after a Christian man-"ner. After which few words, intreating he would give him some time to prepare himself for this Sacrament, he caus'd him to retire into another Room. He commanded his Servants also to leave him alone, and to depart out of his Chamber; which being accordingly done, after he had two hours recollected himself, he caus'd the Father to be again call'd in, who could never enough commend the Zeal, and Repentance he observ'd in this illustrious Penitent. It was about noon that he made his Confession, and about four of the Clock the same day, he desir'd the Holy

The Duke's good dispositions to dye.

Holy Euchariſt, which he receiv'd with ſo great Piety, and Reverence, as was not a little edifying to all the Aſſiſtants. He at the ſame time gave charge to his Almoner to acquaint him when it was time to receive the Extreme Unction, taking order for all theſe laſt Ceremonies, with ſo manly an indifferency, and ſo great a tranquillity of mind, as if he had rather been taking care for ſome other in a dying condition, than buſie about any thing that immediately concern'd himſelf. He was never heard at any time either to wiſh for Life, or to repine at Death; but performing without trouble and diſorder what was to be done, ſo well to receive the one, and to part fairly with the other, he, in my opinion, at this time gave the greateſt proof, and example of his Courage, and Conſtancy, that he had ever done. *Anno* 1642.

His Diſeaſe growing every day more violent than other, he was, the fourth day of his Sickneſs, obſerv'd to fall into more and more extravagant Ravings, than at any time before, to which his Cheſt alſo began to be ſo obſtructed, that there was a viſible difficulty of Breathing: All which dangerous Accidents, and mortal Symptomes, in an Age like that of his, making every one conclude his diſſolution to be very near, they talk'd to him no more of any thing, but God; a Diſcourſe that he alſo on his part hearkened to, with great willingneſs, and attention. He had at all times had a Crucifix faſtned to his Beds-feet, upon which he now perpetually fixt his eyes, and having caus'd his Chaplet to be put about his Arm, becauſe he wanted ſtrength to hold it in his hand, he was continually lifting it to his mouth to kiſs it.

The fifth day of his Sickneſs was very much worſe, than thoſe that had gone before; and if upon his other days he had had ſome intervals of repoſe, the continuation of his Diſeaſe having infected all that remain'd in him of ſound, and uncorrupt; he was totally oppreſs'd without any releaſe, or intermiſſion at all. The extremities of his Diſeaſe therefore cauſing it to be judg'd convenient to make uſe of the extremeſt Remedies both for Soul and Body; his Phyſician reſolv'd upon a Bleeding, and the Eccleſiaſticks upon the Extreme Unction, of which the laſt nam'd preceded the other. About two hours after midnight, the Dutcheſs *de la Valette*, the Marquis, and Marquiſe *de la Valette* her Children, got up to be aſſiſting at this Holy Ceremony; to whom the Servants alſo being come in, he in the preſence of all his Family, with exceeding Meekneſs, and profound Reverence receiv'd that Sacrament. So ſoon as he ſaw the Prieſt enter the Chamber, he rais'd himſelf up in his Bed, and having pull'd off his

Anno 1642. his Cap, remain'd uncovered all the time of the Administration, making his Responces aloud to all the Prayers of the Church, and to all the Psalms, especially the *Miserere*, which he repeated by heart, with a great many Penitent Tears. This Ceremony being over, they left him some time to his repose, and about ten in the morning the sixth day of his Sickness, and also that of his Death, his Physician caus'd him to be let Blood. He found himself yet capable of this Remedy, and moreover found by it some kind of present Relief, his Chest was much less obstructed, and his Deliriums had far longer intervals than before; insomuch that he began to have a better opinion of himself, telling us (as it was very true) that two years before a Bleeding had sav'd his Life, and that he found himself very much reliev'd by this: but all these Hopes were no other than feeble Rayes, that threatned us with a sudden, and fatal Eclipse. At three in the Afternoon he appear'd so infinitely chang'd, that it was judg'd impossible for him to pass over that day; neither was he himself insensible of it: and certainly it was an extraordinary mercy he receiv'd in this Extremity, to have his Judgment more perfect, and entire, and his mind better compos'd at this, than at any other time during the whole course of his Sickness.

His last moments he employ'd in entertaining *Fabert*, from the day of his arrival he had never seen him; but having now on a sudden remembred he was in the house, he caus'd him immediately to be call'd, where, after he had embrac'd him in his Arms, he told him, "That he would not now lose time in giving him new assurances of an Affection, which would hencefor-ward be useless to him: but that he would conjure him by those testimonies he had sometime receiv'd, that he would preserve his to his declining Family: That he did entreat him to assure the King he dy'd his Majesties most humble, and most faithful Servant, and in his Name humbly to beseech him, to Honour his little Children, whom the Disgrace of the Duke their Father expos'd to infinite Injuries, with his gracious Protection: That they had the Honour to appertain to his Majesty: That nothing could be imputed to their Innocency, and that he hop'd they would one day by their Services manifest their Gratitude for his Bounty, and Favour. Though to render the King more favourable to this Request, and to those Relations he did recommend thereby, there seem'd to be a kind of necessity that he should also send some Complement to the Cardinal, he did not do it nevertheless; which some of his people thinking he had through forgetfulness omitted, they made bold

The Duke's last request to the King concerning his Children.

to

to put him in mind; to whom after a little pauſe, he return'd no other anſwer, but that he was his Servant. The ſame Complement, but with a very great deal of difference in the tender manner of delivery, he ſent to the Chancellour *Monſieur Seguier*, who had ever manifeſted for him a conſtant, and inviolate Friendſhip; as alſo to ſeveral other Perſons of Quality at Court. The ſeverity that had been exercis'd upon his Family, making him believe that their Enemies aim'd at no leſs, than their total Ruine, he would enjoyn *Fabert* of all his Governments, and Commands to ask the Caſtle of *Loches* only in favour of the Marquis *de la Valette* his Grandchild, and that only, becauſe ſeeing himſelf upon the point to expire, he could have wiſh'd, that his Body after his Death, might have been in the power of no other, than thoſe of his own Blood. A requeſt ſo modeſt, and ſo inconſiderable in it ſelf, that he doubted not, but it would be eaſily granted, and that he might have retriv'd this little piece from the wrack of his great Fortune: but he was deceiv'd, and the ill nature of his Enemies was ſuch, that even that was alſo deny'd him. *Anno* 1642.

After he had diſmiſs'd *Fabert*, he caus'd the Dutcheſs *de la Valette* his Daughter-in-Law, the Marquis *de la Valette*, and the Marquiſe his Siſter to come to his Bed-ſide, to whom after he had in general deliver'd himſelf in ſeveral expreſſions of great Paſſion, and tenderneſs, and exhorted them to Unity, and Mutual Affection; directing his Speech to the Marquis, "He in the firſt place recommended to him the Service of God, "and next that of the King, without ever alienating himſelf "from it upon any colour, or pretence whatever: to honour "his Father, and in what eſtate ſoever to pay him all the Duty, "and Service of a good, and Obedient Son; and never to re-"member the Injuries had been done him; of which he charg'd "him in expreſs terms to retain no kind of reſentment; aſſu-"ring them all, that living in that Unity, and good Intelligence "with one another, he had recommended to them, God Al-"mighty would bleſs them, as he bleſs'd them with all his "heart. After which, proceeding to ſome conſolatory Admonitions, wherewithal to moderate their Grief, he with great difficulty lifted up his hand to give them his laſt Benediction. This Action thus paſs'd, he turn'd himſelf to the other ſide of the Bed, either to repoſe himſelf after this laſt effort of his Spirits, and Voice; or to conceal his Tears, which although by tenderneſs, and good Nature, rather than want of Courage, extracted from him; yet would he not be reproach'd with ſuch a

Anno 1642.

weakneſs, ſtill retaining ſo much vigour, as to maintain decency, and the conſtancy he had ever manifeſted in all his Actions, even in death it ſelf. He was heard indeed to fetch ſome profound ſighs, and often to repeat the name of his Son *de la Valette*, who of all his Children had ever been deareſt to him: but that alſo was all he yielded to the impulſe of nature, in this final Separation.

Having thus paid ſome Sighs to his Grief, ſeveral good, and Learned Divines, who were aſſiſting about him, again put him upon the Diſcourſe of Piety, and the forgiveneſs of his Enemies; to whom he ſtill conſtantly reply'd, that he freely forgave them all, naming withal thoſe from whom he had receiv'd the greateſt and moſt irreparable wrongs: when ſome of them, more zealous than the reſt, ſeeing him in ſo good a diſpoſition, ask'd him if he did not alſo forgive his Servants, who had any way diſpleas'd him? To whom he again reply'd, that yes, and withal his heart: but there being one of them, who a few days before he had fall'n upon with very ſevere, and paſſionate Language, the ſame perſon who had engag'd in the former Interrogatories, proceeding (indiſcreetly enough) to ask him, if he did not alſo ask pardon of thoſe he might have himſelf offended? His courage, not totally abated in this laſt extremity, being a little inflam'd at the propoſal of this reciprocal ſubmiſſion, he made anſwer, that it was ſufficient, he had pardon'd thoſe of his people who had offended him, and that he had never heard, that to dye well a Maſter was oblig'd to make * Honourable Satisfaction to his own Domeſticks. Thoſe who were neareſt to him perceiv'd him to be a little tranſported at that word: but it was very eaſie to pacifie, and compoſe him; and after that nothing was heard from him but ardent Prayers to God: neither was he obſerv'd to do any thing more, than to turn his eyes towards the Crucifix, and to kiſs his Beads. In this condition he lay, when his ſtrength viſibly impairing, but his mind remaining in a great tranquillity, and calm, they perceiv'd him by little and little to decline, and faint away, ſenſibly obſerving Death to diſperſe it ſelf over all his Limbs. His Legs firſt grew ſtiffe, and cold; which cold in a few hours ſeiz'd of his other parts, till it came at laſt to his Heart. Thus the thirteenth day of *January*, and the ſixth of his Diſeaſe, he dy'd environ'd by three of his Children, ſeveral Divines, and all his Domeſtick Servants; the laſt whereof having with unparallel'd Care, and Diligence attended him all the time of his Sickneſs,

* *Amende honorable* ſignifies ſomething more, but what cannot be intended by the Author in this place.

His Death.

Sickneſs, continued ſtill the ſame Services, and Reſpect, till they brought him to his Grave. He was entred into the fourſcore, and eighth year of his Age, by which long ſeries of time he had had the advantage of ſeeing himſelf the moſt Ancient Duke, and Peer of *France*, the moſt Ancient Officer of the Crown, the moſt Ancient General of an Army, the moſt Ancient Governour of a Province, the moſt Ancient Knight of the Order, the moſt Ancient Counſellor of State, and the Oldeſt Man of Condition almoſt of his Time. *Anno* 1642.

The End of the Twelfth and Laſt Book of the Life of the Duke of Eſpernon.

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